



MISERY AND MAGIC

FUEL MAYHEM IN CAFUNFO

BY RAFAEL MARQUES DE MORAIS



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*“We hold traditional beliefs. In conflict,
we work with invisible spirits.”*

Mwana Ngana Txinjanga

About the Author

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He has published numerous reports and a book* on the human rights situation in Angola:

- *'Lundas: The Stones of Death'* (2005)¹
- *'Operação Kissonde: The Diamonds of Humiliation and Misery'* (2006)²
- *'Harvesting Hunger in the Diamond Areas'* (2008)³
- **Blood Diamonds, Torture and Corruption in Angola* (Tinta de China, 2011)⁴
- *'O Campo da Morte: Relatório sobre Execuções Sumárias em Angola'* (2017)⁵

Rafael Marques de Morais has been awarded eight prestigious international prizes for his work as a journalist and defender of human rights, including the accolade of World Press Hero from the International Press Institute.

¹ <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/media/documents/event/ADDMarq.pdf>

² <https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/latest-news/pdf-full-report-operation-kissonde-the-diamonds-of-humiliation-and-misery/>

³ <https://media.business-humanrights.org/media/documents/files/reports-and-materials/Marques-Harvesting-Hunger-Angola-Diamond-Fields-Jul-2008.pdf>

⁴ <https://rsf.org/en/news/censored-book-about-corruption-angola-now-available-rsf-site>

⁵ <https://www.makaangola.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/EXTRAJUDICIAL-KILLINGS-IN-ANGOLA-2016-17.pdf>

The Ufolo Research Centre

The Ufolo Research Centre for Good Governance is a non-partisan, non-profit, socio-civic organization, based on democratic principles in accordance with the Laws of Angola. Headquartered in Luanda, Ufolo works to foster respect for civil rights and human dignity as well as to promote social and economic development. Ufolo aims to nourish a strong and unified society by means of responsible criticism and informed debate, with proactive contributions that include special projects and group activities.

Maka Angola

Maka Angola is a website founded and led by the journalist, Rafael Marques de Morais, devoted to the fight against corruption and the defence of democracy and human rights in Angola.

For more than ten years *Maka Angola* has investigated why a country blessed with a wealth of natural resources, including considerable oil and diamond reserves, has failed so spectacularly to alleviate the miserable conditions of its people.

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I

Executive Summary

Chapter I: provides an overview of the material.

Chapter II: explains the methodology and initial considerations.

Chapter III: explains the socio-political context behind the unrest.

Chapter IV: examines the lack of legal status of the separatist factions and the fallacious misinterpretation of history to bolster their argument for autonomy for roughly half of the entire territory of Angola.

Chapter V: summarizes the efforts of the self-styled ‘Lunda-Tchokwe Portuguese Protectorate Movement’ (MPPLT) to establish itself as a credible movement and its attempts to engage the Angolan authorities, including the letter seeking approval for

the January 2021 demonstration and the reasons approval was denied.

Chapter VI: details the actions taken by the combined security forces in Cafunfo to prevent the demonstration from going ahead, comprising engagement with leading separatists, a show of force and loudspeaker warnings to the public to stay at home.

Chapter VII: sums up the MPPLT's preparations for the demonstration: the participation of more than 200 members in several days of fasting and 'magic' ritual to convince them they would be protected from any harm when confronting the Security and Defence Forces.

Chapter VIII: describes the pre-dawn start of the protest march and the first clash between the demonstrators and Rapid Intervention Police (PIR) stationed overnight at the 'Fiscal' station. It describes the disarray following the attack on the PIR mission commander and the retreat of the PIR detachment who played no further part in the operation to disperse the marchers.

Chapter IX: recounts the painstaking investigation into the death of protestor Borges Mauanda in the ensuing melee, amid competing claims that he was shot dead by a PIR agent or struck by a fellow demonstrator's machete.

Chapter X: describes how a makeshift roadblock by Border Guard Police on Boss Kim Street was overrun forcing a further retreat by the security forces, thus strengthening the demonstrators' conviction that they were immune and could even 'fly' away from harm.

Chapter XI: continues the chronological sequence of events leading to the final, lethal, battle between demonstrators and security forces, describing in detail the attack on the Battalion Commander of the Angolan Army Infantry Brigade stationed in Cafunfo at that time. Citing witness testimony from both sides, it reconstructs Lieutenant Colonel Mafo's attempt to engage the protestors, the attack on him, and his rescue.

Chapter XII: reports the battle at the final roadblock in the Rua dos Comandantes where several demonstrators were shot dead. It correlates witness statements by demonstrators and the ritualistic actions of the soldier who opened fire on them. It lists all those we could confirm as dead, wounded or missing after cross-referencing information retrieved from hospitals, officials, family members and demonstrators themselves.

Chapter XIII: analyses statements from people who took part in the demonstration, including their accounts of magic ritual and claims of having 'flown' to escape. A common theme emerges to explain the grassroots reach of the MPPLT: how the Angolan state's failure to respond to demands for fundamental rights benefited the political - and personal - agenda of some of the MPPLT's leaders.

Chapter XIV: examines complaints about the behaviour of the security forces in the wake of the demonstration, including allegations of arbitrary arrest and torture, the shooting death of one individual and the wounding of two others.

Chapter XV: reports on the enduring hold of traditional belief systems in a community deprived of formal education and

alternative sources of information, and how these beliefs contributed to the tragedy.

Chapter XVI: summarizes the argument that the MPLA government bears considerable responsibility for the climate of violence in the region, and that the ongoing failure to provide adequate public services enabled the radicalization of significant sectors of a desperate community into an open challenge to the authority of the State

Chapter XVII: offers some conclusions and recommendations.

II

Methodology and Initial Considerations

Word of the short-lived and bloody demonstration in Cafunfo on January 30th reached me almost immediately as I was travelling by road only a few dozen kilometres away, returning from a long business trip to implement an educational project in the Lundas and adjacent provinces in the North-East of Angola.

I had investigated a similarly lethal protest in the same town in 2004, when police opened fire on protestors killing 12, injuring many more and detaining some 170 aggrieved locals. It is useful to contrast the situation then with what happened at the same location seventeen years later.

My report acknowledged both the desperation that led to the so-called 'Generator Demonstration' and the cool head and responsible actions at the time of Commander René of the Customs and Revenue Police. When confronted by a mob of

angry protestors laying siege to the Customs and Revenue Police Station [known colloquially as the 'Fiscal' station], Commander René ordered his men not to open fire, in the hope of avoiding a bloodbath.

The inflamed mob nonetheless proceeded to take the station by storm, setting fire to the national flag and physically attacking both the commander and his men before other police agents arrived to suppress what had become a riot and began shooting. My report noted public acknowledgement of the remarkable actions of the Customs and Revenue commander and his agents who also tried to save the lives of the injured. ⁶

When news broke of many deaths from the violent suppression of the January 2021 protest march in Cafunfo, there was widespread outrage. The only information available was confused and contradictory with no confirmed numbers of casualties. But initial statements in response from the government and police worsened the situation, turning it into a hot-button political issue.

Over the next two months, before events faded from public memory, I received many requests to conduct an independent investigation. After due consideration, I agreed to proceed in the hope that my 30 years of work in the area had afforded me not just the necessary expertise but also the trust of locals who could help me find a way through the confusion to establish the facts. I had published several reports⁷ and a book⁸, on the abysmal human

⁶ Marques (2011 op cit: p103).

⁷ 'Lundas: The Stones of Death' (2005); 'Operação Kissonde: The Diamonds of Humiliation and Misery' (2006); 'Harvesting Hunger in the Diamond Areas' (2008)

⁸ Blood Diamonds, Torture and Corruption in Angola (Tinta de China, 2011)

rights situation in the diamond-mining region of the Lundas where rural communities had been left behind when it came to any socio-economic development.

Consequently, between March and June 2021 I spent a total of 40 days on the ground in Cafunfo, organizing a conference and workshops as well as researching and reconstructing the tragic events of January 30th. When I first arrived, tensions were still high. I learned that many participants in the protest had fled the town, taking refuge in their far-flung cultivated fields, in the bush or in other places, some of the wounded having had no medical treatment other than from herbalists.⁹

In the wake of such violence, the Ufolo Research Centre for Good Governance liaised with the General Command of the National Police to jointly organize a conference on "Citizenship and Safety in Cafunfo" on March 9th and 10th, which attracted more than 500 people on the first day and more than 600 on the second day.

The event was made possible under the umbrella of a larger project already underway: *'Jornadas sobre Cidadania e Segurança Pública: Conflitos de Direitos Fundamentais no Estado de Direito Contemporâneo'* [Workshops on Citizenship and Public Safety: Conflicts of Fundamental Rights in a Contemporary State of Law].¹⁰

⁹ It wasn't until June 5th that I was able to speak to five men who had been hiding out in their fields since taking part in the march, after a local activist persuaded them to go to a nearby village where I could contact them by phone. They had gone into hiding because they believed that the machete attacks on the PIR Chief Inspector and the 1st Battalion Commander of the 75th Brigade Commander had been fatal. On June 15th I was able to speak to other demonstrators who'd been in hiding for nearly five months for the same reason.

¹⁰ The workshops, which got under way in the provinces of Huila and Benguela in November 2020, offer a platform for dialogue between civil society and the Security and Defence Forces. The two-day conference in Cafunfo had the effect of persuading many residents to return home. Some took part.

The following month, Ufolo and the National Police, with the participation of representatives of local civic group, arranged training sessions for the local police. They covered five main topics:

- (i) the theory and practice of coercive control methods,
- (ii) protection of human rights, including civil rights and the right to life,
- (iii) public safety, gatherings, and demonstrations,
- (iv) community policing,
- (v) templates for dealing with the public.

The trust built through these events lent weight to official appeals to all citizens still in hiding to return home. Conditions improved so much due to the relative calm that my team could then openly collect more than 100 statements from people who had taken part in the demonstration.

We cross-referenced mentions of each significant event from the individual witness statements and compared these with the accounts given in the group settings, along with precise geo-location data, to subject every aspect of the testimony to corroboration and verification.

A re-enactment of events on the ground with the help of volunteers also helped to clarify the sequence of events at each given place and time and to filter out uncorroborated claims which did not accurately reflect the witness testimonies that we could confirm.

One example: we spent two months trying to pinpoint the exact circumstances and sequence of events relating to the death, and

cause of death, of the first civilian casualty, Borges Mauanda. Eventually, we established a corroborated chronology of events which revealed an orchestrated attempt by some MPPLT members to obfuscate the truth.

Several people had given us a version of events in which they claimed that the brutal attack on the PIR Chief Inspector was in retaliation for the death of Borges Mauanda whom they alleged had been killed by a bullet fired by a PIR agent.

Cumulative evidence clarified that the Chief Inspector was attacked when PIR security forces first encountered the demonstrators on the road, approximately eleven metres away from the rear of the 'Fiscal' Station compound. Borges Mauanda died barely one metre from the station entrance around the corner, an area only reached by the marchers after the PIR forces retreated in the confusion after the attack on their commander.

In our investigation every effort was made to ensure the accuracy of our findings, with exhaustive verification and cross-referencing of all data, both with individuals and small groups, including interviews with the families of all those named as dead or injured. In the initial interview with the father of Borges Mauanda, Mr Carlos Mauanda claimed to have been at home asleep during the march. He changed his testimony when it later emerged that he was one of the organizers of the protest and was amongst those leading the procession when his son died just four paces from the guardhouse at the entrance to the "Fiscal" Police Station.

As well as the disinclination of some participants to tell the truth and state the facts exactly as they had happened, the team faced

numerous other obstacles, not least the time-consuming and difficult task of locating witnesses in scattered communities. Arriving at the truth was further complicated by having to unravel the discrepancies in the narrative constructed by the leaders of the MPPLT via social media.

Quite early in the investigation, as we began to record statements detailing the 'magic' rituals undergone by demonstrators in their preparations for the march, members of the MPPLT who had been cooperating with us began to receive death threats. In previous investigations into human rights abuses in the Lundas there had been some considerable risk to the investigators, but we had never had to contend with this level of intimidation to our sources. Despite the threats, some witnesses remained determined to assist the investigation and dissociated themselves from the actions of the movement's leaders.

Prominent MPPLT members, including Fernando Muaco with whom we had spoken many times, suddenly forged close links with the major national opposition party and associated political activists in Luanda. Together they concocted an unprecedented campaign of disinformation and defamation across social media in an effort aimed at discouraging others from coming forward with information. This included a concerted effort to discredit *Maka Angola's* investigation, alleging complicity with the authorities. These attempts to intimidate and smear those endeavouring to uncover the truth so lessons could be learned, were unworthy and unacceptable.

To set the record straight, I cannot emphasize enough that due to Angola's long history of systemic violence, it is imperative that investigations be conducted (and are seen to be conducted)

scrupulously and impartially, only drawing conclusions after taking evidence from all parties.

Maka Angola endeavours to present a full, objective, and impartial account of each investigation and its record speaks for itself. In my 2006 report on the Lundas, as well as specifying the long list of adverse conditions suffered by civilians, I also wrote about the adverse conditions in which the local police were forced to live and work, noting “the imminent risk that the Cafunfo main police station could [tip into and] be swallowed by the adjacent large ravine several metres deep”, which endangers “not just the lives of the policemen themselves, but also those of the citizens being held there”.¹¹

My primary concern while reporting wrongdoing or injustice has been to protect human life and dignity while helping to find solutions to the problems of social and economic exclusion. To this end I also took part in peace initiatives such as the 2001 Campaign against the War, alongside the Catholic Church's Pro Pace Movement.¹²

As an independent researcher and reporter with *Maka Angola* I have had numerous interactions with Angola's defence and security forces in an investigative capacity and was perceived as a challenger to the authorities. More recently, my work with UFOLO has required a collaborative role, to facilitate conferences and workshops as part of a structured dialogue between the defence and security forces and the public as part of a public safety initiative for the common good. At no time has

¹¹ Marques (2006 op cit).

¹² as reported in *Jornal Público* (2001).

this compromised my work for *Maka Angola* or my ability to hold those in power to account.

Ten years ago, I warned of the potential for revolt in this diamond-rich but dirt-poor region: "The prevailing situation in Cuango has revealed a serious potential for conflict between local communities, state government, mining companies and private security companies. Frequently, this region has been the stage for mutiny."¹³

Since then, from both the political and socio-economic perspective, the situation has only worsened, with the ongoing absence of any concrete local government in Cafunfo contributing to the deterioration of conditions in the local communities, making it easier for considerable sectors of the population to be dangerously radicalized.¹⁴

¹³ Marques (2011 op cit: p103).

¹⁴ The Portuguese Association for Victim Support (APAV) suggests that the conditions we describe in Cafunfo are fertile ground for violent radicalisation, noting that "it is the result of a complex process involving a variety of factors, which together, can lead individuals or groups to carry out ideologically or politically-motivated acts of violence." <https://apav.pt/radicalizacao/sobre-o-projecto/>

III. Context

The primary reason for unrest in the diamond region is the ongoing lack of infrastructure, extreme poverty, and hopelessness of the local inhabitants alongside a primary extractive industry that creates enormous wealth for outsiders at the expense of those native to the region.

Queen Mwana Cafunfo, the most senior of the traditional chiefs in Cafunfo, told us the principal demands of the town's inhabitants: "We weep over the encroaching ravines, the lack of paved roads, water and electricity. We are a people abandoned by our government. The country has been at peace for a long time now [since the Angolan Civil War formally ended in 2002] but here not even peace has reached us."

When I interviewed her, the ailing Mwana Cafunfo painfully lowered herself down onto a thickly woven papyrus reed mat in the shade of her traditional thatched hut, as she offered a succinct explanation of the paradox of wealth and misery in Cafunfo. "Here the government takes out diamonds and leaves us only the

holes. What benefit have people here obtained from the government, from all that diamond wealth? We have received no benefit at all."

Cafunfo is a town of more than 162,000 people spread over 290 square kilometres but it has no political or administrative status. It is not categorised as a neighbourhood, district, commune, or municipality and in theory is run from Cuango, some 50 kilometres away, Cuango being one of the 10 administrative municipalities in Lunda-Norte.

To drive those 50 kilometres along the main road between Cuango and Cafunfo ordinarily takes more than four hours due to the degraded state of sections of the beaten-earth road. It has been mostly impassable to regular traffic since the end of 2020. Residents complain that their province generates more than enough wealth to pave this major road and they blame the government for doing nothing. It is one of the many glaring examples of the lack of investment in any infrastructure in the region, while its diamond wealth is misappropriated.

There is ample evidence in the public domain of the scandalous misappropriation of billions in foreign currency, such as these two examples:

- (i) In testimony given to the European Parliament, former diamond buyer David Reinous said that between 2003 and 2008 the Belgian firm Omega Diamonds, associated with Isabel dos Santos [the daughter of the former Angolan President] was complicit in a money-laundering

scheme.¹⁵ Omega bought Angolan diamonds at a price below the market value of the UAE or Switzerland and took them to Antwerp in a scheme worth 4.6 billion US dollars.¹⁶

- (ii) Between 2012 and 2018, the diamond concessions of just three mines, Catoca, Cuango and Chitotolo reported combined losses of 754 million US dollars' worth of diamonds, sold at 24% below market value to the company Sodiam's preferred clients.¹⁷ These customers were named as Iaxhon, Odyssey and Relactant, all of them part of the universe of shell companies set up by Isabel dos Santos and her late husband, Sindika Dokolo, who then resold the diamonds to earn extraordinary profits.¹⁸

The amounts misappropriated from these two examples alone could have rebuilt and paved the main Cafunfo to Cuango road many times over. It could have paid for basic infrastructure such as supplying water and electricity to Cafunfo and neighbouring (and even more impoverished) villages in the Lundas and even to educate an entire generation of locals, whose ignorance makes them vulnerable to manipulation.

The only other road in and out of Cafunfo, also made of beaten earth, covers the 53 kilometres between the town and the private reserve of the diamond-mining company Sociedade Mineira do Cuango. The journey on this road takes about an hour and a half.

¹⁵ [The Brussels Times](#) (2015) quoting transcripts of the judgement in the case of Gaydamak v. Leviev, May 25th, 2012, in London which refers to the association on Pp 52-55.

¹⁶ *The New York Times* (2013).

¹⁷ Eisenhammer (2018).

¹⁸ Sociedade Mineira do Cuango and Projecto Chitotolo sales forecasts

It's a unique situation in Angola: a public road, made of beaten earth, under the exclusive control of a private company.

Unprecedentedly, it was opened to public traffic in December 2020 but only for a maximum of ten vehicles per day. Between December 2020 and February 2021, the company's private security guards were demanding bribes of between 60,000 and 80,000 kwanzas apiece for trucks carrying merchandise to use the road, sums which were then passed on to retailers and consumers, further increasing the high cost of living for residents of Cafunfo. In early January 2021, the Angolan Ministry of Mineral Resources, Oil and Gas sent in a team of inspectors to investigate. At the time of writing this road was still open to the public between 8 am and 4 pm daily provided the vehicle was properly registered and each driver could show his or her identification.

Cafunfo has no political-administrative status, so it has no basic public services or local officials to attend even to routine needs, such as the registration of births and deaths. Births in Cafunfo must be registered in Luremo, 35 kms to the north - an anomaly that results from the official status of Luremo as the only designated 'commune' in the administrative district of Cuango even though Lauremo's population is estimated at a mere 23,000 inhabitants. In effect this policy denies the very existence of a native population of Cafunfo.

The only buildings in town connected to the Cuango administrative district are a Technical Office which levies taxes from informal markets and local businesses and a 'protocolary residence' for visiting officials. As a result, the main identifiable state institution building in Cafunfo is the National Police's

principal base, the 2nd Station, making it a target destination for any protest.

The 2nd National Police station in Cafunfo has an effective staff of 60, distributed between three police posts in the neighbourhoods of Bala-Bala, Bundo and Gika. Given the political and social volatility in the town, they have no option but to call on other agencies as well as Angolan army defence forces stationed nearby to reinforce their capacity to maintain public order. This makes Cafunfo the only place in Angola where soldiers armed with assault weapons are based at police posts and stations and regularly carry out public order duties such as neighbourhood patrols.

The main factors which persuade hundreds of otherwise law-abiding locals to confront the Security and Defence Forces can be summarised thus:

- (i) the absence of the State as a physical administrative presence,
- (ii) the absence of any formal means of contact in the area between the State and citizenry along with a near total lack of infrastructure which could supply accurate information on regional history,
- (iii) the lack of any material benefit to the region from the enormous diamond wealth extracted from the Cuango basin along with the systemic violence (from both private mining interests and the State) against community members,
- (iv) the changing demographic of the region due to a large influx of citizens of Congolese origin, who may or may not identify with Lunda or Tchokwe ethnic heritage.

There are no reliable official statistics on the town's demographics. It is noteworthy that in Cafunfo the 'lingua franca' is Lingala (a Congolese language) knowledge of which is essential for transactions in the informal markets, religious services or ceremony and access to radio news. As of January 2021, the signal strength of the national broadcaster, Rádio Nacional de Angola, did not reach Cafunfo and so the only news broadcast available to locals was from cross-border Congolese stations.

IV

MPPLT - The Lunda-Tchokwe Portuguese Protectorate Movement Legal Position

The town of Cafunfo, with the highest population density of any residential area in the region, has been the focus for the mobilization, organization, and protest activities of separatists demanding either partial autonomy or total independence for the Lundas. No separatist faction can constitute itself as a legitimate political organization as their reason for existence and stated objectives are illegal under the Angolan Constitution and laws.

The self-styled Lunda-Tchokwe Portuguese Protectorate Movement, better known by its Portuguese initials MPPLT (Movimento do Protectorado Português Lunda Tchokwe) is led by José Mateus Zeca Mutchima (sometimes written as Zecamutchima). He formed the MPPLT after breaking away from the now defunct organisation known as the CMJSPLT (Comissão

do Manifesto Jurídico Sociológico do Protectorado da Lunda Tchokwé), founded by his erstwhile mentor, a lawyer named Jota Filipe Malaquito.

The MPPLT's claim of the right to autonomy is based in part on treaties guaranteeing the protection of Portugal, signed in the late 1880s by the Portuguese envoy Major Henrique Augusto Dias de Carvalho with representatives of the Muatxiânvua (Mwant Yaav or Supreme Ruler) of the Lunda Nation and, separately, with one of the Mwanangana (a Chief) of Tchokwe people, the leader of a sub-group who had invaded and seized control of much Lunda territory.

According to the Treaty with the Lunda, “Muatxiânvua and his court, as well as the heirs of the current Potentate Chiefs, the Muatas de Lucano, declare that they will never recognize any other sovereignty than that of Portugal, under whose Protectorate their grandparents placed, in times gone by, all the territories governed by them constituting the State of Lunda and that they hope will now be sent to occupy them definitively.”¹⁹

As *Maka Angola's* legal adviser, Rui Verde, points out, "It is impossible to argue that unequal treaties dating back to the era of colonial domination might still be valid in the 21st Century, especially when you consider that these treaties are now null and void." The 1887 Treaty, including its territorial references, was overtaken by the delineation of colonial Portugal's subsequent territorial borders, determined by treaties with the other European colonial powers (Belgium and the United Kingdom).

¹⁹ Dias de Carvalho (1894:269-272).

Rui Verde explains: "What each of these frontier demarcation treaties represented was the creation of a unified single territory under Portuguese colonial jurisdiction, whose borders are clearly marked alongside the territories claimed by other European colonial powers. In this case, a new legal and political reality comes into being and overtakes those of the past, forcing any previous local agreements to lapse."

After the colonial era, the newly independent African countries decided to maintain the borders drawn by the colonial powers. At the 1964 Cairo Summit, the OAU (Organization of African Unity - now AU, the African Union) enshrined the immutability of colonial borders by proclaiming in Resolution 16 (1) "that all Member States pledge themselves to respect the borders existing on their achievement of national independence."

For Angola, this principle was further confirmed by its inclusion in the Alvor Accord, signed by the Portuguese State and all three of Angola's liberation movements upon independence in 1975. Article 3 of the Alvor Accord states: "Angola is a single, indivisible entity within its current political and geographical limits".

"If there were the slightest doubt that Portugal considered Henrique de Carvalho's Treaty to have lapsed and be without any juridical relevance, this is proof absolute", asserts Rui Verde.

Upon independence, the constitutional norms accompanying the birth of the new sovereignty came into force. The interim Constitution of the Peoples' Republic of Angola, approved on the same day as Angola's Independence, November 11th, 1975, stated in Article 4: "The Peoples' Republic of Angola is a unitary and

indivisible State, whose inalienable and inviolate territory is defined by the current geographical boundaries of Angola, and any attempt at separatism or the break-up of the territory will be energetically opposed." [My emphasis]

After revision of the interim constitution, the current Constitution approved in 2010 maintained the same principles:

Article 5 (1): "The territory of the Republic of Angola is that which is historically defined by the geographical boundaries of Angola as were in existence on November 11th, 1975, the date of national independence."

Article 6: "Angola's territory is indivisible, inviolable, and inalienable and any action to dismember or separate any portion will be energetically opposed with no part of its territory capable of being alienated from the national territory or the sovereign rights exercised by the State." [Again, the emphasis is mine]

In conclusion: it is unconstitutional, hence illegal and inadmissible, to promote the independence or separation of any portion of the Angolan national territory thus the MPPLT has no legal status and cannot be recognized as a valid political movement in Angola.

HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS

1. The Fallacy of a 'United' Lunda-Tchokwe

The MPPLT also bases its right to exist and call for autonomy for almost half of Angola on what it claims was a unified Lunda and

Tchokwe kingdom under Portuguese protection - a false interpretation of the history of the two peoples aimed at persuading an ill-informed and desperate populace that there is historical justification for this cause.

This fallacious attempt to rewrite history can easily be dismantled by evidence amassed over centuries from first-hand oral and written accounts gathered by historians, along with the research findings of anthropologists and archaeologists.

The existence of the Lunda people as a distinct community in the southern Congo basin was well established by the 16th Century by when they had become one of the largest and most powerful confederations in Central Africa, with domain spread over an area embracing the adjacent parts of modern-day Congo, Angola, and Zambia.

Variously described as an empire, kingdom or commonwealth, Lunda consisted of "a centralized core, ringed by provinces closely tied to the capital, with an outer ring of provinces that paid tribute but were otherwise autonomous and a fringe of independent kingdoms that either shared a common Lunda culture or paid tribute to Lunda". Its boundaries were thus only loosely defined."²⁰

At the apex of its power the Lunda controlled an 'empire' of more than 175,000 people spread over 300,000 square kilometres of land, had four standing armies, and sent well-armed trade caravans comprising thousands of porters to trade ivory and slaves with Arabs on the Indian Ocean and Europeans on the Atlantic.

²⁰ Encyclopaedia Britannica

Authority was centralized in the Lunda capital, Mussuma or Mussumba, (located in the present-day Democratic Republic of Congo) where their supreme leader, the Muatxiânvua (sometimes written as Mwane-a-Yamvu, Mwant Yaav etc.) was selected and enthroned by a council of senior Chiefs. As the nominal King or Paramount Chief, the Muatxiânvua dispensed justice and maintained harmony over all the territories under Lunda control, guaranteeing protection not just to those who shared their heritage and language, but also to the independent chiefs who paid tribute to the Lunda.

The Tchokwe people were largely nomadic hunter-gatherers from a distinct ethnolinguistic group, who migrated into an area on the southern periphery of the Lunda empire during the 17th Century. At that time, the Tchokwe did not organize themselves under an overall ruler, neither as a unified single nation nor in confederation. They formed communities based on kinship groups each led by an autonomous chief, known as the Mwanangana. Their prowess at hunting elephant for the ivory trade brought the Tchokwe into contact, and conflict, with the peripheral Lunda communities.

The Tchokwe first established themselves along the Lunda borders with the formation of a vaguely governed territory that was known as Kiboko. The territory was sub-divided into independent domains governed by Mwananganas.²¹ Some paid tribute to the Lunda and settled in the periphery, leading some historians to describe them as "sub clans" of the Lunda.

As they infiltrated themselves further into Lunda territory, the Tchokwe established footholds through conquest and marriage,

²¹ Thornton (2020:317).

increasing their numbers and gradually seizing control of larger areas. Increasing prosperity allowed them to acquire European guns and further cement their status.²²

By the late 19th Century when Portugal sought to make treaty, Lunda's power and influence were in decline amid increasing Tchokwe conquest of their territory. According to anthropologist Manuela Palmeirim: “The power of Mwant Yaav [the Muatxiânvua of the Lunda], which was largely based on the trafficking of slaves, was greatly affected by the abolition of the slave trade. On the other side, the Cokwe [sic] began expanding north, progressively moving into Lunda territory.”²³

As the historian Maria da Conceição Neto writes: “It is not a novelty that the Lunda and Cokwe peoples, although potentially related in ethnic origin, do not speak the same language, did not share the same history, nor the same model of political organization. They were enemies. As their trade in ivory, wax and rubber grew, the Cokwe expanded their territory into areas that in earlier times had been dominated by the Lunda. And that was the situation when the European division of Africa imposed new frontiers on everyone.”²⁴

Although the Tchokwe may have had a remote common origin with the Lunda, they had been separated for more than 400 years.²⁵ By the time the Tchokwe were strong enough to overpower the Lunda in the late 1880s the Portuguese project to unify and colonize the territory was well underway.

²² Vansina (1966) Gordon (2018)

<https://oxfordre.com/africanhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277734-e-146>

²³ Palmeirim (1998).

²⁴ Neto (2012:13).

²⁵ Neto (1994).

2. Treaties and Affirmation of Portuguese Dominion

In 1885 the Portuguese envoy and explorer Major Henrique Dias de Carvalho led an expedition into the Lunda heartland which he documented in detail. His mission, at a time when the European powers were carving up their interests in Africa, was to assert Portuguese sovereignty over the region and cement trade relations with the Lunda supreme ruler, the Muatxiânvua.

That proved complicated, as the Lundas were engaged in a power struggle instigated by Tchokwe forces seeking to consolidate their position in Lunda territory. The Lunda council of chiefs had chosen Xá Madiamba as Muatxiânvua but fearing he too would be assassinated he did not want the throne. Dias de Carvalho's efforts to reinforce his position by offering him Portugal's protection via treaty, proved fruitless.

“While they (the Lunda Court) were playing power games in relation to the election of the Muatxiânvua, pressure from the Quioco [Tchokwe] was growing every day. It was just a short step from there to the invasion of their capital.”²⁶

Dias de Carvalho tried to make the best of the situation by drafting treaties with both sides. One such treaty was with the Tchokwe chief he called the “Muanangana Quissengue, paramount chief of the Quiocos” [the Mwanangana Mwatxissengue].²⁷

In this treaty Portugal undertakes to maintain the integrity of the areas of control and influence of the Tchokwe in Lunda territory

²⁶ Dias de Carvalho (1892)

²⁷ Dias de Carvalho (op cit).

but stipulates that they cannot be extended without the authorization of the Muatxiânvua of the Lunda and the advisement of the Portuguese colonial authority. In Article 2, Mwatxissengue recognizes the Muatxiânvua as the ruler of the lands of the Lunda but bars him from “intervening in the administration of the Quiocos [Tchokwe] peoples”.²⁸ The treaty proved unenforceable and in January 1887 the Tchokwe invaded Mussumba and burned it to the ground.

Letters from one of the paramount chiefs on the Lunda periphery seeking Portuguese protection against the Tchokwe, confirms the unbridgeable divisions between the Lunda and Tchokwe. The Capenda Camulemba²⁹ paid tribute to the Lunda but ruled autonomously over an area which to this day bears his name to this day in modern day Angola. In 1888, he begged the King of Portugal for vassalage [protection], having decided it was the only way to protect his land and people "from the invasions of the neighbouring enemies, the Bangalas [Imbangalas] and the Quiocos [Tchokwe]”.³⁰

Dias de Carvalho failed to conciliate the two peoples, but his expedition succeeded in allowing Portugal to claim *de facto* occupation of the territory. Portugal believed it could not rely on supposed historic rights³¹ to guarantee its dominions³². The treaties, albeit unratified, or mere drafts, strengthened Portugal's territorial claims at the Berlin Conference which determined colonial domain wherever *de facto* occupation could be asserted

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ One of the MPPLT's purported claims to legitimacy cites a descendant of the Capenda Camulemba as having given them the right to call for independence.

³⁰ Dias de Carvalho (1890).

³¹ Cruz (2016).

³² The title of a book on Henriques de Carvalho demonstrates his intentions: *Lunda or the Estates of Muatxiânvua. Domains under the Sovereignty of Portugal*. (1890).

(*uti possidetis jure*). In the concrete case of the treaty with Lunda, dated January 18th, 1887, it was never signed or ratified by the legitimate Muatxiânvua, Xá Madiamba,³³

According to Henrique Dias de Carvalho's own account, the Lunda council of chiefs would accept no other than Xá Madiamba as Muatxiânvua to unite them. Chief Xá Mujimbuia is quoted as saying “all the Lunda people hoped that they would find a good Muatxiânvua in him who would save them from the persecution of the Quiocos [Tchokwe] and would bring them peace, so they could work the lands with their families”.

It wasn't to be. However, the Tchokwe expansionist raids against the Lunda State hit their peak in 1890 and eight years later a subsequent Muatxiânvua named Mushid would lead the Lunda to expel “the Cokwe [Tchokwe] warriors from the heart of 'empire’”.³⁴

3. The Former Kingdom of Lunda - A Fluid Concept

The MPPLT's notion of autonomy is aimed at adjacent provinces to the Lundas - a proposed land grab with no geographical justification. The Lunda confederation straddled modern-day Democratic Republic of Congo and Zambia as well as eastern Angola. Even at its peak, Lunda's borders were never clearly defined and are incapable of being applied to the additional provinces claimed by the MPPLT. Political relations between the Lunda capital and the constituent parts of the empire were not

³³ Art. 10 of the treaty acknowledged Xá Madiamba as the true Muatxiânvua elected by the court and demands that, before being presented to the Portuguese Government, it must be signed by Xá Madiamba for any amendment he might consider necessary and for its subsequent ratification. (ibid. 217).

³⁴ Dias, Jill (op. cit).

uniform. The fragmented peripheral parts of its domain were likely based on a headless structure, in which functions of government were conducted by free association.³⁵

Alongside the scattered Tchokwe settlements in and around the Lunda domain, parts of the region were inhabited by neighbouring peoples who were neither Lunda nor Tchokwe, such as the kingdom of Kassanje (1630 to 1911), described as one of the most important African States of the era.³⁶

Kassanje was made up of an amalgamation of peoples who adopted the Imbangala identity.³⁷ The capital of the Kassanje kingdom was in what today is the municipality of Xá-Muteba, in Lunda-Norte. In 1911, the Portuguese decided to conquer Kassanje by force of arms and succeeded in doing so in 1912 - annexing it to their administration in Malanje.³⁸

4. Lunda and Tchokwe: Conquest, Links And Colonial Process

Tchokwe prosperity traditionally depended on their specialized hunting skills, particularly of elephant for the ivory trade. With the ivory trade in decline, they adapted to the growing demand for rubber by expanding deeper into Lunda territory. Yet despite their conquest of territory, the Tchokwe had no single ruling figure to usurp the Lunda ruler and unite the two peoples: “the political organization of the Cokwe remained highly

³⁵ Vansina (1998:1-22), cf. Boeck (1993:95).

³⁶ Vansina (1963:373).

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

decentralized and that allowed European settlement to chip away at their social and political structure”.³⁹

Some historians date the Tchokwe period of domain over Lunda to a ten-year period after which the majority of Tchokwe returned to the semi-nomadic existence that had always characterized their people.⁴⁰ According to Maria da Conceição Neto, “the Cokwe had imposed themselves on the Lunda and tried to encourage intermarriage between the two groups. But some ancestral lines in the region still identify as Lunda to this day”.⁴¹

After the division of Lunda between Portugal, Belgium and the United Kingdom, the capital Musumba passed to the Belgian Congo, under the administration of King Leopold II. Lunda 'royal' lineage thereafter passed down through Congolese citizens. In the post-colonial era, the Congolese citizen Tomás Kabuite Tshombé (a brother of the late former Congolese Prime Minister Moisés Tshombé) became Muatxiânvua. Born in Sandoa, Congo, 200 kilometres from the border with Angola, he took for his royal name that of Kawel II. After university studies in Belgium, he founded a college named after the Lunda capital, *the Institut Supérieur Pédagogique de Musumba*, for the education of any member of the Lunda nation, regardless of whether they lived in Zambia, Congo, or Angola.⁴² During a visit to Angola in 1993, Kawel II referenced the historic multi-territorial nature of the Lunda Empire but also emphasised respect for current political borders.

³⁹ The historian Maria da Conceição Neto took care to produce a summary of her investigations into the Lunda Kingdom and the Tchokwe for the author to facilitate a better understanding of their history.

⁴⁰ Bastin (1982:35).

⁴¹ Neto (1994).

⁴² Arlindo Isabel (1993).” Interview with the Muatxiânvua: King of all the Lundas “. *Jornal de Angola, Suplemento Vida e Cultura*. 28 Nov.

5. The Tchokwe Desire for the Power that was Lunda's

The MPPLT's José Zeca Mutchima (or Zecamutchima) and his erstwhile mentor, Jota Filipe Malakito, say they are directly descended from Tchokwe rulers yet claim a hereditary right to Lunda lands and title.

In 2006, just four years after the official end to the Angolan civil war, the two men formed the CMJSPLT as an *ad hoc* group with Malakito as President and Zeca Mutchima as Secretary-General, in full knowledge that the Angolan Constitution and laws prohibit separatist activities.

They were able to harness widespread discontent over the lack of any peacetime improvement in living conditions to mobilise large numbers of the most disadvantaged people in the region to rise up in protest.⁴³ In May 2009, Malakito was arrested for crimes against state security and charged with sedition. Although held in detention for two years he was released without charge in March 2011, after the Supreme Court ruled that the law under which he was originally charged had since been revoked.⁴⁴

Three weeks later, Malakito was ousted from the CMJSPLT, accused of being a government stooge.⁴⁵ Speaking on the Voice of America radio station, Malakito denounced his former comrades as "a group who seek armed conflict in the Lundas and who are opposed to the policy of seeking solutions by peaceful means".⁴⁶ In the wake of the leadership battle, Malakito's former right-hand man, Zeca Mutchima, relaunched the movement as the MPPLT.

⁴³ See Marques op cit 2005 et al

⁴⁴ *Voz da América* (2011).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Idem* (2011a).

At the time of writing, José Zeca Mutchima was in custody, due to stand trial for sedition over his role in fomenting insurrection in Cafunfo.

6. Summary

The founders of the separatist movements in the Lundas created a false narrative from disparate threads of oral history, legend, myth, and wishful thinking, to delude many desperate and ill-educated people into believing there was a legitimate path to independence and thus control of region's billion-dollar diamond extractive industry to deliver long-awaited prosperity, development, and progress - as though by sheer force of will, they could pressure the Angolan state into ceding half its territory and a vital source of foreign income.

Positioning themselves as natural leaders descended from the hereditary royal families of the region, they persuaded some traditional chiefs that by working together, they could re-create the Lunda Empire. Referencing a 'golden' age of pre-colonial power and influence lent a spurious credibility to the objective of achieving a regional alternative to a national government seen as rapacious and uncaring and which had signally failed to deliver even the most basic infrastructure to the people of the Lundas.

A complex historical process of cohesion and miscegenation in the 20th century, not least due to Angola's war of national liberation in the 1960s and 70s mean that in the 21st century there is no marked difference between Lunda and Tchokwe peoples. This represents the new reality and corresponds to the

government's desired aim of national unity and peaceful coexistence between the peoples of Angola.

However, the existing borders and the territorial integrity of the country are now enshrined in Angola's constitution and laws and there is no legitimate avenue to re-create Lunda as a separate geographical territorial entity, far less a joint Lunda-Tchokwe version embracing territories far beyond the fluid boundaries of the Lunda Empire.

V

The Demonstration Letters

As we have shown, the MPPLT has no legal recognition as an organization in Angola. Nonetheless, on January 6th, 2021, the self-styled 'Cafunfo regional secretariat of the MPPLT' addressed a letter to the Cuango municipal administrator to advise that they intended to hold a “peaceful demonstration” on Saturday January 30th, 2021, "to demand the Angolan government open negotiations towards the establishment of the Lunda-Tchokwe Autonomous State". In the letter the MPPLT introduces itself as "an official entity with *de facto* recognition as detailed in Official Document No. 0257/ GAB. CHEFE CASA CIVIL/PR/038/2018”.

Replying on behalf of the Cuango Municipality on January 14th, the municipal general secretary Alberto Baião specified the reason for denying permission for any demonstration. He cited the January 8th Presidential Decree 10/21 on the COVID-19

Pandemic State of Public Emergency, which “prohibits any gathering of more than 10 people in public spaces for any purpose”. He also pointed out that the official document from 2018 cited by the MPPLT “was simply an acknowledgement of receipt of correspondence to the Office of the President of the Republic and “cannot be construed as *de facto* recognition of the existence of your organization.”

José Zeca Mutchima, calling himself the 'President of the Lunda-Tchokwe Kingdom', had written to the Angolan President in 2018 to announce the MPPLT's plan for a demonstration in June that year to demand the Angolan government enter a dialogue with his movement about “autonomy for the Lunda-Tchokwe Kingdom”.

Far from recognizing any of Zeca Mutchima's extravagant claims, the reply from the Office of the President started by noting that any query regarding public demonstrations should be addressed to the competent authority, in this case the office of the Provincial Governor for their area.

It then went on: "At the same time it is important to point out that your stated motive for this proposed demonstration is contrary to the Constitution of the Republic of Angola (Article 5.6) for Angola is a unitary state whose territory is single, indivisible, inviolable and inalienable”.

Giving his legal opinion, Rui Verde reiterates that the self-styled MPPLT’s imperious demand for recognition was and is baseless. “Under the Angolan Constitution, any movement or act conducive to separatism or the break-up of the national territory, is simply inadmissible." "The organization’s permanent and

ongoing illegality means there is no legal remedy to the lack of official recognition”.

With permission denied for the proposed demonstration in January 2021, local leading members of the MPPLT were notified to attend a meeting with the heads of the Security and Defence Forces in Cafunfo. At that meeting, one traditional chief, the Mwana Ngana Txinjanga announced to those present that he had left the MPPLT “due to anarchy”. The chief revealed that he, along with Zeca Muandjaje in his capacity as regional secretary of the movement, had refused to sign any such letter to the Cuango municipal administration.

The traditional chief later told us: “When the authorities revealed the letter, Zeca stated that his signature had been falsified by his colleagues and that he would submit an official complaint.” He continued: “I myself even refused to sign in as present for the meeting because I was no longer a member of the Movement, nor of the MPLA.”

On that same day, Zeca Muandjaje made a complaint to the SIC (Criminal Investigation Service) against members of his organization for the alleged forgery of his signature. Tragedy then struck the family: Zeca’s son died on the day of the demonstration and barely two months later, on April 14th, Zeca himself died from natural causes.

ANTICIPATORY DETENTIONS

As part of their operational response to the unauthorized demonstration, between January 15th and 22nd the police detained

a total of 27 suspected members of the MPPLT in the municipalities of Cuango and Capenda Camulemba.⁴⁷

Three self-declared members of the MPPLT, Henrique Elinga (aged 58), Paulo Jorge Kulinua (53), and Simão Muqueie (60) were arrested first. They were rapidly brought to trial before the Lunda-Norte provincial court and were found guilty in a summary judgement issued on January 19th.

The court levied no penalty on Simão Muqueie due to his age. Henrique Elinga was sentenced to 30 days in prison and a fine of 40 kwanzas a day. Paulo Kulinua was sentenced to a month in prison and a fine of 100,000 kwanzas. Also hanging over them were potential charges for being part of an “illegal gathering of more than 20” under the Covid-19 State of Disaster.

Paulo Kulinua is described as both the 'National Assistant Secretary for Mobilization and Marketing' for the MPPLT and the Coordinator for the Cuango Traditional Chiefs. He was the man who hand delivered the MPPLT letter about the proposed demonstration to the Municipal Authority.

Five other people, who were detained between January 25th and 28th gave us detailed statements describing the circumstances:

- (i) At approximately 0600 on January 25th, police arrested the brothers André Muzango (aged 62) Joaquim Caputo (57) and Mulengue Alberto (41) along with their friend André Nelito Xava. The four men had been sitting, chatting, beneath a mango tree next to Muzango’s home. Joaquim Caputo told us: “Two agents of the national police and ten

⁴⁷ Cf. Memorandum on the Socio-Economic Situation of Lunda-Norte, from the Lunda-Norte Provincial Government, April 23rd, 2021.

of the Border Police just began beating us, accusing us of being members of the Protectorate Movement".

Taken to the National Police Second Station, "the agents forced us to kneel on stones and began to whip us with a gas cylinder hose, calling us bandits and saying we were ruining the country". Caputo said while they knelt with their hands in the air, agents also whipped the soles of their feet with the hose, and the palms of their hands were beaten with wooden switches.

He said, "We spent the entire day being whipped by Chief Inspector Kizua and a Criminal Investigation (SIC) agent named Beto. André Xava, who has physical deficiencies in both legs, now finds it difficult to walk because of the torture endured that day". The next day [January 26th], the four detainees were transferred to Cuango. They were still in custody there when they learned what had happened on the 30th. Caputo told us: "It was the police who came to our cell to tell us what had happened. They said it was like a movie." On February 3rd, the four detainees were each released to house arrest.

- (ii) SIC agents arrested the Agulha (a Congolese national) at 1600 on January 28th in the Antena neighbourhood, on suspicion of being one of the *kimbandeiros*⁴⁸ preparing the botanicals [herbal potions] for the 'magic' rituals supposed to confer protection on participants in the demonstration.

Several people alleged that Agulha "used his magical

⁴⁸ local term for what used to be called a 'witchdoctor', a traditional healer with expertise in medicinal herbs and traditional animist beliefs. m

powers to disappear, while handcuffed, on the way to the police station”. “He was helped to escape”, countered a police source.

- (iii) The next day (January 29th) five policemen entered the home of 59-year-old Ernesto Noris Caianvua, a police veteran who had served in the National Police 2nd Station in Cafunfo. They found Mr Caianvua sitting in his backyard, next to a palm tree.

His daughter, Rosa Noris Caianuva says she told the police officers that "my father, who had been a colleague of theirs, had for the past two years suffered from mental health issues and for that reason had been confined to his home. One of the officers just punched him straight in the mouth and my father started bleeding."

Ernesto Caianuva himself said the police had accused him of “causing problems on the block”. He says he was “beaten black and blue”. He was detained for four days in Cafunfo, and thereafter transferred to Dundo where he spent a further five days in custody, before being released to house arrest.

“On television they portrayed me as a ‘kimbandeiro’ alongside an assortment of amulets and concoctions which had been confiscated from Agulha’s house. They grabbed me by the seat of my pants to hold me still in front of what they said were magic fetishes, alongside Agulha’s assistant, a fellow Congolese, and another individual who was not known to me”.

A police source linked to the operation told us that Ernesto Noris Caianuva was one of a group who met in Agulha's house in the days before he was picked up.

VI

Security and Defence Forces' Preventative Measures

Ahead of the proposed demonstration, the chief of police had called for reinforcements. The Cafunfo 2nd Police Station had an estimated 60 men. They were augmented by 30 men from the 6th Unit of the Border Guard Police (PGF), and a battalion from the Infantry Brigade of the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA), approximately 350 soldiers stationed in Cafunfo under the command of Lt Col Vanda Mafo.

By January 25th, the combined Security and Defence Forces under the overall command of the Cafunfo police chief assessed they were half-way towards achieving the necessary conditions of operational preparedness to prevent any unauthorized demonstration and disperse the marchers. They assigned men to lookout posts in several strategic locations around the Cafunfo, expecting the marchers to gather in the Elevação neighbourhood on the outskirts of the town.

On January 29th they were further strengthened by the addition of a unit of about 22 men from the 8th Rapid Intervention Police (PIR), sent from their base in Dundo, the seat of the Provincial Government of Lunda-Norte and stationed in reserve at the Customs and Revenue Police station, colloquially known as the ‘Fiscal’. This unit’s job was to act as a reserve for anti-riot dispersal. By the end of that day, the chief was confident they had achieved 100% operational preparedness.

In the course of that day, he had sent out a parade of eight vehicles aimed at deterring would-be protestors. Over loudspeakers, the police warned that there was no authorisation for any demonstration, markets would be closed, and residents should stay home. Several residents added that the agents also said they would not be “responsible for the consequences” if these orders were not obeyed.

Later, members of the combined defence and security forces were deployed around the city - some heading to designation stations for the night. The military were distributed at look-out posts around the so-called “black spots”. In expectation that any protest would aim for the 2nd Station, the Chief had ordered four roadblocks in the adjacent area, including one on Rua das Comandantes - the street where senior officers of the various services were housed.

VII

Preparing for the Demonstration

The transcripts of our interviews with the protagonists expose the flaws in the operational planning. One thing that became clear from the information we gathered was that there was a constant leak of information to the march organizers that revealed to them where the security forces had been deployed, as well as regarding the haphazard distribution of live ammunition to the forces that had been mobilized to prevent the demonstration.

Many of the participants had no idea that their leaders had access to confidential military intelligence, allowing them to believe that their initial success in getting past the security forces was due to the magic rituals they'd undergone in previous days. A significant number of the protestors therefore attributed the eventual bloodbath to a suspected "betrayal" by one of the *'kimbandeiros'* in charge of the magic rituals, a man named Samuquinji.

Several days in advance, more than 200 MPPLT members, classed as the Movement's "frontline" gathered on the banks of the Kandanje River, near Elevação neighbourhood. A peasant named António Alberto Samussuia told us he went there on January 27th though others claimed that less intensive rites began even earlier, on January 25th. For at least three whole days the group fasted on site, while observing a series of rituals involving the consumption and application of 'botanicals' [herbal concoctions prepared for bulletproofing].

Statements by Samussuia detail how these preparations included "ritual bathing with botanicals". He was told anyone who failed to comply with the observance of the "*txijila*" [ritual commandments and taboos] would die.

Mwana Ngana Txinjanga, one of the most prominent traditional chiefs in Cafunfo and a former member of the Protectorate Movement defines *txijila* as a group of commandments to be rigorously observed to preserve the integrity of the magic.

On the night of the third day, after duly bathing and preparing, the frontline members met up with groups from other neighbourhoods and from 5 pm on January 29th they assembled at the back of the Agostinho Neto primary school in Bala-Bala neighbourhood. The starting point for the demonstration was at the front of the school, located 400 metres north from the Customs and Revenue Police Station known as the 'Fiscal' which occupies one corner at the intersection of Rua da Escola (School Street) and the main street, known to locals as "Rua do Boss Kim". The march route would see them turn at the 'Fiscal' and march along Boss Kim St. towards the main police station.

Many of those who took part described the proceedings overnight. As night fell, participants sang and were entertained into the early hours by dancing women, naked but for a *mulamba* [a loincloth]. After some Christian prayers, there was a further “botanical process” to make them immune to injury. The *kimbandeiros* would apply one type of crushed root onto hands while a second type would be smeared onto foreheads. Some also had a red ribbon tied around their heads, over the dusty mark.

The first of these herbal preparations is described as *mucundo*, which supposedly bestows on the recipient an invisible armour impenetrable to bullets. The second is *pemba*, which is supposed to make the recipient fearless and full of courage in the face of danger.

According to some elders, the magic only works if the recipients observe the *txijila* commandments to the letter: these include sexual abstinence, fasting and the avoidance of certain foods such as pork. The elders also said that women, naked except for their *mulamba*, are supposed to form up as the first line of marchers, to serve as the guardians of the secrets of the ‘*txijila*’.

With these preparations complete, MPPLT leaders then spoke to the group via a telephone link for about 30 minutes before saying they had now received information that the “international satellite was already filming the participants” and gave them the order to start the march.

Despite all the prevention measures put in place by the police chief to prevent the demonstration from happening, not one of the reserve forces based overnight at the 'Fiscal' detected the presence

of the singing and dancing group spending the night 400 metres up the road.

People in the front line of the protest were seen to be gripping a selection of rudimentary weapons: cudgels, bows and arrows, machetes and scythes, short knives, and slingshots. Some held walking sticks or branches carved in the shape of firearms. As they stepped out, they emulated military-style movements, zigzagging to right and left.

Numerous witnesses confirmed to us that they personally saw slingshots and sharp-edged objects such as “*muelas, canjavites and catanas*” (knives, scythes, and machetes).

VIII

Routing the Rapid Intervention Force

“At about 4.30 am we received a telephone call from our leadership in Luanda, to advise us that the international satellite was already filming us, and the world would be watching a live feed of our demonstration. Straight afterwards we were to set off,” recounts Xapassa Maluembe.

The demonstrators were prepared and organised but their approach towards the ‘Fiscal’ Police Station came as a shock to the combined and reinforced Security and Defence Forces stationed there overnight as a rear-guard reserve.

Statements collected from several of those serving that day reveal they did not expect the march to start before 7 am, the time stated in the original letter sent to the Cuango municipal administrator and it was not expected to start so close to town, so there was no manned forward post in that area. Only as the march got underway were they made aware of the large crowd around the

school. Thus, the demonstrators, in full song, were able to march almost the entire length of School Street to the ‘Fiscal’ without encountering any opposition.

Some of those who took part that day volunteered to come with our team to re-enact the protest. We were able to establish that the first marchers got within 11 metres of the ‘Fiscal’ when two marked police pick-ups drove around the corner. On board the loaned police vehicles were the 22 members of the Rapid Intervention Force (PIR) who were supposed to be held in reserve. Instead, they found themselves alone at the spearhead of the confrontation with the crowd and were surrounded within seconds of turning the corner.

Alberto Samussuia still believes it was “with magic we managed to stop those two vehicles”. Several others told us that the crowd began to pelt the police vehicles with stones the moment they appeared. As quickly as they could disembark, the riot police responded by firing teargas and rubber bullets over their heads.

One account from the police claimed a demonstrator had approached the vehicles carrying a petrol can, with matches in hand - an allegation categorically denied by all the demonstrators we were able to interview. The police officer alleged that it was because of the person carrying a fuel can that the driver of the first vehicle felt forced to manoeuvre while the PIR unit was still disembarking. The vehicle struck the unit leader, Chief Inspector Alfredo Canando Domingos Hebo, known as "Inspector 23", knocking him to the ground where he was immediately overrun and captured by the leading group of demonstrators who began to attack him with their machetes.

Several participants named João Fernando as the demonstrator who began the attack on Inspector 23. They said he, with others, struck the Chief Inspector's head with machetes and scythes no less than five times and that while adjusting the angle of his machete to deliver another blow, João Fernando managed to injure a fellow demonstrator they named as Julinho Julião.

In addition to the cutting blows to his head, Chief Inspector 23 suffered four stabs to the ribs and two to the buttocks. He was assumed to be dead and stricken, lay abandoned on the dusty road for about an hour. It was perplexing that the PIR (with their well-deserved reputation for efficiency and ferocity) could leave their leader to die in the dirt. This confirmed the conviction of some demonstrators that it must be the result of their 'magic powers'.

In fact, the PIR unit had been assigned to what they thought was the rear guard with orders only to assist with dispersing the marchers. As a PIR source told us: "In this clash, no PIR agent used any lethal weapon but only the crowd dispersal tools such as tear gas and rubber bullets".

Faced with a violent onslaught, the police vehicles and PIR agents pulled back across the junction to the Fire Station (a bare makeshift office), next to the airfield on the opposite side to the 'Fiscal 'station. Jubilant at the sight of this retreat, some demonstrators advanced on the station. In the melee, one of the PIR agents dropped his Galil assault rifle which was picked up by a demonstrator.

Fire Service personnel who witnessed what ensued told us that the demonstrators broke up into three groups - one group continued towards the main street known as Boss Kim Street, a

second group went right up to the entrance of the ‘Fiscal’ Police Station while a third group pursued the PIR agents who were now taking refuge at the Fire Station.

In the confusion, there was a second clash between the demonstrators at the front gate to the ‘Fiscal’ Station and the personnel inside. All our witnesses coincided in saying the retreating PIR agents launched several tear gas grenades towards the demonstrators, to no great effect. One of the firemen, nicknamed Cambalhota (Back Flip), was struggling with demonstrators who had started throwing stones which resulted in the firemen also having to retreat to the rear of their station – none of them having any weapons with which to defend themselves. “We are just firemen, we didn’t even have a fire extinguisher to throw at the demonstrators as they came for us”, one of them told me.

The PIR agents eventually recovered their chief inspector, taking him to a private mine company's medical clinic for emergency surgery. Their role in the day's events ended there and then.

IX

The Death of Borges Mauanda

Borges Carlos Mauanda, aged 32, the son of Carlos Justino Mauanda and Julia Somba from the municipality of Lubalo, was killed as the marchers converged on the 'Fiscal'. From testimony and the re-enactment performed by some of those who had taken part in the protest, we could gauge with reasonable certainty that Borges died just four paces from the guardhouse at the entrance to the police station. There was considerable disagreement over sequence of events and the manner of his death.

Several of the protestors stated that Borges was hit in the back of the head by a gunshot fired from inside the yard of the police station as the demonstrators were marching in front. Some alleged the attack on PIR Chief Inspector 23 was thus in revenge for Borges's death. All those who admitted taking part in the attack on the chief inspector used this as their defence. For them, the need for revenge justified the violence perpetrated by their group.

However, another eyewitness gave a different version of events: “I saw one of the demonstrators trying to get at a lone PIR agent who was separated from his group and fleeing. By mistake his *‘poku ya muela’* (a bladed instrument) hit his colleague in the head instead. The man, identified as Borges Mauanda, was on the attacker’s left and it sliced off the top of his head as though it were the lid of a pot and brain tissue came out.”

One of the firemen said after the protestors had moved on, he witnessed a colleague scooping the dead man's brain tissue into a plastic bag which was added to the garbage piled on the other side of the road from the police station.

We submitted a photograph of Borges’s lifeless body, still with the red ribbon tied around his forehead, to three experts for independent analysis. None of the three medico-legal specialists, one Angolan and two foreign had any connection to each other nor knowledge of the other's response.

One of the international medico-legal experts, a specialist in cases of extrajudicial torture and killing, doubted the wound was caused by a heavy sharp instrument [like a machete], suggesting the possibility that "the victim had been shot at close range in the back of the head with the bullet exiting through the forehead”.

The Angolan specialist indicated that the large avulsive wound in the forehead of the victim, opening in the middle of the forehead, and descending on one side to and beyond the left ear, presenting with flesh already stiffening and with blood crystallizing, “could be the result of something that both cuts and smashes. It doesn’t appear to be from a gunshot - unless that were a high-velocity weapon.”

The other international specialist, a military expert, also surmised from the size of the wound that this could have been a blow from a heavy sharp weapon. “If this were a gunshot, it would have to be a high-velocity weapon, discharged at point blank range, to have such an impact as to remove some of the skin as we can observe from this photo. Normally, a gunshot wound, even that from a sub-machine gun produces a relatively small wound, the size of an exit bullet wound. “

Each of the three warned that a single photograph taken from one angle alone is insufficient to determine the exact cause of a fatal wound.

The victim's father, Carlos Mauanda, initially claimed he was home asleep when his son left the house to join the demonstration. He dismissed the explanation that his son could have been hit by a friend's blade. “The people that were with him told me Borges was hit by a gunshot to the head, next to the ‘Fiscal’ Police Station, as he was trying to get past the police barrier.”

That first statement from Carlos Mauanda was refuted by subsequent testimony and he eventually retracted it.

Dozens of protestors identified Carlos Mauanda as an important person in the MPPLT and one of the organizers and mobilizers of the event. Some of them had spent the night before the demonstration in Mauanda's own back yard.

Angelino Samutondo: "Borges's father was there at the demonstration. He is mistrustful, that is why he has failed to own up to his participation". Xapassa Maluembe: “Borges's father

was there when his son died. It was he who took charge of the gun the PIR agent lost in front of the police station, and he wanted me to hold it and I refused”. Angelino Samutondo added: “Borges’s father said no-one should use the weapon and he wailed “Ay, my son”.

Subsequently, Carlos Mauanda revised his statement. He confirmed he was present both at the demonstration and at the place where his son died. He says he was at the gate of the ‘Fiscal’ Station when a nephew told him that his son had been shot dead just paces behind him. He then said: “We were instructed by the leadership of the (Protectorate) Movement not to offer any further clarification of what had happened”. And that was the last thing he would say.

One of my assistants held a group meeting in Txizanga zone on July 7th to review the data collected. Carlos Mauanda was one of the 10 people present. All of them confirmed, unanimously, that the 'Fiscal' clash was initiated by demonstrators throwing stones at the PIR unit, while another group tried to breach the roadblock.

At that July 7th meeting, they also stuck to a version of events in which “a short, thin agent of the PIR known to local youth” was the one who shot Borges, either from inside the ‘Fiscal’ Police Station (which was both walled and secured by barbed wire) or that the shot was fired outside the station before the agent took refuge inside.

The hypothesis of a gunshot from point-blank range striking Borges is incompatible with the claim of a shot fired from inside the compound. We spoke to two police officers who were inside the 'Fiscal' at the time, and both vehemently denied that any shots

were fired over the entrance gate. Further, there are no street-side windows in the walls of the building.

Angelino Sacapita is one of those who said the culprit was an agent who took refuge inside the station. He said he was standing alongside the victim and like others he hurled stones “at the PIR who shot Borges”.

Two police sources told us all efforts went towards launching tear gas at the entrance to the station where some demonstrators had gathered to try and force their way in. “Nobody left or came into the station during the confusion. There was no way they could.”

All those present at the information session with one of my assistants agreed that they were trying to break down the entrance gate into the ‘Fiscal’, saying “it was to get revenge”. They agreed that they failed due to the intensity of the tear gas launched to repel them.

After the demonstration, a group of seven family members went to the morgue to reclaim the body so they could schedule a funeral. A nephew named Jackson Monteiro told us: “the criminal investigation service said that the body could only be handed over to a member of his direct family, such as his mother or father, and they would have to sign a statement of responsibility. We, as members of the extended family, took with us a photocopy of the father’s ID card as he was not home, but the hospital would not allow us to claim the body.”

Carlos Mauanda told us: “The police were after me. I had to stay hidden for a week. Many others fled into the bush.” “In February [he can’t remember the exact day] I spoke to the municipal public prosecutor. I explained that I wanted to reclaim my son’s body to

bury him." The district attorney didn't know where the body was, but Carlos Mauanda said the authorities had since allowed him to reclaim his son's body to give him a dignified burial.

A hospital source told us all the bodies at the morgue were surrendered to family members with the sole exception of one Congolese citizen who was given an 'administrative funeral' by the Criminal Investigation Service and whose grave has been appropriately marked with his name.

Júlia Somba finds it difficult to speak about her late son. "I want the rights for which he died. We all just want a better life for everyone. There is no way anyone can pay for my son's life, but it would be good to see the people of Cafunfo get better living conditions", she said. Borges Mauanda left behind four children.

X

The Boss Kim Street Clash

The first group of demonstrators that continued past the ‘Fiscal’ Station without stopping was led by a man they called their ‘captain’, Henriques Camuimba. They marched just over a kilometre along the main street, Rua do Boss Kim, in the direction of the 2nd Station, the headquarters of the national police in Cafunfo.

Just a few metres past the old Boss Kim installation, next to the ravine, the Border Guard Police (PGF) detachment had lined up two all-terrain quad bikes to block the road with about 10 men standing behind.

One of the protestors marching in that lead column, César Mussaleno, said the demonstrators heard some gunfire behind them so his column now split into two groups. “I was part of the first group which continued on its way. The second group stopped to confront the police who were firing shots behind us. “

Pedro Miguel Camulembo Bondo, a 45-year-old army veteran from Malanje was a latecomer to the demonstration. “I heard a lot of talk that the demonstration would demonstrate the powers of the Kambuta brothers and the Kamina Sapu Congolese militias.⁴⁹ I’d been curious for a long time to learn more about the Kambuta brothers.”

“I thought that if the demonstration was a good one, I might participate. So, at 5 am I joined in with the lead column just before they reached the old Boss Kim property [about a kilometre away from the ‘Fiscal’ Police Station]. The men at the head of the demonstration were carrying long knives, slingshots, arrows, and wooden clubs carved into the shape of guns and they were singing while making military gestures and manoeuvres, one moment as though they were aiming to shoot, the next as if taking up a defensive position”.

The military veteran said shots fired into the air ahead of the advance group of demonstrators “did not hit anyone at the Boss Kim roadblock. The demonstrators crouched to the ground, picked up handfuls of earth and threw it into the air, singing all the while, and the police who were on the other side of the barrier, ran away.”

Nelito Natxiqueia was one of those frontline protestors in the advance group. He said: “Singing our hymns, we crouched down to throw dirt into the air and that was how we drove away the

⁴⁹ During the struggle for Independence against Portuguese colonialism, there was a myth about a band of guerrillas from the People’s Union of Angola (União dos Povos de Angola – UPA), of small stature (kambutas), who were endowed with magic powers to fly and make themselves invisible.

defence forces." César Mussaleno was another who categorically believes "we broke that roadblock".

Another demonstrator, Kavula Manuel said: "When we heard gunfire next to Boss Kim, the ones who'd had the good 'botanical preparations' began to fly and disappeared right in front of the policemen. I had my 'botanicals', and nothing happened to me as I also flew away." Each of the demonstrators from that advance group with whom we made individual contact confirmed that no-one was hurt at the impromptu PGF barricade near Boss Kim.

One of the PGF guards there (requesting anonymity as he was not authorised by his superiors to speak about the matter) confirmed that some of his colleagues fired into the air a few times to try and deter the marchers from advancing and that PGF agents then retreated: "First, to reduce the risk of any fatality, most of the agents had not received any live ammunition at all. They were just carrying unloaded weapons to try to intimidate the demonstrators. Second, it was clear that shooting into the air was not having any effect on the marchers."

Having thwarted a second attempt to stop them, the leading group marched on for another 400 metres up to a third roadblock, next to the bar named Jango, which backs onto Boss Kim Street.

Within minutes this would be the scene of a bloodbath.

XI

The Attack on Lt Col Vanda Mafo

With volunteers on the ground re-enacting the events of January 30th, we were taken to the area near the Jango where the day's third casualty occurred.

As the PGF agents pulled back from the Boss Kim roadblock, the army battalion commander, Lt Col Vanda Mafo, moved forward on his own to address the marchers and was attacked. Some of the PGF agents immediately sped towards the main police station a few hundred metres up the road to alert colleagues to the fate of the army commander.

One told us: “The Lieutenant Colonel tried to calm the demonstrators”. Another said: “Our orders were not to open fire, so we fell back behind the Lieutenant Colonel”.

Another PGF guard involved in the operation explained to us why the battalion commander kept going forward with his hands in the

air to appeal for calm as the marchers advanced. “The Lieutenant Colonel had been off sick but felt he it was his duty to act. His home was nearby, with his family inside”. Along with other officers, Lt Col Mafo's residence was located on one of the side streets that connect Boss Kim Street and the street leading to the Cafunfo Regional Hospital.

“Some of the retreating PGF guards warned him he should fall back too, but he kept going, repeating that no-one should open fire on the demonstrators. As a result of his orders, the guards continued their retreat, leaving the Lieutenant Colonel standing alone when he was struck in the forehead by a stone from a slingshot and fell unconscious to the ground.”

According to that witness, the exact spot where Lt Col Mafo fell is just outside the home of the State Security and Intelligence delegate to the town. “Very shortly afterwards we realized he was being attacked by some of the demonstrators, one of whom fired a shot into the Rua dos Comandantes [Commanders’ Street]. “

A fellow officer commandeered one of the PGF quad bikes and, backed by a small force of men who had regrouped and re-armed, sped to the rescue of the battalion commander. He told us what he found. “They were about to kill him. They had already struck him three times in the head with a '*poku ya muela*' (a blade) and they had sliced off some of his fingers, mutilating both hands. I tried to find the severed digits on the floor. He was lying on his stomach and, as I lifted him up, I saw smoke coming from his uniform. His attackers had tried to burn him, leaving behind a bottle filled with gasoline. I threw him over my shoulder and took him to the hospital on the quad bike, just about 100 metres away in the next road. “

Another of the army personnel deployed that day told us: “When you are a soldier on active duty it’s kill or be killed. It just depends on who’s quickest to react. We saw that a first chief (Chief Inspector 23) had been attacked and now a second chief (Lt Col Vanda Mafo) as well, so we had to take measures to react”.

With demonstrators already reaching the Jango, the officers who had stepped up to take charge of the combined military and police units now re-grouped their forces in front of the BAI bank, between the Cafunfo Regional Hospital and the Military Police HQ about 100 metres ahead. Between them was the Rua dos Comandantes, a residential side-street with family quarters housing police and military senior officers assigned to the region, is one of the connector streets between the Jango and the hospital.

From individual interviews with a good number of the police, border guards and military on duty that day - many of them since transferred out of the area - it emerged that they discovered after the fact that an inside source had leaked detailed information about the security force deployments to the MPPLT leaders organizing the demonstration. “They knew beforehand that the police were short on ammunition. Only the FAA and a few PGF agents had bullets in their guns.”

However, after the attack on the Lieutenant Colonel, bullets were shared out to all the men who had regrouped at what would be the final roadblock.

XII

The Killing Ground

The intersection where Jango Street connects with Boss Kim Street is only 300 metres from the 2nd Station. Having already forced the retreat of the security forces both at the Fiscal (1500 metres behind) and the PGF roadblock at Boss Kim (400 metres behind) the emboldened demonstrators were now streaming along Boss Kim Street directly towards their goal.⁵⁰

This area, known as the 'Vila', is the old colonial-built town centre of Cafunfo. Boss Kim Street runs parallel to the Cafunfo Regional Hospital Street, both orientated East to West. Two North to South side streets connect them: Rua da Casa Protocolar and Rua dos Comandantes, housing all the senior officer class of both the various police units and the army, along with their families. The Bar Jango backs onto the corner of Boss Kim St. just before the Rua dos Comandantes.

⁵⁰ In the absence of a town hall the 2nd Police Station is seen as the main “government” institution in Cafunfo and is regularly the target of protests.

One of the security forces who was at the final roadblock told us he believes the demonstrators' fearless advance was due "to the intelligence they'd received that most of our weapons weren't loaded." However, the marchers had not foreseen that the FAA infantry soldiers, who had been posted in the strategic outlying areas around the city such as the neighbourhood named Elevação where similar demonstrations had assembled in the past, would redeploy so quickly to the 'Vila'.

As soon as they got word of the brutal attack on their Brigade Commander, all the outlying FAA units were recalled. A police source told us: "Within 30 minutes of the attack on their Lieutenant Colonel, all the FAA soldiers based in Cafunfo came down to help us and resupplied us with ammunition. One group of PGF agents even produced a grenade-launcher, but the commanders quickly took that, and the grenades, away from them. Meanwhile one of the guys was convinced that the demonstrators really were bulletproof and unbeatable, and screamed in fear as the demonstrators came closer to the Rua dos Comandantes, even as the other soldiers opened fire."

USING MAGIC TO TRUMP MAGIC

One member of the combined security and defence forces was observed acting out a 'magic' ritual to counter the demonstrators' belief in their imagined immunity to bullets. We tracked him down and interviewed him.

He said: "We all walk this earth and each of us has our own traditions. I grabbed my rifle and threw it onto the ground,

jumping over it several times. I then sprinkled sand across the gun barrel, spat onto it and said a prayer: ‘If we all come from the earth and to the earth we return, then I will not be defeated here.’”

“I then removed bullets from my weapon and reloaded with a ‘special’ bullet I had prepared according to tradition which I kept in a pocket. In accordance with our traditions, I performed a ‘*lukassa*’, a ritual to destroy invisible armour. After that there were no complications.”

He said that “one demonstrator carrying a gun discharged his weapon three times in front of the home of the PGF commander while others kept their distance. He [the armed demonstrator] then made the mistake of turning around to look at the others to call them forward now that the coast was clear. I shot him in the leg.”

Others in the front line identified the armed demonstrator as a man named Mutunda Catxambi. “When he [Catxambi] began to back off, limping, the other demonstrators realized that there was no more invisible armour, and many started to run away.”

Our source told us: “I had two cartridges. The colleague next to me had no ammunition and was terrified into silence during the whole event.” “I then aimed for the leg of a woman who was carrying on her head the traditional earthenware bowl of peanuts which is supposed to collect any bullets fired at the demonstrators.” The bowl fell and broke and the peanuts scattered across the ground. “With that, the demonstrators lost the remainder of their ‘botanical protection’, he said.

He referred to another superstition: “When your opponent has 'botanical' help, you should not aim for anyone’s head as their invisible armour is strongest there. If that bullet falls inside the earthenware bowl, the weapon firing it is neutralized. That is why I aimed for their legs.”

He also claims to have aimed at a well-known local leader. “We looked each other in the eye, and when I opened fire against him, the old man turned himself into a cat and escaped, opening the way for many other demonstrators to also escape.” He told us he is against violence: “In today’s Angola any 'war' should be a war of words, or ideas. After so many years of warfare, we should not have to relive these situations of bloody conflict and reaching for weapons.”

António Samussuia was one of the demonstrators who reached the Jango Bar with the first group of marchers. He is convinced that, with the sole exception of Borges, all those who died on the day of the demonstration were killed right next to the Jango.

“When I was escaping, I had to jump over four bodies”, he says. “I was with a group of about 20 demonstrators who headed for the ravines.”

Another participant, Pedro Miguel Camulembo, a former member of the armed forces, believes he was still being protected by ‘magic’ during the escape. “We flew away and touched down about 500 metres away from the gunfire, in the ravine. From there we could safely disappear.”

There is video footage, shot on a mobile phone from the first house up from the Jango on the right-hand side of the Rua dos

Comandantes. Several people were wounded outside the third house along, the residence of the PGF commander.

In the footage, dozens of demonstrators are clearly running away as shots are fired. But some regroup and, moving closely together while gripping a Protectorate Movement flag, they try to continue their march along the Rua dos Comandantes. They are met by a volley of shots, turn to run, and two are hit and fall to the ground. The rest of the group then run for their lives.

There is further video evidence, shot by members of the security forces who took part in the operation, showing some of the demonstrators lying where they were shot in front of the PGF commander's residence. Others are dragged there. Some display gunshot wounds. One of the uniformed men present can be heard addressing the wounded: "Son of a bitch, they should end your life here, you dog". Other curses can be heard.

Three uniformed FAA soldiers can be seen in the video. One of them insults a wounded man who is then kicked by the Police Commander who also verbally insults him.

DEAD AND INJURED AT THE HOSPITAL

Who were the victims on January 30th? How many died? How many were injured? After five months of investigation, taking evidence from as many as possible of those who were there in person, we can only present the confirmed cases to date. We hope that with the publication of this report, others may come forward with more information.

We were able to confirm that those who died at the Jango, as well as the wounded who were unable to escape, were transported to the hospital. We cross-checked information from nearby residents, private security guards, hospital sources, members of the Security and Defence Forces and other demonstrators.

The narrative that emerged from these accounts establishes that at about 6 am, the police took three dead bodies and four wounded to the hospital entrance yard and after unloading them, returned minutes later with two more bodies.

A soldier reported that another of those hit by gunfire outside the home of the police commander had died and the same vehicle went back for him. The body of Borges Mauanda, who was killed next to the "Fiscal" police station, was also delivered to the hospital shortly after.

One witness told us: "Forty minutes later a police commander turned up, livid, and began collecting all the mobile phones from the hands of both policemen and soldiers". "The commander blasted the men for having left both the dead and the wounded in the front yard of the hospital instead of taking the dead straight to the mortuary and the wounded to the Emergency Room.

An army medic, identified as Dr. Napoleon, had been summoned to the hospital to tend to the injured battalion commander and found himself subsequently assisting the wounded demonstrators.

A police source denied rumours that a further two bodies were delivered to the hospital at 6 pm. According to the source, who had been stationed there all day, it was only at 9 pm that the police

van returned with the bodies of two more victims for the morgue. Our source said that due to a lack of fuel, the hospital was without power until that time when the power generator was finally started up. That amounts to nine confirmed as dead on arrival and taken to the hospital morgue that day and does not discount that others may have died from their wounds later.

We double checked the official list of the dead with the information supplied to us by family members. So far, our list of fatal casualties totals 13. This is not a definitive list as there is scope for confusion over names and their spelling. We have listed the casualties by first name followed by family name. However, it is plausible that some witnesses or relatives identify people by family name ahead of their given forenames, while others cite only one name or a nickname or mis-spell the name they know. For example, in the cases of Borges Carlos Mauanda and Juca Avelino Muacumbi we were able to note different versions of the names in the official list compared to the names given to us by their families.

We cannot comment on alleged casualties named on social media, nor on the claims of dozens of dead bodies thrown into the River Cuango as we were unable to find any supporting evidence. We are aware, from previous experience, that it is possible to trace corpses in the river.⁵¹

As we strove to identify the dead and wounded, we openly and extensively toured all the neighbourhoods from which most of the demonstrators had come, except for the municipalities of Caungula and Lubalo, where there was no intermediary to guide us.

⁵¹ Marques (2011:99-100).

CONFIRMED DEAD⁵²

Adilson Francisco Dala, aged 26
Alfredo Kavunga, aged 40
Borges Carlos Mauanda, aged 32
David Matondo, aged 47
Dinis Simba (age not given)
Emanuel Zango José Zeca
Juca Avelino Muacumbi, aged 48
Julinho Lázaro (age not given)
Júlio Elias (age not given)
Mingo Muatxite, aged 52
Mukwenda Tomás Luwampishi,
Mutunda Catxambi, aged 36
Suwete [or Suete]

CONFIRMED INJURED

Adriano Txilionga, aged 41
Angelino Mukehe Sebastião, aged 36
António Vitorino, aged 46
Cauinuine Mwatxilungo, aged 47
Castro Caxita, aged 40
David António, aged 44
Dinis Muassamba, aged 55
Eduardo, aged 39
Eduardo Estêvão (age not given)
Eduardo Mwatxinguange, aged 60

⁵² Details, including witness statements, in Appendix

Fernando Rogério, aged 29
Figueiredo Muaba, aged 44
Gomes Yamokuela, aged 44
João Muatxite, aged 48
Joel Yami Kuami, aged 39
Moisés Kavula, aged 22
Muhongo Mwatxivi, aged 45
Silva Caita, aged 52
Simba Domingos, aged 17
Stela Caxala, aged 20
Xacole Cazanguie (age not given)

Child Victim Garcia Benvindo

The nine-year-old son of Benvindo António Kizua and Marcelina André Palanca was injured by a stray bullet fired into the air by a passing soldier.

Garcia Benvindo's elder brother Romeu Benvindo, aged 19, told us what happened. At around 9 am “I was in the back yard serving a breakfast of bread and tea to my younger siblings. There were five of us there. Just as Garcia was pestering me for his tea and I was adding sugar to it, someone hammered on the gate.” From inside the house his mother shouted him to keep the gate locked. “We heard a single shot, and we all ran inside the house and that was when we saw Garcia was bleeding. He'd been hit by a bullet”, he recalls.

As the family left home to carry the child to the hospital, their neighbour told them he had seen the FAA soldier fire a shot at the gate and pointed in the direction he'd gone. There were many

armed soldiers in the streets around the hospital. "The soldiers didn't believe that a child had been hit by a bullet fired by one of their own." One of their officers [not identified] ordered a corporal to come to the house to verify what had happened. "We went with the corporal back to the house and he was able to verify that a bullet had penetrated the iron gate and ricocheted off an empty container, losing some force before it hit Garcia's leg."

The child was in hospital for a week but never had the bullet removed from his leg. The director of the Cafunfo regional hospital told the family the delay was due to waiting for an ambulance to transfer him to a hospital in Malanje province for surgery to remove the bullet. They were also told they had to wait for authorisation for the surgery from local authorities who wanted to come by in person with clothes and toys for the child, who was in the same ward as wounded demonstrators alongside patients suffering from infectious diseases.

MISSING

Pedro Tximona André, aged 33

André Pedro Joaquim, 22

Sebastião Muamueno (no age given)

Simão Pedro (over 40)

André Fernando (over 40)

Lucas André (over 40)

André Pedro Joaquim's father told us that his son, along with a cousin and a neighbour, left their homes in Elevação at about 4 pm on January 29th to meet up with the demonstrators who would spend the night behind the Dr Agostinho Neto School. "None of

the three has returned home. We are afraid to go to the police, or to the hospital, to try and find out what happened to them. Up to now none of the organizers nor anyone else who took part in the demonstration has contacted us to tell us what may have happened to them.”

Simão Pedro’s brother, Lito Simão, told us that his brother and two uncles, all over 40 and from Elevação neighbourhood, had left home three days before the January 30th demonstration to undergo preparations. “They were going into the bush to plan strategy, not to undergo botanical magic,” he said, adding that “they left home without taking a machete, long knife or any other type of weapon, just like [as vulnerable as] babes in the womb”. He said none of the three reappeared after the demonstration and no-one from the MPPLT has been able to tell them anything about what may have happened to their loved ones.

XIII

Witness Statements

1. Xapassa Manuel Maluembe, aged 54, from the municipality of Lubalo, a farmworker resident in the Bala-Bala neighbourhood.

Maluembe says he is a leading member of the MPPLT and was privy to the preparations organized by the movement starting on January 10th.

He says that the magic ritual elements of those preparations, which he refers to as "the botanical element" started on January 17th: "When the authorities started detaining members of the movement, we began the botanical side to prevent more harm and protect our members."

He claims that one of their most influential teachers, a man he names as Samuquinji, sabotaged the whole process. He says: "until January 27th we had the secret botanical protection for the march all secured." He then alleges that Samuquinji "undid the

magic by secretly adding pork to the meal served to the unwitting movement leaders gathered in a back yard near the house of one of the eventual victims, Borges Mauanda. This broke the spell." Pork, '*uhulu*', as Maluembe calll it, puts a [black magic] curse on the [good] magic ritual and the consumption of pork or any of its derivatives is strictly prohibited for anyone planning to undergo the magic treatment.

Maluembe also describes what he calls a second "crime", in that he alleges that some demonstrators may have killed two hens before the demonstration because they were so hungry. Many demonstrators had been required to fast for three days. "They should have avoided killing the hens so that no man would spill blood."

Maluembe says a third violation occurred when some demonstrators attacked the chief inspector in the first confrontation. "For the botanical procedure to be effective, non-violence is recommended", he claims.

He confirms that when the assembled demonstrators were ready to set off, they were informed by the Movement leaders speaking via telephone that "the satellite was already filming us, and we had to maintain unity and keep advancing because the whole world was watching us and was with us in real time." He admits there was no means of filming the demonstration by satellite: "That was a motivational strategy by the Movement leaders by phone."

Xapassa Maluembe is convinced that Borges Mauanda [the son of the MPPLT's regional secretary] was killed by a gunshot fired by a PIR agent. "The man who fired the shot, was inside the

station yard. It hit Borges in the back of the head as he was coming around the corner to the station [entrance]". He confirms that Borges's father was present in the demonstration along with his son, when this happened.

“Borges Mauanda's father was there when his son died and he was also the man who secured the gun, dropped by a PIR agent in front of the station." "He tried to hand it to me", Maluembe says. "I refused it."

He describes the scene at the Boss Kim roadblock, where the PGF blocked the road with two all-terrain quad bikes. “They ordered us to halt but we refused and kept going. The police fired some shots in the air, hitting no-one, and then retreated. At this point Henriques [Camuimba] was at the head of the march," he says.

The MPPLT members who formed up as the front line and who made military-style movements and gestures with sticks and other objects were performing a ritual known as '*muyombo*' says Maluembe and it "has nothing to do with war".

Maluembe says that the march leader or 'captain', Henriques had reached the Jango with the first group of protestors, when word reached him that a demonstrator had been killed in one of the side streets where the Police Commander has his residence. “He left the group to go and see and this left the advance group weakened. When he returned to the front line in the next street over, three of the demonstrators had bullet wounds.”

Maluembe tries to justify the persistence of the group of demonstrators in continuing along the Commanders' Street. “We wanted to reach the hospital and then turn around to go back to

the starting point of the demonstration. If we had achieved that, it would represent a major victory for our movement."

Maluembe credits the 'botanical' protection with allowing more than 13 of the frontline demonstrators to escape unhurt to the water catchment station, where they hid until 2 pm the next day. He confesses he was relieved to have gotten away unhurt, along with the men under his protection. "Henriques stayed to try and protect as many demonstrators as possible and he also got away unhurt, leading a group of dozens of demonstrators to safety."

"I only got a hint of the cost in lives after I got home safely. When we joined the assembled demonstrators, there was no fear of loss of life", he adds.

Maluembe says the "leaders [of the MPPLT] told those taking part in the demonstration that the letter [advising of the planned demonstration] had been accepted by the Office of the President of the Republic. If our leaders had conveyed the true response by the Cuango municipal administration, we would not have taken to the streets."

"We have to decide on the future of the Movement," he says. "I will continue as a member. I think that we should not fight for independence but for social and economic benefits for our people," he concludes.

2. António Alberto Samussuia, aged 47, a peasant from Cafunfo.

Samussuia says his active participation in the MPPLT is due to three factors: First, the widespread belief that the rest of the country enjoys a vast improvement in infrastructure and socio-economic wellbeing, while the North-east, particularly Cafunfo, is left behind. Second, "the government makes promises but it never delivers. All we see here is the advance of the ravines [erosion], the lack of jobs, and misery." Third, that some traditional chiefs, in alliance with the political leaders of the Movement, have helped convince different sectors of the population in Cafunfo to demand autonomy for nearly half of the country, as though this would resolve all those problems.

António Samussuia gave us a vivid account of the three days of preparation ahead of the demonstration. He says the 'elders' (traditional chiefs and MPPLT leaders) must have foreseen there could be deaths in this demonstration as an outcome of the preventative measures put in place by the security forces to stop it from taking place.

It was to evade these efforts that the demonstrators who would be in the front line began gathering on January 25th on the banks of the Rio Kandanje, not far from the Elevação neighbourhood. "We had a [traditional] camp next to the river and that is where we were gathering the traditional forces in preparation". These included three days of strict fasting and ritual bathing "with botanical preparations". "Anyone who did not comply rigorously with the *txijilas* (the rituals) could die."

Under the direct command of Henriques, who was referred to as the 'captain', all those present fasted. On the night of the third day, the ritually- bathed group assembled at the rear of the Dr Agostinho Neto School, close to the 'Fiscal'.

One hour before the march was due to begin, the red ribbons were distributed to selected demonstrators "as marks of bravery and motivation so they would not retreat". "The white powder smeared on the hand and forehead of the chosen few is a '*mucundo*'. It's an individual protection against bullets. The other powder, the '*pemba*', creates fearlessness so you will advance in the face of fire."

Only the demonstrators who had been present for the ritual bathing would receive '*pemba*'. Both '*pemba*' and '*mucundo*' were prepared from the roots of plants that grow along the riverbanks in the locality.

Samussuia had an inventive explanation for the presence of the female dancers "to animate the demonstrators". He said "none of them were women from the population but 'traditional' women [i.e. magical presences] with only a loincloth as clothing. Some take on this traditional spirit guise to come and dance for us. Innocents would be unaware of the presence of these spirit women."

He also believes that magic was behind their success in the confrontation with the PIR forces at the first roadblock. "They had two vehicles to block our passage. But with magic, we managed to put one of them out of action and despite their numbers, the PIR agents had to retreat all the way back to the fire station next to the airstrip."

"We formed up the demonstrators into four columns. Another group joined us at the junction with the entrance to the 'Fiscal' and we continued marching together", he explains.

With pride he describes how his group also 'broke through' the Boss Kim roadblock. He was with the first column to reach the Jango. And he says that, except for Borges Mauanda, the only deaths during the demonstration itself, occurred here. "I jumped over four dead bodies as I got away," says Samussuia, "and reached the ravines with about 20 others."

He attributes the deaths to something that sabotaged the full-strength magic that could have guaranteed success. "Victory would have been guaranteed if we'd had the additional strength of the botanicals from Samuquinji. But he betrayed us and sold our strategy to the other side."

3. Adolfo Xamutela, aged 45, birth registered in Caungula, resident in Elevação neighbourhood.

Xamutela told us he joined the movement because he thought it was led by the '*mwana nganas*' [traditional chiefs], whose orders should be obeyed without question because "that's the law".

In an interview by phone, he described the ritual magic preparations on the banks of the Rio Kandanje, saying, "We had to comply. We were more than 200 camped out there. Some came and went and not everyone was there right up to when we assembled on January 29th." He suggested that perhaps not everyone observed all the '*txijilas*' [the mandatory rules to preserve the magic] to the letter. The absolute taboo, which no one — under any circumstances — should violate, was "sexual abstinence".

He said that the first clash, with the PIR unit, took place before 5 am, around ten metres from the 'Fiscal' Police Station as they marched towards it.

Xamutela was one of those who tried to justify the attack on the chief inspector as retaliation for the death of Borges Mauanda. He believed the chief inspector was dead, until he learned otherwise during our second interview with him by phone. Xamutela also confirmed the exact spot where Borges was killed, just four paces (about a metre) away from the Fiscal Station guardhouse. The team were later able to corroborate this from reconstructions with other participants.

Xamutela says one companion, Julinho Julião, was injured by fellow demonstrator João Fernando as he swung his machete against the head of the PIR mission chief." He caught Julinho, who was just behind him, on the left wrist.

A bit further, according to Xamutela, "João [Fernando], picked up the PIR agent's gun and carried it with him."

He says it was the "frustration caused by the death of Borges [Mauanda]" that led to the consequent attack. "We tried to tear down the police station gate. We wanted to get inside. There were shots fired into the air and they sent a lot of teargas against us. If they had not had that much teargas, we would have taken the station." "Our intention was to kill one of those inside", he says. He adds that it was only because of the teargas that the group of about 50 men desisted and fell back.

Xamutela says he witnessed the gun picked up by João Fernando being passed to 'Mamboji' [Mutunda Catxambi] as they marched

past the religious sect 'Vem Ver' [Come and See], when four PGF agents with their two all-terrain quad bikes tried to block the demonstration route, about 700 metres past the 'Fiscal' [along Boss Kim Street], before withdrawing to a roadblock alongside the Boss Kim premises.

“Having broken through, the spearhead group split into two. I was with the group that attacked the Lieutenant Colonel. He had come to try to calm us, with his hands in the air. We hit him first with a stone launched from a slingshot, and he fell to the ground.” He says: “Given our fury over the deaths around the Jango, we attacked him and captured his sidearm.”

Cross-referencing other accounts from numerous witnesses, all the evidence points to the casualties at the Jango occurring *after* the attack on the military commander.

“When we saw the Lieutenant-Colonel on the ground, we thought he must have died, and we left him there. We began to run. There was something 'traditional' (magical) that protected us as we escaped,” Xamutela believes. He expresses relief that all those in his group who had taken part in the attack on the Lieutenant Colonel had escaped unhurt. Amongst them were Carlitos Sacufa Cajiji and Moisés Catxambi whose statements follow.

4. Carlitos Sacufa Cajiji, aged 54, born in Cuilo, now resident in Pracinha.

When Borges Mauanda died, some demonstrators thought the protest should be abandoned. Cajiji was one of those who did not agree: “I completed my compulsory military service with the 43rd

Infantry Brigade of the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA). We should not be afraid - when one soldier falls, the others carry on the fight." "Our leaders told us that that whosoever dies, dies. Just as in wartime. It was necessary to keep going, and carry on advancing, even in the line of fire."

Cajiji says the violence started with the authorities and the demonstrators were only reacting to that. "There had been some premeditation on the part of the State to commit violence against us. We just responded."

Cajiji said that once the protestors reached the Jango, both the spearhead group and the rest of the demonstrators tried to split up to take different side streets between Boss Kim Street and the Cafunfo Regional Hospital Street.

5. Moisés Catxambi, aged 64, from Caungula, resident in Elevação neighbourhood.

"I saw the PGF officer perform his ritual, then his first shot hit Mamboji [Mutunda Catxambi], and straight after he fired at Zango [Emanuel Zango José Zeca], who was carrying the movement flag into the Commanders' Street. He denies that anybody amongst the demonstrators was carrying fuel to try to burn down a house in that street or for any other purpose. "That's just a lie."

"On all our demonstrations we always carry some weapons, such as machetes, *poku ya muela* and slingshots. One of our number goes ahead with a stone hidden in his hand. That is an order from the traditional chiefs, the *mwana nganas*", Catxambi explains.

For him, “these weapons can be used to defend ourselves in the event of violence.”

His statement continues: “The principal objective of most of the country folk who join the movement is to claim their rights.” As for the Movement's demands for independence or autonomy, he says: “The Mwana Nganas assured us that if we were to gain independence there would be no more suffering for us.” He smiles, “Anything is possible. Maybe we can win our independence.”

He confirms that all the members of his group were former members of the Social Renovation Party, (Partido de Renovação Social, PRS). For nearly 20 years this party which had representatives elected to the National Assembly, advocated for federalism in Angola in a bid to win some autonomy for the Lundas. After the revised Angolan Constitution was approved in 2010, the PRS abandoned its campaign for a federal system, and its demise left a political vacuum in the Lundas, where most of the PRS supporters do not support the ruling MPLA party nor the main opposition party, UNITA.

Catxambi said: “The majority of the members of the Movement used to belong to the PRS. They sold our votes to the MPLA and that was why we all left.” He confirms that every member of his group contributed 1,000 kwanzas a month to the MPPLT without fail.

6. António Paulo, aged 47, from Caungula, resident in Elevação.

“I have nine children who cry for anything to eat for breakfast every day. I joined the march to demonstrate our suffering. Here [in Cafunfo] we don't have running water or electricity and there is no paid work. All the diamond wealth only goes to benefit others.”

He says he is a loyal and obedient follower of the MPPLT. He was working his fields in late January when he heard about the planned demonstration and returned home to take part. He says he avoided any 'botanical preparation' because he has his own faith. He left his home in Elevação at 4.30 am and walked alone to the assembly point next to School 111 (the Dr Agostinho Neto school).

“I joined a front line. We were carrying traditional weapons like the *poku ya muela* and machetes which with "good botanical preparation" can cause damage to the troops. We did not have any AKs (assault weapons) or iron bars.

7. Castro Carlitos, aged 23, from Cafunfo.

“I joined the demonstration around 5 am next to the school. I was in the middle of the group. I did not see what happened around the ‘Fiscal’ Police Station. It was only when we got to Boss Kim that we were confronted with a volley of shots” he explains.

””It was only when we were further ahead, in the area around the Jango, that I saw some of the older men from my neighbourhood being hit by gunfire, one in the hand and one in the leg”, he adds

For Castro Carlitos: “Angola is one country, indivisible. I don't believe in autonomy for the Lundas.” “I took part because I was motivated by the social issues we face here, with unemployment, no water, no electricity, a lack of schools and public health when we know this land produces a huge amount of wealth from diamonds.”

8. João António, aged 38, born in Caungula, resident in Elevação.

He spent the night behind School nº 111 (Dr Agostinho Neto School) where he says there were women dancing throughout the night. During the ritual, in the early hours of the morning, "I got a red ribbon placed around my head without knowing what it meant. I belong to the IMA church (a Pentecostal church based in the USA), so I don't mix religion with 'traditional' ritual."

João António says he marched as far as the Camembe Church, about 300 metres before the Boss Kim roadblock: "there we came up against two PGF (border police) two quad bikes. They fired shots in the air to disperse us because we were fighting for our land."

He says that when he saw the PGF elements retreat and regroup alongside the old Boss Kim building, he left the demonstration. "I spent the next week out on my farm. When the situation calmed down, then I came home."

9. Nelito Paulo Natxiqueia, aged 30, from Cafunfo.

“Ahead of the demonstration, the Movement sent a letter to the Presidency [of the Republic], which authorized the protest. This information came from Fernando Muaco [one of the leading members of the MPPLT in Cafunfo]. Natxiqueia discloses.

He left home around 4 am, along with his neighbours from Antena neighbourhood, Pedrito Vença, Osvaldo Camutele, Joaquinito Muassanza, Ngunga Manucho. “We went to the Evangelical Church of the Angolan Brothers (IEIA) where we joined up with about 80 others heading to the demonstration”.

From there, they proceeded to the Dr Agostinho Neto School, and joined a much bigger group, which had spent the night there. “We started marching about five minutes after 5 am. I checked the time on my phone. We carried on marching, and after the church [on Boss Kim Street] we saw two PGF agents on quad bikes. As we moved forward, they manoeuvred and retreated.”

He went on: “Right next to the ravine area (next to the former Boss Kim building) there was a roadblock manned by different police, soldiers and PGF who started shooting in our direction. Singing as we went, we crouched to the ground, throwing dirt into the air and we drove them back.” “Outside the home of the elder Cambanda, this combined force “killed one of the protestors with a shot to the head, at point-blank range.”

“I screamed 'Don't do that' and we began to back off. The front line of the advance group captured the Lieutenant Colonel who was in command of the soldiers”, Natxiqueia says. “As they [the soldiers] retreated, he fell over and they [the demonstrators] grabbed him and disarmed him. His gun was thrown somewhere nearby”, he adds.

10. Angelino Samutondo, aged 36, from Cuango, lives in Bala-Bala.

He spent the night of January 29th at the rear of the Dr Agostinho Neto School, along with the majority of those who took part in the demonstration. Straight away he says he is not a member of the Movement and explains what motivated him to take part: “My frustration. I am a trained accountant, and I can't find any paid work here in Cafunfo since graduating in 2011. It's almost like you need magic to find a job here.”

He describes what he saw on the march: “As we approached the ‘Fiscal’ we were singing in Tchokwe: 'you can beat us, you can kill us, but the wealth from here belongs to the Tchokwe and we will not stop'.” “Shots were fired and one of these hit Borges [Mauanda]. We carried his body up to the Fiscal, throwing stones at the policemen and soldiers who were moving backwards. They shot tear gas at us.”

Samutondo thinks many young people in Cafunfo support the MPPLT only because they are unemployed and frustrated by the socio-economic conditions. “Here in this part of the country [which is so] rich in diamonds, to be able to eat breakfast, lunch and dinner requires a miracle. There is a lot of frustration.”

He goes on: “The high rate of illiteracy contributes to people being willing to believe in magic powers, such as those of the female dancers in the open spaces where the demonstrators spent the night. As well as women wearing wraps (a length of cloth tied around the body) and headscarves there were four or five just wearing loincloths - a piece of animal skin covering their breasts

and genitals." "They danced the circle dance until 4 am and then we prayed."

Samutondo says that after Christian prayers, the men in charge of the 'botanicals' began to distribute red ribbons and white herbal powder. "They asked each of the participants what their motive was for attending the demonstration and based on the responses, they would place some powder on the hand or head and then they tied the red ribbon around our foreheads."

"That was the moment when the leaders communicated to us by phone that the satellite was filming us, and we needed to start the march." He jokes, "I think that must have been the 'botanical' satellite."

He says the first of the group set off, waving wooden clubs, dancing, making military-style movements first to the left, then to the right. Some of the wooden clubs were shaped like walking sticks, others carved like 'protection weapons' [shaped like AK assault rifles].

"Those of us who did not have any botanical protection stayed at the back." He ends by saying: "I've seen demonstrations in which the police shot tear gas, but nothing (worse) happened. On this occasion, everything went wrong. At the final roadblock the gunfire was like a warzone. We dropped into the ravines, crossed the River Pic, passed by the Mona Cafunfo neighbourhood and continued onto the Alberto neighbourhood where we stayed in hiding until May 5th."

11. Osvaldo Camutele, aged 37; coach at the Domani das Antenas football club.

In his statement he says he left home at 4.30 am and met up with Nelito Natxiqueia and others. “When we got to the assembly point next to the school, all the red ribbons had already been handed out.” He says that because some people had been detained in previous days, “some of us decided to take our machetes with us to the demonstration. I only saw four of us with machetes and we were in the middle of the group.”

At the second roadblock, next to the old Boss Kim building, “the demonstrators managed to rout more than 10 PGF agents who were heavily armed.”

“We then came to the third roadblock next to the Jango, where there were both PGF police and FAA soldiers. It was at this roadblock that the defence forces shot to kill. Most of those who died fell here, while others made it alive to the ravines”, he describes.

"I'd invited my younger brother Henriques to take part in the demonstration. He had refused, saying he wasn't prepared. Lucky for him."

12. Baptista Manuel Mwatxambi, aged 48, from Lubalo

On January 29th a group of eight religious laymen joined the gathering that spent the night on the banks of the Rio Kandanje - about 10 minutes away from School No. 111 [the Dr Agostinho

Neto School] where most of the demonstrators were spending the night.

Mwatxambi told us: “As men of faith, we spent the night praying and singing hymns in praise of God. We saw others performing magic rituals. All of us belonged to the Movement. We had a common objective but each one has his own faith.”

He recalls the telephone call from the Movement leadership at 4.30 am "to communicate that the international satellite had started filming over the gathering place and that the world would be watching our march."

“When we got to the Boss Kim roadblock there had already been shots fired, so I and another nine people decided to step away from the march. We were not hurt. Since then, we have been staying over at the lands we cultivate right up until now.”

Baptista Mwatxambi wants to emphasize that, from the money he earns as a wood carver, he has contributed between 1,000 and 1,500 kwanzas a month to the Movement's coffers. Until April last year he was paying weekly contributions of 500 kwanzas each week to the financier of the Movement's Bala-Bala caucus. “From now on I am just going to provide for my children. Nothing will be going to the Movement," he says.

13. Zeca Samuel, aged 54, from Caungula, resident in Elevação.

Having spent the night before the demonstration on the banks of the Rio Kandanje, at the lowest point of the gathering, Zeca tells

us what he saw. "The ones chosen for the ritual danced (around a log that had been placed there for this purpose) before receiving '*pemba*' for their foreheads and what he calls '*utata*' on their right hands." He argues that it would be difficult to use '*mucundo*' as some of the Movement's followers have alleged because he says '*mucundo*' is used as a curse [evil magic] against adversaries. He is certain that only '*pemba*' was distributed, as a personal protective.

“At about 4.30 am the leaders pointed towards a star in the sky and told us that this was the satellite, that it was already filming us and broadcasting our struggle to the entire world. It was time to begin the march.”

Since the day of the demonstration, out of fear, Zeca Samuel has stayed on his farm, to all intents and purposes in hiding. He believed the chief inspector had died because of the attack carried out by some of those near him on the march. He also linked the death of Borges Mauanda to the attack on the ‘Fiscal’ Station. “We attacked the station out of fury. We were shouting that if they kill one of us, they must kill the others too. We tried to force the station gate open to go inside, but they fired 'toxics' (tear gas) and made us go back.”

Zeca Samuel's group joined up with the advance forces when they got close to the old Boss Kim building and that was where he left the demonstration because of the gunfire coming from the PGF agents who were forming the barrier. “I can't specify exactly how I got out of there, but one day I will explain to you how people can come to fly”, he said.

He too alleges that the injury and loss of life to members of the Movement were due to betrayal: "On January 27th, after some of the rituals, Samuquinji slaughtered a pig to annul the effect of our magic preparations. Many colleagues ate the pork, which violated the '*txijila*' taboo.

Zeca Samuel also admits that for the past two years he has been paying a quota of between 1,000 and 2,000 kwanzas a month to the movement: "They told us that this demonstration would put an end to our suffering, that we would have peace and joy, but we came away with nothing but sadness." "I spent two weeks hiding away on my lands. I only spent five days in Cafunfo since then. I am now living permanently on the land I cultivate."

14. Júlio Satxiamba, aged 47, from Cuango, resident in Cafunfo's 'Vila'

Satxiamba and four friends joined the group gathered on the banks of the Rio Kandanje around 5 pm on January 29th. "We witnessed the rituals practised by the group before the start of the march but due to my (Christian) faith, I did not take part."

He had gone past the 'Fiscal' Police Station with the first column of demonstrators and saw the PGF agents who were trying to block the path of the demonstration about 400 metres from the Boss Kim roadblock, firing shots into the air, not hitting anyone. "We kept going and they retreated behind the barrier."

After they got past this roadblock, his group split into two on their way to the Jango. "One group went forward to attack the Lieutenant Colonel and I followed the one that went directly to

the Jango, with Mutunda at the head. Mutunda was carrying the police weapon (the Galil)."

"I witnessed the policeman performing the ritual to undo the 'botanical magic' that protected the demonstrators, and I saw when he opened fire and hit Mutunda with two shots," says Satxiamba. "Even then we ran together in the direction of the bamboo fence (next to the ravine) but he (Mutunda) fell before we got there."

He also says the demonstrators had no guns themselves but did make use of the Galil assault rifle that had been dropped by a PIR agent and what he thinks was an AK assault rifle (others thought handgun) captured from the Lieutenant Colonel. "When we got caught up in the violence there was no time to think straight," he says.

He got away unhurt from the Jango and says that during his escape he saw only two casualties, one of them being Mutunda Catxambi.

"For the past three years I have been contributing 1,000 kwanzas a month to the Movement, to which I belong. If the situation were to change, we would stop our struggle. If not, we would prefer to die fighting than die from starvation."

15. Tony Camanda, aged 31, from Cafunfo, lives in Antena Neighbourhood

"I got word about the demonstration in favour of independence for the Lundas and I went over and joined in at about 5 am. I

wasn't afraid. I was marching for our land. I wanted our land to be given back to us."

He describes how some of the protestors in the front line called for the demonstration to end when they heard that Borges [Mauanda] had been killed". "The people in charge said 'whoever dies, dies. The objective was to stick with the march until the end. They, mainly Henriques, exhorted us to continue and not look back."

On Boss Kim Street, Tony Camanda found himself in one advance group of about 40-50 people, while dozens of others followed a second group [the group that turned back when they heard gunfire behind].

"After we broke through the Boss Kim roadblock, the Lieutenant Colonel came towards us, hands in the air, imploring us for calm. Our group split into two - one group went forward to attack him. I was with the second group", he says.

At the Jango, they tried to force their way into the Commanders' Street to get to the hospital. "I didn't know that the commanders lived on this road. Those houses used to belong to Endiama (the Angolan state diamond company). "

"I saw one of the demonstrators with a gun in his hand [Mutunda Catxambi] commanding us to move along this road, but I didn't hear him open fire, I didn't see him open fire, in the confusion that followed." He continues: "We managed to edge forward then we could go no further and as we started back the police killed two demonstrators."

“The others tried to advance again while I, and about nine other protestors, rushed to the ravines next to Boss Kim. We got away unhurt”; he concludes.

In his view, the possession and brandishing of weapons by the demonstrators, even the PIR officer's Galil rifle and the Lieutenant Colonel's AK in the Commanders' Street, "was peaceful". “The intention was to give them back, or leave them somewhere safe, as soon as the situation calmed down.”

16. Alberto Isaac Mateus, aged 25 from Cuango, farmworker resident in Elevação

He slept at home before joining the demonstration and took part in the confrontation with the PIR at the ‘Fiscal’ Police Station. “When we arrived at the front of the ‘Fiscal’, we pushed at the gate to go in. They fired shots which made us step back.” He justifies the attempted break-in because of the death of Borges Mauanda. “I saw him go down, just a few, a very few, steps from the station guardhouse. I did not see who fired the shot.”

Mateus says he stayed with the group up to the roadblock on Boss Kim Street. "With the gunfire at that roadblock, I and a few of my friends decided to leave. We headed down the ravine and left town for our lands." Mateus says fearfully: "We were told by the movement that we were not allowed to give out any information about this, far less names. They control many of the families who are out here in the cultivated lands. We can't speak openly about the Movement and what happened on the 30th."

I have spent the past five months on the land, ever since the day of the demonstration. I am with seven other friends, and we are all afraid. Afraid of the Movement, afraid of the police. We can't be with our families."

He says he is in favour of independence for the Lunda regions. "Because we have nothing to do, and nothing to lose." That is why he too was contributing 1,000 kwanzas per month to the MPPLT. "I didn't get anything back from that. Of that I'm certain," he says.

XIV

Arbitrary Acts After the Demonstration

1. Rounding up Diamond Diggers

On January 29th, 59-year-old Silva Cambanje was heading home to Cafunfo from the diamond prospecting area of Tximbulage on the opposite bank of the Cuango river in the municipality of Xá-Muteba. He told us that he was coming to purchase groceries for his group of ten artisanal miners, the other nine remaining in place to carry on the work of diamond prospecting. At 9 am on the morning of January 30th he was arrested at the entrance to his home in the Independente neighbourhood.

They said, "You are Tchokwe, we can't let you go". They took him to an area next to the Unitel store, "where there were dead bodies lying on the ground." He continues: "One of the policemen began to hit me across the head with the barrel of his gun, injuring me. As he was hitting me and threatening to kill me, a soldier intervened and stopped him.

“They then took me to the police station where I was beaten on the back with the side of a machete as we went inside. For the next 30 minutes they continued to beat me one way or another and then stole the 40,000 kwanzas which I had on me to buy groceries... I recognized the man in charge, Kizua, who told them I was a *kimbandeiro*.”

He was held until February 2nd when they transferred him to Dundo where he was detained for a further four days, then released. “I was bleeding heavily so they released me to house arrest on personal recognizance.” Silva Cambanje is now required to report regularly to the police and says he can't understand why he is under suspicion. He is still suffering aches and pains because of the beating he received.

2. Beatings and Threats

On February 3rd, 55-year-old Cristóvão Nguza Mutunda was returning from his fields when he was pulled over by a joint patrol of three soldiers and two PGF guards, near the Mwana Cafunfo neighbourhood. They began hitting him as soon as they started to question him as to why he was walking around with a machete in his hand.

Statements taken from the peasant recount how one of the soldiers, with a bayonet fixed to the barrel of his weapon, unleashed a blow to his head then members of the patrol broke two of his fingers. One of their number took his machete and aimed a blow to his right foot but he stepped back quickly enough that it merely grazed him. A policeman then intervened causing

the patrol to leave him, lying on the ground, bleeding, while threatening that they would shoot him.

Cristóvão Mutunda swears that on the day of the demonstration he wasn't even in Cafunfo as he was out in his fields tending the crop and he says he has no connection to the MPPLT. He went to the main police station to lodge a formal complaint about his treatment to SIC investigators. To his astonishment, the moment he mentioned that he was from the neighbouring municipality of Caungula, he was “thrown out of the police station for ‘belonging to a group of troublemakers’”.

3. Shot for carrying a machete

At 6 am on February 4th, a 35-year-old diamond artisanal miner named Ramiro Alfredo left his home in Ngulué neighbourhood next to the headquarters of the Angolan Army Infantry Brigade to go to work. He was carrying a machete as he routinely did. Without warning, he was suddenly shot in the foot by one of the soldiers. Ramiro Alfredo swears that he has no connection to the MPPLT and did not take part in their demonstration.

4. Sleeping with diamonds in his mouth.

Shortly after 4 am on February 7th, Cassule da Costa was arrested at his home by national police and criminal investigation agents. “They also arrested my 28-year-old son, Zacarias, as well as a tenant and three teenagers who were sleeping there.” “They handcuffed us, beat us and stepped on our heads during the

arrests. At the station we were all badly beaten. They took photographs of us and filmed us.”

He says his son had come back from digging the previous night with three small diamonds. "My son placed the diamonds in his mouth for safe keeping and when the police came for him, he was sleeping and had no time to hide them." He says the police justified their arrests as being part of an operation against members of the MPPLT.

“After they accused me, they freed me and the children without any further explanation, but they really hurt Zacarias and they took his diamonds, saying he was a member of the movement.”

5. Killed holding an onion.

On February 8th, 27-year-old Garcia João Zeca Mutxima from Caungula was shot in the head and killed by an Angolan army infantry soldier. Statements from family members and other eyewitnesses say the victim had just purchased an onion from the little store a mere 35 steps away from his home in Valódia neighbourhood and that there had been no interaction at all with the soldier before he opened fire.

A statement from the FAA Eastern Military Region's 3rd Divisional HQ acknowledged that "Mutxima fell victim to shots fired in a public place by a soldier who has been identified as the result of a criminal investigation and handed over to the SIC unit in Cafunfo." The family has a notification signed by Lt Col Agostinho Máquina showing that on February 11th they were

given a coffin worth 180,000 kwanzas along with 220,000 kwanzas in cash for other [funeral] expenses".

6. Opening Fire from the Back of a Moto-Taxi

Lino António Fernandes, aged 27 from Lubalo, was opening the front gate to his home when he saw two soldiers travelling as pillion passengers aboard motorcycle taxis coming in his direction. "One of the soldiers abruptly opened fire with his AK assault weapon, aiming directly at people as though in a film. I was struck by a bullet that hit my right foot."

XV

The Power of Magic

Magic and the occult, particularly in Africa, are the focus of heated academic debate regarding the Eurocentric framing of these concepts, the ways in which their protagonists manipulate such concepts within modern contexts and whether they should be treated as real or imaginary forces.

Mwana Ngana Txinjanga, one of the main traditional chiefs in Cafunfo, differentiates between magic and witchcraft: magic has benign properties of individual protection and does not involve bloodshed; witchcraft, however, has the power to kill.

In common with many contemporary anthropologists, Henrietta L. Moore and Todd Sanders argue that recourse to the occult and magic does “not represent a return to ‘traditional’ practices nor are they a sign of backwardness or lack of progress.”⁵³ They argue

⁵³ Moore and Sanders (2004:3).

that they are modern manifestations of uncertainty, moral concern, and unequal reward.

This report is not an ethnographic study of the use of magical rituals in Cafunfo as an ideology of resistance against state authority. My citations of academic literature on the subject are intended only to put such practices into context, to show that this is not an isolated instance, but a contemporary tool used for confrontation with the powers-that-be.

Numerous accounts of the use of magic rituals, both before and during the events of January 30th, 2021, suggest that recourse to 'tradition' is a tool used by the MPPLT to mobilize support. It also serves to exercise control over their members and to incite them to commit violence.

Since the events of January 30th, Alberto Isaac Mateus has lived in the bush with several fellow protestors and says they are subjected to a system of constant surveillance and censorship: “We are prohibited by the elders of the Movement from giving information and names. There are many families here in the fields that control us. We cannot talk freely about what happened on the 30th or about the Movement.”

“I've been living in the countryside for five months since the day of the demonstration. I'm with a group of seven friends. We are all afraid of both police and the Movement. We can't be with our families,” he laments.

Reference to "filming by satellite" illustrates the equal status accorded to tradition and modernity [by the MPPLT leaders], alongside the opportunistic use of both. After the administration

of the '*pemba*', or white powder, the distribution of the red ribbons, and the exhortation to Christian prayer, the final order to begin the January 30th march came by telephone. For an unsophisticated and uneducated peasant class, these satellites are a signifier - just as the 'botanicals' are a signifier - of the power wielded by the Movement's leaders.

In the context of this report, the concept of magic and the occult can be summarized as the belief in, and manipulation of, supernatural powers that appeal to “invisible forces to influence events.”⁵⁴

“Magical activities are a way to gain relief and confidence, perhaps ensuring that everything possible has been done to take control, achieve success, and minimize risks,” argues anthropologist Pamela A. Moro.⁵⁵

Consider António Samussuia's description of the camp in which more than 200 protesters gathered for three days on the banks of the River Kandanje for a ritual of bathing with 'magic' herbal potions. This ritual was accompanied by fasting for the whole period and by the observance of *txijila* - rules and taboos - as part of the preparations for the demonstration. The rituals, including the passing of '*pemba*' root powder to members of the "front line", extended into the early morning of January 30th.

As Durkheim suggests, belief is more fundamental than reason because above all it is “an impetus for action.”⁵⁶ Because of what they believed to be the shielding power provided by the magical

⁵⁴ Read more at <https://www.britannica.com/topic/magic-supernatural-phenomenon>

⁵⁵ Moro (2017).

⁵⁶ Durkheim (1965:479).

rituals, the participants in the demonstration felt safe in confronting the combined security and defence forces.

Some cite magic as a source of empowerment for defending themselves against police repression; some as an instrument of aggression against the police and a means to achieve victory. The normal rules of politics demand accountability when the consequences of acts are called into question. One of the benefits of encouraging belief in the occult is that supernatural answers can be adduced to explain outcomes. It removes any need for rational thought amongst the group, while simultaneously endowing them with irrational courage to confront the authority of the State on behalf of a cause which they barely understand.

Thus — based on fallacy and illusion — the MPPLT portrays itself as able to demand the independence of almost half of Angola (not just the Lundas but the provinces of Kuando-Kubango and Moxico as well) and convinces the illiterate and gullible that it has the power to achieve this.

The anthropologist Peter Geschiere has theorized about the political implications of magic in shaping feelings of power and impotence. For Geschiere, “witchcraft offers hidden means to grab power, but at the same time it reflects sharp feelings of impotence; it serves specially to hide the sources of power.”⁵⁷

Recourse to magic ritual allows the MPPLT leaders to consolidate their power among the masses in Cafunfo and ensures continued financial support through the strict enforcement of regular monetary contributions. Belief in the supernatural can also be used by the MPPLT to manipulate and control its

⁵⁷ Geschiere (8-9).

members along with actual physical coercion employed against anyone who dares question the Movement's leaders, as occurred in the case of Nelito Natxiqueia, who was warned that if he continued to testify about the events of January 30th even his father was under threat.

The MPPLT does not (and cannot) offer local communities any relief or hope as a possible interlocutor with the state institutions to address their everyday socio-economic problems. Association with the MPPLT results only in a double blow: first, such communities are excluded from any State benefits; and second, the Movement subjects them to the consequences of being used as its source of funding and as pawns in its stated aim of rebellion against the authority of the state.

As explained in Chapter IV, the MPPLT's existence, as well as its stated political aims, are both politically and legally untenable. Moreover, every time that the MPPLT has organized street protests in previous years, these have had nothing to do with the urgent popular demand for the State to deliver on unemployment, infrastructure such as roadbuilding or environmental support and sustainability, such as preventing soil erosion.

As the MPPLT offers no actual policies to win support, it depends on winning over traditional chiefs to the Movement to lend an aura of ancestral legitimacy to their cause. Thus, paramount chief MwaCapenda Camulemba (also under arrest at the time of writing) was employed to supervise the “traditional magic” practices and to play a key role in mobilizing the population to stand with their traditional chiefs to challenge the existing political order. His capacity to wield such authority allowed

MwaCapenda Camulemba to be revered within the Movement's hierarchy as though he were a "prime minister" for the region.

An investigation by *Maka Angola* into the 2016 witchfinder campaign led by MwaCapenda Camulemba helps us grasp how recourse to tradition and the occult came to be such a political force in Cafunfo.⁵⁸

Hundreds of people flocked to the streets to witness the spectacle. A group of about ten 'witchfinders' accompanied by a video camera operator, a photographer, and other assistants entered the homes where witchcraft was suspected. "The witchfinders performed exaggerated rituals and violently attacked the supposed witchdoctors, who were then displayed naked and paraded through the streets of Cafunfo on motorbikes."

Interestingly, all the '*sobas*' [local chiefs] accused of witchcraft were members of the MPLA, Angola's ruling party. Hence, the anti-witchcraft campaign dealt a severe blow to the legitimacy and authority of those government-supporting '*sobas*', who were also subjected to public acts of violence. The campaign served as a pretext for a 'spontaneous' anti-government demonstration - the first in three years since a previous demonstration in 2013, involving some 15,000 citizens, was put down by the Angolan Armed Forces.

MwaCapenda Camulemba boasted that he personally witnessed the removal of "witchcraft from the houses of *Soba* Muhoxi, *Soba* Malanje and a pastor of the Protestant Church, *Soba* Mwana

⁵⁸ Marques de Morais (2016).

Kiesse. I am keeping their witchcraft, it was for killing people, and they are all MPLA.”⁵⁹

It was a political triumph for the paramount chief who spoke out repeatedly against malign witchcraft and gained further credibility in the minds of superstitious locals by employing *Soba Samalata* (known as the ‘Witchfinder General’) to assist in rooting them out. He repeatedly reminded people that the *sobas* alleged to be practising witchcraft were allied to the MPLA. “Most of the witchdoctors are on the committee, that’s why the MPLA is protesting and why its administrator ordered the campaign to be suspended.”

His words led more than 100 young people to sign a petition threatening to take to the streets if the Cuango municipal administrator maintained the permanent suspension of the campaign against witchcraft, saying “in this municipality [of Cuango], witchcraft kills more than a firearm.”⁶⁰

MwaCapenda Camulemba’s claim that he was rooting out bad magic, when in truth he was pursuing a political vendetta, is reminiscent of a notorious episode during the Angolan civil war. The leader of the US and South African-backed UNITA movement, Jonas Savimbi, deployed terror as a tactic against suspected rivals by ordering the burning alive of women whom he accused of witchcraft at UNITA’s headquarters at Jamba in south-eastern Angola in 1983.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Chiwale (2008:270); Malaquias (2019).

Linda Heywood argues that the ‘witch’ burnings showed “Savimbi’s willingness to incorporate rituals and beliefs from the Ovimbundu past... to legitimise his role as one of the architects of modern Angolan nationalism.”⁶²

In the recent history of Africa there are many examples of the cynical representation of magic and ritual to mobilize resistance. Maia Green describes how, in the 1940s and 1950s, the Kenyan Mau Mau employed oath of allegiance rituals "to land and freedom" to promote unity and prepare the Kikuyu for acts of resistance to British colonialism even though the movement 's primary concern was "with the practical and pragmatic forms of power, rather than the merely symbolic.”⁶³

Frank Schubert, in his study of Museveni’s guerrilla war in Uganda in the 1980s, describes how peasants who joined the struggle placed their faith in magical protection against bullets as a means of overcoming or repressing their fear of dying or being injured in combat.⁶⁴

This concept illustrates why people such as Cauinuine Mwatxilungo and Kavula Manuel claimed that magic enabled them to 'fly away' to escape danger. “When the shots intensified next to Boss Kim, those who had the good ‘botanical’ preparation began to fly and disappear in front of the police. I had my own ‘botanicals’ and nothing happened to me. I also flew.”

In turn, Cauinuine Mwatxilungo is proud of having his own "botanical preparation” and having dispensed with the collective ritual. In his vivid description of what happened, he states how he

⁶² Heywood (1998:166).

⁶³ Green, Maia (1990:76)

⁶⁴ Schubert (2006:108).

managed, with his *liembe* [magic dove] to save two colleagues: “With the *liembe*, I managed to help the two neighbours who were beside me. The three of us flew but, because of the combined weight, we couldn't go very far. We flew to the River Nossa (just over two kilometres away).”

In *Kupilikula*, an ethnographic study of the Mueda region of Mozambique, West recounts the belief that [black magic] sorcerers can conjure helicopters to fly and carry out attacks against their victims while [white magic] healers can conjure 'air mines' to destroy these technologies of the occult world, which the average citizen cannot see.⁶⁵

During the guerrilla war of the 1970s by FRELIMO [the Mozambique Liberation Front] against the Portuguese, the *vamitela* [medicine men] distributed magical substances to the local populations to make them invulnerable to firearms.⁶⁶

In Cafunfo, in addition to his claimed ability to fly, Mwatxilungo demonstrates how such beliefs in magic make it possible to exclude reason when tracing causes and effects. Lévi-Strauss elaborates how magic seeks meanings and answers by fitting events and experiences together, arranging and rearranging them in a deterministic way.⁶⁷

António Samussuia is convinced the march ended in tragedy only because the magic was not powerful enough to guarantee success. “With the ‘botanical’ potency that Samuquinji would have added,

⁶⁵ West (2006:85-6)

⁶⁶ Idem (2006:233).

⁶⁷ Lévi-Strauss (1972:22).

we would have secured victory. But he betrayed us and went to sell our strategy to the other side”.

Mwatxilungo, on the other hand, blames their failure upon the police agent who had also invested himself with magical powers and destroyed the Movement’s ‘botanicals’. “There was a policeman who had his magic. He performed the ritual of tossing the weapon to the ground, bounced it from side to side, spat into the barrel, and passed it between his legs. He managed to undo our ‘botanicals’,” he insists.

Perhaps that member of the Security and Defence Forces made use of knowledge gained during his wartime combat experience to act outside his chain of command orders to perform his own ‘magic’ ritual to achieve the required outcome.

Mwana Ngana Txinjanga recalls his service in the Angolan civil war as commander of the First Company of the 95th Brigade, which operated in the east of the country: “Even in the troops, we performed *txizau* [bathing rituals] and with various *txijila* such as not eating pork, abstinence from sex and not taking, without permission, something that belongs to the population. Whoever disobeyed was the first to die,” he recalls.

“It is just the same in the Lunda-Tchokwé Portuguese Protectorate Movement. When I was a member, we had four or five demonstrations with lots of *txijila*. Compliance was strict and there were no deaths,” he relates.

XVI

Systemic Responsibilities of the Government and MPLA

Any analysis of the situation in the Lundas would be incomplete without a reference to the responsibility borne by the government. In truth, it's the MPLA [the governing party] that must take responsibility for the situation, given that it was and is the only party to have held power since independence from Portugal in 1975. In essence, the question is one of repeated omissions such as the three examples that follow:

1. The Omission of History

For many years MPLA party policy was to control, ignore or manipulate historical narratives to give the ruling party absolute hegemony over the national consciousness. A poor regard for historical accuracy is one of the dominant characteristics of MPLA political theory of that time.

No historian to date has attempted to make sense of diverse or opposing threads of Angolan history to create a fuller picture, as historian Maria da Conceição Neto has noted: "We must acknowledge what is obvious: an absence of syntheses in Angolan history (with the exception of partial syntheses such as those of Jill Dias [regarding the period between 1825 and 1890] and Aida Freudenthal [regarding the period between 1890 and 1930] written more than 20 years ago for the compilation of the *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa (New History of Portuguese Expansion)*".⁶⁸ Work by academics such as David Birmingham, Douglas Wheeler and René Pélissier, offer some insight but their scope is limited.

Recent work by the Portuguese-Angolan historian Alberto Oliveira Pinto, is becoming, by default, a unique source on the history of Angola. However, as Neto points out, "there are serious imbalances in the treatment given to different periods, regions and themes which prevent this work from being fully wide-ranging and exhaustive (...) and [these imbalances] mean that it cannot be taken as a complete summary of contemporary investigative work into Angolan history".⁶⁹

For reasons of propaganda, Angola's political authorities preferred the deterministic narratives of Marxism-Leninism over any other interpretation of history. This omission was later fuelled both by a lack of intellectual curiosity and a lack of understanding of the Angolan peoples in all their diversity, with a view to serving them better.

⁶⁸ Neto (2019:182).

⁶⁹ Ibid.

The main objective of State policy was not to seek the development or wellbeing of all sectors of the population but to seize the country's wealth for a new neo-colonial ruling class. This has changed recently, and we note a greater intellectual effort to produce academic work, as well as a new zeal to learn history, albeit this slight improvement has as yet had little influence on the mindset of politicians and the party faithful.

Years of inattention to historical records is one of the factors behind the confusion of people in the Lundas regarding precolonial cultures, traditions, and rulers. For example, historically there was one chieftain named Mwana Cafunfo, from whom the King of Lunda received tribute. Today that name is given to the principal chief of the area. Cafunfo never had a king or paramount chief, yet the modern Angolan State has chosen to recognize a local chief as queen, further adding to the confusion.

2. The Omission of Attention

The second omission consists of the longstanding disdain and lack of attention shown to the Lunda region. Angola's MPLA government, like the Portuguese colonial regime before it, seemed to regard the Lundas as no more than a source of diamonds, more-or-less ceding control of the region to the [former] state diamond monopoly Diamang and its associates. As Beatriz Serrazina writes, the diamond companies that operated during the colonial epoch represented a form of "cheap imperialism":

“(...) the concession of sovereign powers to privately-owned companies allowed the European nations to avoid the

considerable expense of having to install any administration in their overseas territories. They could delegate the 'dirty work' - the conquest of territory, preventing the incursion of any other potential colonizers, the subjection of the local populations and the construction of basic infrastructure - to entities that were less subject to the vagaries of 'domestic' public opinion, which would otherwise fall on any State institutions.”⁷⁰

This model continued in Angola after Independence: the companies changed, but the process remained essentially the same with one significant difference: the newly independent State gave tacit consent to the abandonment of any social responsibility, particularly when it came to providing any basic infrastructure for locals or creating the conditions for their subsistence. Life became worse.

As a result, the deteriorating conditions in the Lundas became inextricably linked to the way that the diamond companies operated, often with private armies to impose their will. In addition, the violent exploitation of local labour by the (mainly non-national) diamond buyers installed there under the protection of senior government and military figures, created the conditions for a climate of continual violence.

3. The Omission of Education

It is important to acknowledge (and remedy) the lack of any material or human investment in education for the Lundas' region. Some of the worst indices of illiteracy in Angola are to be

⁷⁰ Serrazina (s/d:2).

found in the Lundas, where extreme ignorance coincides with extreme poverty.⁷¹

In effect, here we have a population largely without any formal education, some without even the most basic comprehension, who can be all-too-easily manipulated by the unscrupulous who summon myth or figments of the imagination to mobilize them for their own nefarious purposes.

The Lundas desperately need investment for a wide-ranging programme of education, including involving traditional authorities in a literacy drive to ensure adults can read and write, as well as formal schools for the young to ensure that these extremely vulnerable communities are not held back by a lack of education nor so easily manipulated as in the past.

⁷¹ Ministério da Educação (2014).

XVII

Conclusions and Recommendations

There are some obvious, and undisputed, conclusions to be drawn from the work that my team and I carried out directly in Cafunfo in 2021. Firstly, that there is a fundamental need for two-way channels of communication between the public and the forces of law and order. Both sides have an equal obligation to set aside kneejerk "good against evil" tropes to step up and engage in a respectful exchange of views to find common ground and implement initiatives to improve relations.

Secondly, that while peaceful public protest can be an effective means of expression, nothing good can come from violence. Our country's recent history is evidence aplenty that violence brings no short-term benefit, only injury, death, and destruction. The long civil war entrenched atavistic hatreds still not entirely overcome today but no-one benefits from fomenting insurrection, promoting uncontrolled physical confrontation or attacks against police stations.

The uprising and bloodshed seen in Cafunfo are the inevitable outcome of the cynical exploitation of desperate people mired in conditions of ignorance, misery, negligence and political incompetence and intransigence.

People who positioned themselves as hereditary leaders, descended from royal lineage, created a false narrative to suggest a better life could be gained from agitating for self-government through public protest. They then took advantage of widespread frustration and anger at the miserable conditions to organize unauthorised protest marches that were designed to provoke confrontation. The MPPLT leader, Zeca Mutchima faces charges of sedition on the basis he intended these marches to be confrontational, arranging in advance for rituals and ceremonies aimed at convincing the gullible it would render them immune to harm, advising the protestors to bring tools and weapons for self-defence.

This investigation was able to confirm the casualties to date: in total 13 citizens died, 16 were injured and 6 are still missing. These numbers may yet rise. Demonstrators who came from outlying municipalities, such as Caungula and Lubalo, may have taken their casualties home with them, so a rigorous tallying has proven difficult.

Given the high tensions in Cafunfo, before and since the January 2021 march, the Security and Defence Forces have taken prompt action. Police who staffed the 2nd Station in Cafunfo were transferred to other towns in the province and the FAA's 52nd Infantry Brigade was also redeployed elsewhere. These palliative

measures may help in establishing a more stable and peaceful coexistence between the authorities and the local community.

The fundamental causes behind the violent confrontations have been clearly identified: the structural elements of poverty, obscurantism, and lack of education; negligence and lack of attention from the political authorities and relevant private entities to improve the socio-economic situation in Cafunfo and by extension the Lundas' region; and political manipulation by opposition and separatist politicians.

The area around Cafunfo is caught in a vicious cycle of poverty that is self-reinforcing. There are few (or no) resources available to families, making it impossible for them to break the cycle of poverty.⁷²

It is our recommendation therefore that the Angolan State, in partnership with the mining companies operating in the region and representatives of the local communities, draw up an Integrated Plan for the Development of the Lundas. This plan should be based on three pillars: self-sustaining economic growth, education, and health. This requires a hefty intervention to be financed by the profits from the natural resources found in the region.

⁷² Narayan *et al.* (2018).

Priorities for the Integrated Plan for the Development of the Lundas.

1. Roads

The highest priority should be given to the material rehabilitation and paving of the road connecting Cafunfo and Cuango as adequate transport routes are essential for the survival of rural communities.

2. Ravines

Dealing with soil erosion and the ravines which endanger the lives of the inhabitants is also a high priority for action. There are 17 major ravines in the region and to date neither the national nor provincial authorities have acted to mitigate their devastating environmental effects. There are low-cost solutions available which could provide jobs and be self-sustaining economically.

The former Secretary of State for the Environment, João Serôdio, says: “We should ensure the avoidance of actions that accelerate the ravines”. Serôdio mentions deforestation as a cause, with the ensuing absence of root systems to hold the sandy earth together. He says Angola is a 'world champion' of wildfire, which is destroying the ecosystem at an alarming rate.

The region is also victim to environmental destruction caused by unbridled diamond exploration and mining without any requirement for environmental protection plans to be in place.

“Tree root systems gather particles around themselves like a glue to hold on to the particles of earth. In sandy zones, as in the Cafunfo region, there is no other possible fixative,” says Serôdio. He proposes reforestation with coffee plantation as a practical solution to the issue, alongside the installation of a system for retaining both water and earth. “Robusta coffee plants would be ideal for the ravines”, is his advice. To illustrate the plan, he has photographs of similar soil in Gabela, in the province of Kwanza-Sul, where erosion was fixed by the root systems of coffee plants.

In addition to their unique root system, coffee plants are fast-growing, and Angola's Coffee Institute currently has a surplus of plants. In Serôdio's view, this would be a doubly advantageous solution both to protect the soil and offer a profit-making crop for local communities.

Such crops would also help retain the soil by impeding the flow of water to the ravines. “Water should be diverted through pipes into container ponds on flatter ground, using fluid mechanics to weaken the water flow. It's a simple idea that offers a feasible solution that can be costed in local currency.” Any solution, however, requires political will.

3. Industrialization, Education and Communication

We recommend the establishment of industrial estates as a focus for material construction and development. The mining companies should be required to make good on their promises to fund the infrastructure for local development. At the time of writing there isn't a single community development project underway.

Additionally, mining companies should be required to site their main offices in the areas of operation and to pay the respective taxes in that area. This is a fundamental principle of the 'virtuous circle' of establishing entrepreneurial permanence in an area. Where they extract diamonds locally, they should also hire locally and pay taxes locally, thus contributing to regional development. Foreign investment is welcome provided it promotes self-sustaining growth in the area.

Education is key to the development of society over time and any education-based local development should be developed in accordance with the wishes and needs of the community. One of the fundamental building blocks could be to create a systemic means of ongoing dialogue between the various powerholders in the province - a Sustainable Development Council for the Lundas involving the State and local authorities, with representatives of the diamond companies and any others involved in the industry.

This Council could get all parties involved to agree on the essential basics for progress in the Lundas, such as a profit-sharing scheme so the community can fund basic sanitation, health and education, environmental impact, safety, and public order.

A Sustainable Development Council would not necessarily have executive functions but could act as an advisory board to local government as well as offering a forum for exchanging ideas and opinions, offering a safety valve to release the tensions that currently exist.

To end the ongoing cycles of poverty, violence, and death which have predominated in the Lundas, a new development model for the region needs to be sustainable and prioritize not just job creation but the training of local people to fill those jobs, with provision of adequate levels of health care and education to ensure a far greater involvement of the region's inhabitants in the means of production

4. Giving Cafunfo Municipality Status

Alongside any Integrated Development Plan for the Lundas, Cafunfo should be given its own administrative status. The current absence of any local power structure in Cafunfo is an obstacle to any chance of establishing a channel for communication and problem-solving between the local population and the authorities.

Cafunfo deserves to be elevated to the status of municipality, which is an excellent form of devolved local government provided for in the Angolan Constitution (Articles 5, and 218:1). Without doubt this would be the most efficient way to reduce [or even eliminate] the conflicts between locals and the security forces. Otherwise, it remains stuck in a 'No Man's Land' with no civilian authority but only the police and army maintaining a permanent presence.

Additionally, we recommend that a district attorney be appointed to Cafunfo, to represent the Office of the Attorney-General of the Republic in the locale, coordinate investigations and prosecutions and fulfil the role of keeping the peace in society by allowing justice to be seen to be done.

In conclusion, it is recommended that the legal process be started immediately to elevate Cafunfo to the status of municipality and to endow it with the appropriate legal institutions capable of prompt conflict resolution.

Appendix: Dead, Injured and Missing

1. Mingo Muatxite

52 years old, originally from Lubalo and resident in Elevação neighbourhood, a peasant who had seven children.

Muatxite's death was confirmed by Carlitos Rodrigues (aged 45, also from Lubalo) and his nephew Gonçalves Samuanheque. Carlitos Rodrigues said that Mingo Muatxite died as the three men were fleeing towards the ravine near the old Boss Kim installation. “Mingo took a shot to the right side of his chest and died right there. My nephew and I were holding onto him. He cried out just the once: ‘I’ve been shot’. There was a lot of gunfire, so we had to leave him there. “

Carlitos Rodrigues said the three men were part of a group of 34 people from Elevação neighbourhood who joined the gathering at the rear of the Agostinho Neto School Complex the night before the scheduled demonstration. Before leaving, he said all 34 met

at a house where they underwent a ritual aimed at “giving people courage”. “The traditional leaders there said that the slogan of the day was ‘No dialogue over the land, we fight for it and conquer it’.”

Their group joined others at the back of the school where they spent the night outdoors. There were other groups scattered around various back yards (from later personal observation we noted there were no fences dividing the properties). “There were about 22 women where we were, singing and dancing all night.”

Carlitos Rodrigues, as a frontline member of the movement, had the task of waking up his group at 4 am. As he tells it, the red ribbon was a mark of distinction: “I also had a red ribbon tied around my head, it was to mark out our frontline members.” He adds: “Before we set off, we prayed.”

Rodrigues admits that some of the demonstrators had machetes with them: “We took the *poku ya muela* with us to defend ourselves.” There was singing and those wearing the *muquíxi* [masks] went to the head of the march. He said, “there are various types of *muquíxi*, some for circumcision, some for war with the aim of neutralizing the enemy.” “The *muquíxi* [mask wearers] go in front, armed with machetes, the *poku ya muela* or any other type of knife. Traditionally we carry wooden clubs and the demonstrators dance with them as though they were presenting arms.”

In his statement, Carlitos Rodrigues says that the three friends were in a column that passed by the 'Fiscal' without hindrance. He claimed that "to make the security forces run away, the marchers only had to fall to their knees, grab some sand and throw

it up in the air... this created a kind of whirlwind forcing the police to flee.”.

2. Juca Avelino Muacumbi

Aged 48, from Cuango

Vanusa Baptista said her husband left their home in the Neves Bendinha neighbourhood at 5 am and went on his own to join the demonstration. Hours later, word reached her that he had died. For three days the family searched for his body. Juca Avelino was found dead amid the bamboo plantation planted as a safety barrier at the edge of the ravine alongside Boss Kim Street. The people who found his body told the police who then transported it to the morgue. He had died from a single shot to the chest. The morgue handed the body over to the family straight away and he was buried that same day. He left 8 children. His eldest son, 21-year-old José António, said sorrowfully: “Misery and the ravines are the main problems here. Such problems impel people to protest.”

3. Adilson Francisco Dala

Aged 26, from Caungula.

Nelito Paulo Natxiqueia states that he saw Adilson Dala being shot in the leg by security forces as they fled from the area near the Jango. “We saw an officer tread on Adilson’s face. He shouted out ‘Don’t kill me like an animal’ and one of the policemen answered him ‘you are an animal, and you will die here’. And he did die there.”

4. Mutunda Catxambi

Aged 35, a peasant from Caungula.

Mutunda Catxambi, along with his nephew, 32-year-old César Mussaleno, joined a group of demonstrators from Elevação, at about 7.30 pm on January 29th. They spent the night at the rear of the Dr. Agostinho Neto School. César Mussaleno says they took part in a ritual at about 4 am, when they had the red ribbons tied around their heads "before we began the march".

“As we moved forward, the police fired shots into the air. Some of those around us threw stones at them, and the police withdrew.” He mentions the attack on the PIR operation leader and the death of Borges but does not give details. About 500 metres along Boss Kim Street, César Mussaleno says that some of the police who had scattered during the first clash, regrouped, and began following them, firing shots from behind. “We split up into two groups and one stopped to confront the police who had opened fire behind us. I was in the group that kept going, and next to the old Boss Kim property, we ran into another roadblock, with PGF forces.” He says: "we did the ritual of throwing sand into the air and broke through this roadblock too."

After this roadblock he says "Mutunda received the PIR gun that [João] Fernando had been carrying to attack the police." This was the weapon [a Galil] dropped by a PIR agent as he was running from the first clash towards the [airstrip] fire station.

“Mutunda was hit in the leg. We managed to carry him nearly as far as the hospital, but he ended up dying, right there.” The Cafunfo regional hospital is just over 100 metres from the site of the Jango.

César Mussaleno says he managed to get away without injury. Mutunda left seven children without a father and his family was not able to recover his body and so has not been able to hold a funeral. He says: "the family were too afraid to do so."

5. Alfredo Kavunga, aged 40, a peasant from Caungula

Paula Muaquinza told us that she left home on January 29th to work her fields and when she returned at the end of the day, she learned her husband Alfredo Kavunga had left at 3 pm to join with those planning to demonstrate.

At around 1 am on Sunday January 31st, a child came to Paula's home to pass on the message from her husband's fellow members of the Protectorate Movement that had organized the demonstration.

“The child came to pass on a message that my husband had been shot in the head near the Jango Bar.” Alfredo Kavunga's body was released to the family four days later and they buried him the same day. He left behind six children.

6. David Matondo

Aged 47, from Cafunfo.

Kavunga David told us his brother left his home in Elevação early in the morning to join the demonstration. “He was a member of the Protectorate Movement. All we could find out is that he was shot in the right hip, near the Bank.” Witnesses told Kavunga that David was hit over the head by 'soldiers' at the scene. “The soldiers took him to the hospital, and he died there.” The body

was released to the family, and they buried him. He had six children.

LIST OF FATALITIES

The table below contains the names of all those we were able to confirm.

	Name	Age	Place of Birth	
1	Adilson Francisco Dala#	26	Caungula	Gunshot wound to the leg
2	Alfredo Kavunga#	40	Lubalo	Gunshot wound to the head
3	Borges Carlos Mauanda*#	32	Lubalo	Gunshot or machete wound to the head.
4	David Matondo#	47	Cuango	Gunshot wound, right hip
5	Dinis Simba*			
6	Emanuel Zango José Zeca*	19		Gunshot wound in abdomen
7	Juca Avelino Muacumbi*#	48	Cuango	
8	Julinho Lázaro*			
9	Júlio Elias*			
10	Mingo Muatxite#	52	Lubalo	Gunshot wound to the chest
11	Mukwenda Tomás Luwampishi*			

12	Mutunda Catxambi#	36	Caungula	
13	Suwete [or Sute]*			

* Official list

Our investigation

CONFIRMED AS INJURED

1. **Cauinuine Mwatxilungo**, a Peasant aged 47 from Caungula;
2. **Muhongo Mwatxivi**, aged 45 from Caungula;
3. **Eduardo Mwatxinguange**, aged 60 from Caungula.

All three lived near each other in the Quicango neighbourhood. Mwatxilungo tells us: "I am a member of the Movement, and we are fighting for autonomy." He says he did not bother with any of the magic ritual organized by the MPPLT as he was confident in his own abilities. "I slept in an area on my own and had my own 'botanicals', he said. "When that one demonstrator alone [Borges] was killed, I had already gone past the 'Fiscal'. In accordance with my '*txijila*' [magic ritual], I could not look back and had to keep going forward."

" The second and third groups moved towards the Boss Kim roadblock and there was an intense volley of gunfire from the police there. To protect ourselves from the bullets, we threw sand into the air and kept singing as we advanced. I felt protected by my 'botanicals' and because I was carrying a dove which, according to our tradition, we call the '*liembe*'.

"With the first group, the so-called 'front line', I tried to head into the Commanders' Street opposite to the Jango." This was where

some people died. “There was a policeman who had his own magic. He threw his weapon on the ground, leapt over it from one side to the other, spat into the barrel and passed it between his legs. With that he undid our botanical protection,” says Mwatxilungo.

He shows us a scar next to the left kneecap, which he says was caused by one of the shots fired by that policeman. “When the bullet hit me, I yelled out “Bullet! Who sent you to touch me '*museka ya wakuacha*'?” and thus the bullet just grazed my knee.”

He reveals that a bullet hit Muhongo Mwatxivi in the right buttock and another hit Eduardo Mwatxinguange, in the left calf. “Thanks to the '*liembe*' [*dove*], I managed to help my two neighbours, either side of me, to escape. The three of us flew. But we were too heavy to go very far. We flew up to the Rio Nossa [a distance of about 2 kms].”

He says they remained hidden there until night fell, then walked back to the Mona Cafunfo neighbourhood. “We were too heavy to use the dove, so I had to carry Muhongo on my back for several kilometres.” Early the next morning, the three injured men found a man with a taxi, and he transported them to Caungula where they hid out for the next three months. “Muhongo, who took a bullet to the buttock is still unable to sit and has to stay lying down.”

According to the interviewee, the Movement took regular monetary contributions from the peasants to finance its activities: “I always contributed from the little that I could earn”. “The march was supposed to turn around and end in Elevação, at the '*mizou*' where the '*mwana nganas*' [hereditary chiefs] sit, to receive the report.” In conclusion he says: “It wasn't worth it. We

grieve for the dead and I no longer support the Movement. It will go on with those *'mwana nganas'* but I won't be a part of it."

4. Moisés Kavula, aged 22 from Caungula

Kavula Manuel says he was part of a group of more than 50 demonstrators who came from the Terra Nova neighbourhood to spend the night before the demonstration at the rear of the Dr Agostinho Neto School. His nephew Moisés Kavula was with the group.

"We left the gathering point around 5 am. We found a roadblock formed by two vehicles next to the 'Fiscal' Police Station. I was in the middle of the demonstrators, and I didn't see how our man [Borges] died. But I did see the capture of the PIR chief. There were four PIR agents near the chief inspector who tried to protect him by firing shots in the air, but they had to fall back in the face of the fury of the demonstrators rushing towards them."

He confirms that some of the demonstrators wanted the commander killed. "Others were against it, but he was struck on the head and with machetes." He saw the PIR and Police behind the barrier had retreated next to the firemen (about 100 metres beyond the scene).

Around the Boss Kim, there was some intense gunfire. "Those people who had undergone the proper 'botanical' preparation began to fly over the second roadblock, the one with the PGF," he says. "I flew too."

Kavula Manuel describes how the PGF agents retreated on the run, as the demonstrators with their songs, masks, and ritual paraphernalia, pushed forward. But then they ran up against a superior military detachment outside the Jango, with their own 'botanicals'.

“The ones who had the good 'botanicals' knew how to get out unscathed from the crossfire but my nephew, Moisés Kavula was hit by a bullet that fractured his left femur”, he says.

Next, “his brothers and I picked him up and hid him nearby at the home of a relative of ours. The next day the family came to get him and got him out to the [Democratic Republic of] Congo, smuggling him through the Border Landmark 28 near the Samejano border post.

“This is how we suffered for joining that cause. Whether or not we support a cause for right or wrong, they still kill us. Whether or not we join a demonstration, here they end our lives,” says Kavula Manuel. “We are motivated by misery and suffering. We would support any movement that promises change for the better.” In the aftermath of January 30th, Kavula Manuel spent the next two months hiding in Wabwa neighbourhood.

José Satxulumuca, a 45-year-old peasant from Caungula who also lives in Terra Nova neighbourhood corroborated the account given by Kavula Manuel. “We all left our neighbourhood together and stuck together throughout the demonstration. We only got separated as we were escaping. I fled on foot to Cassule Kwenda, as far as the town of Cuango [more than 50 kms away]”, he says. “I stayed hidden for three months. We only decided to return when we heard that Mr Rafael Marques was in Cafunfo.”

“I did not have any botanical protection. I only believe in God. In our group there were no naked women as some have claimed,” José Satxulumuca clarifies.

He says, “there were about 23 women [at the rear of the school] where we spent the night, but they had orders to return home before the demonstration got underway.”

“We are members of the Protectorate and as members we were mobilized because they told us that this was the best way to claim our rights”, he concludes.

5. António Victorino, a farmworker aged 46 from Caungula

António Victorino told us he left his home in Bala-Bala neighbourhood just before 5 am as it was close to the ‘Fiscal’ Police and he joined the march moments before the first confrontation with the PIR forces. “I heard some shots fired and saw the police immediately retreat.”

Describing the Boss Kim quad bike roadblock, he says: "The police opened fire on the demonstrators, but we kept going against the bullets and they ran away." He kept going with the group up to the Jango. "We started to turn into the Commanders' Street. That is where we came under intense gunfire and some people died." He took a bullet to the back as he ran away: "I was hit in the back as I approached the petrol station [in the next block, beyond the Jango]. I jumped over the drainage ditch and carried on running until I got to the Mbambi canteen [a small

convenience store/bar] and there I hid in a back yard. I stayed in the bamboo from 7 am until 5 pm that evening. Some women came into the yard, saw the trail of blood and alerted the police who found me and took me to the hospital."

"When I was in the hospital a group of three PGF agents came looking for me, wanting to kill me. A soldier from the FAA who was there, defended me. He said he would not allow anyone to take a casualty out of there."

António Victorino stayed in the hospital for two days and was then transferred to Dundo [the regional capital] with the other wounded. In all he was in hospital for a month and a half. Upon discharge. SIC agents took him back as far as Caungula and gave him 15,000 kwanzas in cash so that he could get a taxi home to Cafunfo.

6. Angelino Mukehe Sebastião, a peasant aged 36 from Lubalo.

He was part of the group that spent the night at the rear of the Dr Agostinho Neto School and set off on the march, singing. At the Jango confrontation he was wounded when a bullet passed through just above his right hip. "I spent two days hiding in the ravine next to Boss Kim," he says, having escaped the gunfire by throwing himself down the ravine. This ravine runs parallel to the Boss Kim Street, in part separated by a living fence of bamboo planted some years ago to prevent further erosion. Angelino Sebastião spent several days hiding amongst the vegetation, being helped by nearby residents who searched for survivors in the ravine. He says his wound was treated by an herbalist.

7. Xacole Cazanguie, aged 50.

His neighbour, 55-year-old Ngunza Kulissoho recounts how he arrived at the Jango with Xacole Cazanguie. Both men lived in Elevação neighbourhood. He explains that he was in the frontline group that made a second attempt to get into the Commanders’ Street. He says that when the forces fired the second salvo of shots, they took aim.

“Xacole Cazanguie was hit twice, once in the abdomen and once in the left thigh. We fell back and took refuge in the ravine. Xacole stayed hidden in the same spot for two days, with no help until he was rescued by two soldiers searching the area who discovered him.” Ngunza Kulissoho says the soldiers telephoned Xacole's wife and took the wounded man to his family. “The people on the march trusted in magic. I don't know how. Creating immunity to bullets only happens in legend, not in practice.’

8. João Muatxite, aged 48, from Elevação neighbourhood

A witness named Zeca Samuel reported that João Muatxite was hit in the spine during the retreat from Jango. “Since then, he has been in Sacatsunga neighbourhood, receiving ‘traditional’ treatment.”

LIST OF WOUNDED

	Name	Age	Place of birth	Site of injury
1	Adriano Txilionga	41	Lubalo	right leg

2	Angelino Mukehe Sebastião	36	Lubalo	
3	António Vitorino	46	Caungula	abdomen
4	Cauiuine Mwatxilungo	47	Caungula	left knee
5	Castro Caxita	40	Caungula	left arm
6	Dinis Muassamba	55	Caungula	right wrist
5	Eduardo	39	Caungula	Leg
7	Eduardo Mwatxinguange	60	Caungula	
8	Fernando Rogério	29	Uíge	right hip
9	Gomes Yamokuela	44	Cuílo	spine
10	João Muatxite	48		spine
11	Joel Yami Kuami	39	Lubalo	right arm
12	Moisés Kavula	22	Caungula	left femur
13	Muhongo Mwatxivi	45	Caungula	right buttock
14	Silva Caíta	52	Lunda-Sul	knee
15	Simba Domingos,	17	Caungula	abdomen, left arm
16	Xacole Cazanguie			abdomen and left thigh

Others reported as injured but about whom we were given no other information:

- Stela Caxala, aged 20
- David António, aged 44
- Figueiredo Muaba, aged 44
- Eduardo Estêvão (age not given)

CHILD VICTIM:

Garcia Benvindo aged 9 from Luanda, the son of Benvindo António Kizua and Marcelina André Palanca.

Garcia Benvindo's elder brother Romeu Benvindo, aged 19, told us what happened. At around 9 am “I was in the back yard serving a breakfast of bread and tea to my younger siblings. There were five of us there. Just as Garcia was pestering me for his tea and I was adding sugar to it, someone hammered on the gate.”

According to Romeu Benvindo, from inside the house his mother shouted him to keep the gate locked. “We heard a single shot, and we all ran inside the house and that was when we saw Garcia was bleeding. He was hit by a bullet”, he recalls.

As the family left home to carry the child to the hospital, their neighbour told them he had seen the FAA soldier who fired a shot at the gate and pointed in the direction he'd gone. There were many armed soldiers in the streets around the hospital. "The soldiers didn't believe that a child had been hit by a bullet fired by one of their own." One of their officers [not identified] ordered a corporal to come to the house to verify what had happened. "We went with the corporal back to the house and he was able to verify that a bullet had penetrated the iron gate and ricocheted off an empty container, losing some force before it hit Garcia's leg.”

The child was kept at the hospital for a week before receiving any treatment. The director of the Cafunfo regional hospital told the family the delay was due to waiting for an ambulance to transfer him to a hospital in Malanje province for surgery to remove the bullet. They were also told they had to wait for authorisation for

the surgery from local authorities who would come by with clothes and toys for the child. The infant was in the same ward as wounded demonstrators and patients with potentially contagious infectious diseases.

After his stay in the hospital with only superficial treatment of his wound, Garcia Benvindo was discharged with the bullet still lodged in his leg.

MISSING

Pedro Tximona André, aged 33;

André Pedro Joaquim, 22;

Sebastião Muamueno (no age given)

André Joaquim's father told us that his son, a cousin, and a neighbour were panning for diamonds when they heard about the demonstration. They left their homes in Elevação at about 4 pm on January 29th to meet up with the demonstrators who would spend the night behind the Dr Agostinho Neto School. “None of the three has returned home. We are afraid to go to the police, or to the hospital, to try and find out what happened to them. Up to now none of the organizers nor anyone else who took part in the demonstration has contacted us to tell us what may have happened to them.”

Simão Pedro

André Fernando

Lucas André

Simão Pedro's brother, Lito Simão, told us that his brother and two uncles, all over 40 and from Elevação neighbourhood, had

left home three days before the January 30th demonstration to undergo preparations. “They were going into the bush to plan strategy, not to undergo botanical magic,” he said, adding that “they left home without taking a machete, long knife or any other type of weapon, just like [as vulnerable as] babes in the womb”. He said none of the three reappeared after the demonstration and no-one from the MPPLT has been able to tell them anything about what may have happened to their loved ones.

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