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AFRICAN AGENDA

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Angola—The Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism

Editorial

Let's set the record straight about the state of affairs in Angola. There is no civil war in the People's Republic of Angola. Samora Machel, President of Mozambique, summed it up well when he said, "In Angola two forces are confronting each other—on the one hand imperialism with their allies and puppets and, on the other, the progressive popular forces which support the MPLA. There is nothing else." The invading forces of UNITA and the FNLA are creations of the CIA and the former Portuguese secret police (PIDE) in Angola. These reactionary groups, along with Zaire and South Africa, are puppets in the service of U.S. imperialism and NATO.

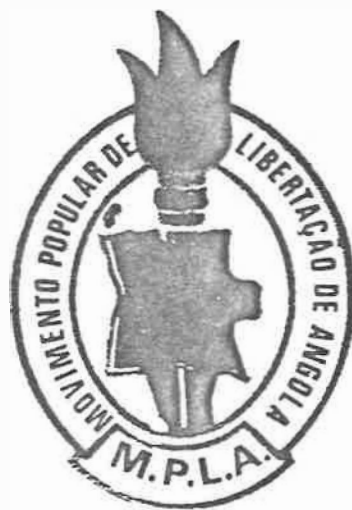
The present imperialist maneuvers to undermine the progressive government of the MPLA for their own economic and military interests are the direct implementation of the Ford-Kissinger-Moynihan Doctrine. The racist and neocolonialist essence of this U.S. policy is:

1. to blame the "Third World" countries for their underdevelopment and poverty rather than the real culprits, the transnational corporations that plunder their resources;
2. to implement the policy of the Guam Doctrine which instigates Angolans fighting Angolans to serve the interests of U.S. imperialism; and
3. to use Black Americans to support and defend the reactionary U.S. foreign policy as a domestic variant of the Guam Doctrine.

While the recent public U.S. position has been an "African solution" to the Angolan conflict, the U.S. ruling class has historically supported Portuguese colonialism and financed the Portuguese colonial wars in Africa. The rape of Angolan natural resources by the U.S. multinational corporations has meant billions of dollars in profit for them and poverty and deprivation for the Angolan people. On the homefront, the Ford-Kissinger-Moynihan doctrine puts forth the racist notion that the source of the inequality

of Black Americans lies in the "Black family structure", rather than in the very nature of the exploitative system of monopoly capitalism.

In 1965, the Guam Doctrine policy in Africa was manifested in the U.S.-backed Mobutu-Tshombe clique that helped to defeat the patriotic forces of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo. More recently, we have witnessed the use of the Guam Doctrine strategy in the U.S. with the upsurge of mass "Tom-ism" to support the U.S. capitalists' racist and reactionary foreign policy. One blatant example is the recruiting of Black American mercenaries by Roy Ennis of CORE to join with the



South Africans and CIA-backed groups to fight against the patriotic forces in Angola. Another glaring example is Pearl Bailey "singing" all the wrong tunes at the United Nations under the direction of the U.S. ruling class. As Moynihan's appointed Special Advisor to the UN, Bailey parroted the U.S. position that the anti-imperialist majority in the UN represents a "tyranny of the majority". Black Americans must expose and isolate this reactionary thrust!

The Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist and African countries have come to the aid of the new Angolan government in this important hour. The socialist camp has consistently aided the Angolan patriots and other peoples struggling for their national liberation. The Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence as pursued by the Soviet Union and Cuba in Angola is consistent with giving support to national liberation movements. In fact, detente, which promotes the relaxation of international tensions, creates a more favorable climate for the development of the national liberations movements.

Maoism's betrayal of the class and national liberation struggles is clearly illustrated in Angola. Maoism's alliance with the right-wing forces of Zaire, South Africa and the United States opposes the right of a country to choose its own path of development. The Peking leadership has aligned themselves with NATO and reactionary forces inside Portugal to undermine the Portuguese revolutionary process. Mao-tse-tung and the Ford-Kissinger clique want to replace the Portuguese colonialists with even more favorable neocolonialist puppets such as Holden Roberto and Jonas Savimbi.

The American people cannot support the bankrupt U.S. policy in Angola. We must demand and work for:

- an end to all covert and overt United States aid given to the FNLA-UNITA-Zaire-South Africa invaders of Angola!
- an end to all U.S. corporate investment in Angola!
- immediate recognition of the People's Republic of Angola by the United States government!
- an end to U.S. support of the Republic of South Africa!
- the expulsion of the South African regime from the United Nations!
- the re-allocation of all U.S. monies used in Angola to provide jobs and social services for people in the United States!

Angola—A Test For Africa

by Ahmed Sekou Toure

(An edited speech by the President of the Republic of Guinea)

The truth of the matter is that Holden Roberto, the leader of the FNLA, was first catapulted into the international political arena, and then subsequently encouraged to become the spokesman of the liberation movement of Angola by the Republic of Guinea—a fact that one generally ignores in Africa and in the world, to justify our voluntary restraint on this page of African decolonization history. It was our government who gave Holden his first diplomatic passport in 1958-59. It was our government who took him under our wing and placed him in the care of our ambassador in New York in 1959 to 1960. Roberto was employed as a regular functionary of the embassy of Guinea at this period, with all the advantages and privileges of our own nationals. It was the government of Guinea also, who guided his first steps. It was the government of Guinea who, in the last analysis, brought this man out of obscurity.

Holden Roberto arrived in Conakry on the eve of our independence. He at that time called himself Gilmore. In January, 1960, he was introduced into the workings of the All African People's Conference under the alias of Roberto Holden, and in the care of the secretary general and chief of the Guinean delegation at this conference. This irrefutable series of historical events from 1958 to the present, gave Holden an entree to the late Patrice Lumumba (April 1960).

It was while Holden Roberto was employed in the Guinean diplomatic service that he was contacted by the secret services of the different imperialist countries, we discovered later. His first job with these agencies was to undermine and to denigrate the abilities of the militants of our movements and to cast aspersions on the ability of Guinea to assume independence at this date. Roberto accomplished this shameful task with all the zeal that characterizes a vulgar mercenary and he has not ceased to be such in the course of the last fifteen years.

In the meantime, the MPLA was created in 1956 as a result of the merging of the party of Unified Struggle of Africans in Angola and other nationalist organizations. In 1960, Agostinho Neto, then honorary president of the MPLA, and several other influential leaders of this movement, were arrested by the Portuguese colonialists. This barbarous repression led to the beginning of armed struggle by the MPLA against Portuguese colonialism, by way of the armed action of February 4, 1961, in Luanda.

Quite conveniently, in light of the above-mentioned developments, the FNLA was formed in Kinshasa in 1962.

The FNLA in turn created the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile on April 5 of this same year. One might add that at its inception, all of FNLA's activities were directed against the forces of the MPLA, struggling against the Portuguese army of occupation in Angola itself. With our support, Holden claimed to represent all of the forces fighting in the interior of Angola. We now are obliged to realize the truth and to recognize the extent to which we had been duped at this point. Thus, as a result of our active intervention, the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile was recognized by the liberation committee of the OAU in July, 1963. While Holden, on the other hand was recognized as the head of state. The government in Kinshasa at the time, with Mobutu at its helm, attempted to circumscribe all MPLA activity throughout the entire length of the adjacent border areas between Zaire and Angola. This constituted a terrible blow to the liberation struggle in Angola.



But the MPLA, which was singlehandedly waging armed struggle in Angola, without the aid of arms, which had come previously from the Zairian frontier, did not stop sending us precise and in-depth information on the traitorous activities of Holden Roberto. These documents and others gave us a more precise idea of the situation and what, in turn, our position should be with regards to Roberto on one hand and complete support for the MPLA on the other, given the fact that its efforts had been recognized by a large number of African governments and the liberation committee of the Organization of African Unity by 1964.

Roberto's treason and his total allegiance to the forces of imperialism having become so obvious, the OAU was prompted to withdraw recognition of Roberto's Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile in 1971.

HOLDEN THE AGENT

The acts persisted, and no one could hide the criminal paths taken by Holden Roberto. Holden has even used the funds sent to the FNLA by the OAU for his own personal ends, as his vast personal wealth, accumulated in Zaire, certainly bears witness to. Presently, Roberto controls a number of pharmacies and commercial houses in Zaire.

Later, the coordinating committee of the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies (MPLA, FRELIMO, and PAIGC) discovered information which indicated the extent of Roberto's scandalous and criminal activities. Activities which pointed out, in no uncertain terms, his betrayal of the Angolan people. We (Toure) continued to refuse to consider such evidence. Thus, we continued to support Roberto. At the same time however, we attempted to verify these allegations on the ground by all the means that were at our disposal. We finally established that the militants of the MPLA alone were engaged in any real struggle against Portuguese troops. This situation was confirmed beyond a doubt by three military commissions of the OAU, which visited the combat zone on the northern frontier of Angola. Official recognition of Holden and the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile, a recognition to which Guinea had contributed so much, and which had been held for better or worse since 1963—was thus rescinded in Zaire in 1971. It had also been established by this time that Roberto maintained a permanent residence in Kinshasa and had never been to the combat zones in Angola himself. Faced with this overwhelming evidence, as well as documents which clearly indicated that Holden Roberto had been hired by the intelligence services of the imperialist powers during his tenure in the Guinean diplomatic service we were, in turn, compelled to change our position also. Taking Roberto's treason and conversely, the steadfast fidelity of the MPLA to the Angolan people as a point of departure, we began to aid and support the MPLA.

Roberto, was and still remains, on the best of terms with Mobutu for reasons that everybody knows, only fought against the militants of the MPLA in this era. Each time the MPLA sent a tactical squad into the interior of Angola to fight against Portuguese troops, FNLA troops, based on the border of Zaire, would massacre them. This is now a well-known fact the world over. That Roberto's troops had, in fact, never engaged the Portuguese colonial army is a fact that can no longer be ignored.

Holden Roberto has, in fact, never been a nationalist fighter, but rather a man possessed by an overwhelming set of ambitions. He wanted to establish himself as the leader of Angola in order

(continued on page 14)

President Neto On The OAU, Soviet Union And Portugal— January, 1976

(Statement made before OAU meeting in January.)



Agostinho Neto, Popular Movement: "No sellout."

"The OAU is unfortunately not yet an organization which can be characterized by its progressive attitude. Nor is it an organization in which unity is preserved by paying whatever sacrifices are necessary. So this is why we are currently witnessing this lamentable spectacle, in which the majority of the OAU members do not condemn foreign aggression against Angola emanating from both South Africa as well as Zaire. It is even difficult to get them to admit that the struggle of the Angolan people today is one seeking independence and complete liberation, that it is not in the least directed against our compatriots. There is no question here, as is often claimed outside, of a civil war, but rather one of a war of resistance to imperialist aggression in which our country is the victim. Moreover, this aggression has been carefully prepared by the Portuguese colonialists, who have simply stood by and watched the invasion from Zaire, who have entered into agreements with South Africa, and then have stood by and watched as the South Africans invaded. And all of this has taken place before the date of independence.

"The mounting of this aggression has been in service to the interests of the imperialist circles and of Portuguese fascists today represented by several of the men in power in Portugal. We are convinced that, had Portugal acted differently, our country would not be today a victim of aggression.

"Returning to Africa, I must say we have no illusions as to what will happen at the next OAU summit. It appears quite improbable to me that we will be able to take any decisions there as to the condemnation of South Africa and Zaire. Instead we will witness a dispute of indeter-

minable consequences, because of the ambiguous position of certain countries within the Organization.

"However, the fact that a great number of African countries do not condemn the invasion will not stop our people from resisting, from continuing our national liberation struggle—our second liberation struggle—nor will it stop our people from understanding that we are faced with foreign aggression."

On the PRA's Foreign Policy and Relationship to the Soviet Union:

"From the beginning of our movement—which today directs the People's Republic of Angola—our international policy has been one of non-alignment, because we want to be ourselves, to be independent, to follow a policy which corresponds effectively to the will of the Angolan people without having to "bow to" this or that other country having this or that policy.

"We are accused today of having appealed to the Soviet Union for the arms which we need. We are accused of dependence on a certain bloc. These are lies. We have received since the beginning of our struggle aid from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries without being obliged to follow this or that policy. The fundamental nature of our international policy—which is one of non-alignment—springs simply and only from the real interests of our people. We are not, therefore, as people say, a satellite of the Soviet Union nor are we against any other powers. Quite simply, we are against imperialism and against all those who represent imperialism. On the other hand, we are for all those who represent progress. We are non-aligned."

On Relations with Portugal and their Effects on the Angolan Economy:

"Our relations with Portugal are and will continue to be difficult because, as I have already said, Portugal is a power which has not honestly decolonized Angola.

"Portugal has always tried to thwart the movement for liberty and independence of the Angolan people. It has come up with several plots attempting to prevent us from being truly independent, from the time of the accords of Sal Island—where Spínola, Mobutu and others decided to partition Angola—up to and including the Zairean and South African invasion. All this has been done with the full knowledge of the current rulers in Portugal and we won't easily forget it.

"The economic dispute with Portugal will certainly be discussed, although the solution will take time, because the current state of our relations certainly pres-

ents difficulties and problems that will not be easily overcome. Moreover, from an economic point of view—even though Portugal has debts to Angola for which we will firmly demand payment—we must, for the present time, depend above all on our own resources. This is all the more important because Portugal, because of its economic and political situation, will not likely be able to honor these debts in the immediate or near future.

"This said, I must stress that we have always been the friends of the Portuguese people, that we have always supported the progressive circles and the working class in Portugal, that, at this very moment, we are in solidarity with all those who are in prison for having tried to defend democracy in Portugal and that we hope the government in Lisbon will free them as soon as possible so that Portuguese democracy will not betray the hopes it has inspired the world over."

43 Countries Recognize The PRA

As of this writing the following countries have recognized the People's Republic of Angola: Algeria, Benin, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Cape Verde, Chad, Congo-Brazzaville, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Republic of Yemen, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Iraq, Jamaica, Libya, Malagasy, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mali, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nigeria, North Korea, North Vietnam, Poland, Rumania, Sao Tome and Principe, Somalia, South Vietnam, Sudan, Syria, Sweden, Tanzania, USSR, Yugoslavia and Ethiopia.



The U.S. And Its Stooges

The United States imperialists' military involvement in Angola is consistent with U.S. policy in southern Africa in general. Ever since the Nixon Administration, the U.S. government decided to step up its covert support of the South African racist regime and the former fascist Portuguese government's colonialist policy in southern Africa. In general, the U.S. policy has been to protect and strengthen the fascist Republic of South Africa (RSA) as its main bridgehead into the rest of Africa, while at the same time to pressure other states (mainly in southern Africa) to cooperate covertly with the RSA.

To maintain the profits the U.S. created the Southern African Common Market, which included Botswana, Namibia, Zaire, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Malawi, under the direction of the RSA. It was a reality until the overthrow of the Caetano government in Portugal in April of 1974. Zaire was the northernmost fringe of the Common Market with Zaire and Zambia being major recipients of United States "aid" who cooperated with the South African government. U.S. monopolies had hoped to fully exploit southern Africa's resources through this Common Market. Over two billion dollars was invested in the RSA alone, and another billion dollars was invested in the rest of southern Africa, mainly in Zambia, Zaire and Angola. Eighty percent of all U.S. investments in Africa are in southern Africa. In order to buttress South Africa as the main pillar of U.S. imperialism in southern Africa, NATO included South Africa in its Southern Atlantic Flank. This was clearly outlined in the Ottawa Declaration of the NATO Ministerial Council meeting of June 1974.

U.S. investments increased in South Africa from 1971-1974 and almost doubled the total investment of the previous ten-year period. The United States and the RSA launched a worldwide campaign to hoodwink observers into believing that South Africa was changing its apartheid policy. This propaganda campaign has been called "bridgebuilding", "dialogue", and more recently "detente," racist-style. The U.S. pursued this deceptive policy as outlined in the Kissinger 1969 National Security Council study which called for increased support of the RSA.

In order to further protect its interests in southern Africa, the U.S. government started to fully support the Portuguese wars in Africa by financing roughly 80% of the expenses through the Azores Agreement of December 1971. U.S. military personnel was provided to the Portuguese government for their campaigns in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique. The Azores Agreement was the key to total U.S. involvement into the Portuguese wars against the patriotic liberation forces in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique; namely the MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO respectively. Ne-



vertheless, in 1973-74, the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies scored victory after victory. In South Africa, resistance was stepped up by the African National Congress (ANC) and other progressive forces against the fascists. In Namibia, the territory illegally held by the RSA, the liberation forces of the South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO) also scored military victories against South African troops, especially in northern Namibia. Another serious blow to the imperialists' plan was the April 25, 1974 overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship in Portugal due to the progression of the liberation movements against the Portuguese troops in the colonies, and the organized action of the progressive forces in Portugal led by the Portuguese Communist Party.

Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique were formally granted independence from Portugal on October 31, 1974 and June 25, 1975 respectively; the Portuguese troops pulled out. In hindsight, it must be made clear that independence was not given to Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique by the Portuguese, but was taken by the liberation movements there. Portugal had been decisively defeated militarily and politically in Africa.

CHANGE IN STRATEGY

These developments in Portugal and southern Africa necessitated a change in the U.S. imperialists' strategy in southern Africa. This change in strategy is most clearly seen in Angola, the last of the Portuguese colonies to gain independence. A progressive government in Angola would directly threaten the U.S. imperialists' neocolonial government of General Mobutu in Zaire. Mobutu relies on

Angola for food and for a cheap source of labor from the Bakongo ethnic group in the north of Angola. Zaire also relies on Angola as an outlet for its copper to the sea via the Benguela railroad. Under the former Portuguese colonial administration in Angola and with the aid of his brother-in-law Holden Roberto (who heads the CIA-created FNLA), General Mobutu was able to bring northern Angolans to Zaire under a contract labor agreement with Portugal. It is a well known fact that Gen. Mobutu, a reactionary nationalist, holds his office because of the backing of the U.S. and the CIA. Outside of South Africa the U.S. has its largest CIA base in central and southern Africa located in Kinshasa, Zaire. A MPLA-controlled state of Angola would threaten to abort Mobutu's plans for annexing northern Angola (a long held imperialist plan), and also set the stage for opposition to Mobutu within Zaire. The internal opposition to Mobutu would come from Angolans in Zaire who have been forced to work there. A defeat for Mobutu's troops in Angola, the henchmen for U.S. imperialism in central Africa, would be a direct blow against U.S. subversive designs in Africa.

More importantly, Angolan independence under the leadership of the MPLA poses a threat to South Africa's illegal hold on Namibia where there is an active resistance movement being waged against the South African government led by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). A progressive government on the border of Namibia would provide a sanctuary for SWAPO liberation fighters and add a further impetus to the anti-apartheid struggle inside South Africa. The RSA government

has already taken steps to increase its fascist repression against the ANC and other progressive forces. The SWAPO and MPLA forces have been working together in a military alliance since the early 1970's against the South African troops in southern Angola around the Cunene Dam area. The SWAPO-MPLA alliance and the involvement of Namibians in the current fighting is a significant thrust toward extending the war to South Africa where it would certainly be joined by the Black South African majority. Demonstrations were held in South Africa in support of FRELIMO's independence in Mozambique even though the South African government reacted quickly to suppress them. It is significant that the MPLA is the first African army that has engaged South African troops in full strength, and is directly defeating this foreign aggressor.

MONOPOLY PROTECTION

The South African invasion of Angola at the instruction of the U.S. is also done to protect the foreign monopolies in Angola and in South Africa. The U.S. has over 2 billion dollars invested in South Africa and some 300 million dollars in Angola. Most of this is held by Gulf Oil Company in Cabinda. Cabinda, the northern enclave of Angola, has proven to be one of the largest oil fields in the world. The 6,000,000 annual tons of oil exported from Angola was, until Gulf stopped its payments to the Angolan government, a major form of imperialist exploitation. The other area of foreign control was the diamond mines which exported 3,000,000 carats annually under the control of the Diamang Co. whose stockholders include the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, the U.S. Morgan banking house and the Belgian financial monopoly Societe Generale de Belgique. Also the iron mining (7,000,000 tons yearly) is controlled by the West German Krupp group and the British and American Companhia Mineira do Lobito. This collective exploitation of Angola makes Angola a valuable prize for the imperialists. The South African troops have invaded Angola to protect this collective interest.

Because of these reasons, the question of preventing a progressive government in Angola is now a top priority for the U.S. imperialists. At first, U.S. policy relied heavily on its CIA-created Angolan organizations to prevent the MPLA struggle against Portuguese colonialism. This activity started in the early 1960's (with the help of the Portuguese secret Police (PIDE) and the South African Secret Service (BOSS) by creating the FNLA and putting Holden Roberto on the CIA pay-roll. UNITA was later created in 1966 under the leadership of Jonas Savimba. These CIA groups, which were never based in Angola, had the main functions of disrupting and attacking the MPLA inside and outside of Angola and collecting

information and spreading rumors about the MPLA. As henchmen of the U.S. imperialists, they were given the task of taking control of the MPLA and turning the country over to foreign imperialism. Because of their failure to stop the MPLA, these stooges of reaction formed an open fascist alliance with South Africa, Zaire, China, Rhodesia, the U.S. and other foreign mercenaries and directly invaded the People's Republic of Angola in the early part of 1975.

LOSING STOOGES

The U.S. capitalists had begun to change their tactics in late 1974 and early 1975 since they realized that their stooges were seriously losing. Instead of the estimated 20 million dollars poured into Zaire to support the FNLA and UNITA in the 1960's, the U.S. significantly increased their funds to these organizations and to supply them with military equipment. 25 million dollars was given out during most of 1975 by the CIA to these groups, and another 25-30 million was given in the last three months despite the U.S. Senate vote against U.S. aid to these groups. The U.S. organized a mercenary brigade of U.S.-based Cubans, South Vietnamese and others in the U.S. to support the FNLA and UNITA and supplied them with arms, planes and other equipment. Another U.S. Bay of Pigs was being planned. With this more direct U.S. support, the plan was to divide Angola up into three sections with the northern section going to the FNLA. Northern Angola contains the large coffee and tobacco plantations and the vast oil and diamond resources. This section was to be annexed by Zaire. The southern section with its iron ore and other minerals was to be under UNITA's control initially and finally to be controlled by South Africa.

The middle section was to be left for the MPLA. This elaborate plan was prevented by the MPLA victories scored over the FNLA-UNITA forces.

The second strategy of the U.S. imperialists was to directly invade Angola with the use of South African and Zairian troops and to capture the capital of Angola, Luanda, before Independence Day, November 11, 1975. Even though the foreign invasion met with some success, the MPLA, with the aid of the African and of the aggressors. Today the MPLA troops, with the assistance of mainly Cuba and the Soviet Union, have pushed the invaders out of the northern section of Angola and are scoring victories in the south.

Recent events have shown the U.S. imperialists changing their tactics by reviving a proposed "solution" that they have used in the past. The call for an "African solution" to the situation in Angola is now the public position of the U.S. At the same time, the U.S. imperialists continue to support the foreign aggression. The U.S. "solution" calls for the creation of a coalition government of the MPLA, FNLA and UNITA. But events in Angola are different since Nov. 11, 1975. There now is an independent state in Angola which has been invaded and which represents the true interests of the Angolan people.

The failure of the foreign invaders can only mean that the U.S. has been forced to take a bolder step. The American people must not let this happen. Vietnam proved the uselessness of supporting reaction in Vietnam. No U.S. troops will stop the People's Republic of Angola from exercising their full freedom. The U.S. is in a desperate position in Angola. We must now stop the U.S. here at home from full intervention in Angola.



The MPLA— A History Of Struggle

The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) led the Angolan people to victory over Portuguese colonialism and achieved the independent state of the People's Republic of Angola in November 1975. Tempered in the heat of 14 years of armed struggle, the MPLA is scoring decisive victories over the present imperialist maneuvers to clamp a neocolonialist yoke on the back of the young Angolan nation. And it is understandable that their resistance is so unswerving. The national liberation struggle in Angola had its roots in a tradition of four centuries of resistance to foreign penetration and military conquest.

The MPLA was created in December 1956. It arose out of the merger of such clandestine political groups as the Party for the United Struggle of Angola (PLUA) and the Movement for the Independence of Angola (MIA). These groups issued a historic Manifesto calling for the unification of the nationalist movement, which read in part:

"The objectives of imperialism's exploitation and oppression of the Angolan people are now, and will continue to be the attainment of maximum profits ... Portuguese colonialism can disappear only through struggle. As a result: the only path to freedom for the Angolan people is through revolutionary struggle. In order to achieve victory, however, this struggle can only come about through a united front of all anti-imperialist forces of Angola ... within a vast Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola."

This unification marked a transformation in the political life in Angola.

By 1958, the underground activities of the MPLA had reached a high level of efficiency: leaflets, proclamations and the creation of underground schools. Mass uprisings were organized particularly in the rural areas. Some people refused to pay taxes and to work as forced labor for the Portuguese. The non-violent protests of the people organized by the MPLA were met with increased repression by the Portuguese troops and the growing forces of PIDE, the fascist Portuguese secret police. By 1959, mass arrests, constant raids, house burnings, torture and massacres of the population and MPLA members became daily occurrences. To further intimidate the patriotic forces, the Portuguese Air Force began conducting war maneuvers, including dropping napalm, over the main Angolan cities.

Despite the Portuguese show of arms and force, the MPLA issued on June 13, 1960 a Declaration to the Portuguese Government setting out conditions for a peaceful solution to the colonial problem. The Portuguese dictatorship rejected the proposals and continued to increase its military capability. Among those arrested in June was Dr. Agostinho Neto, then honorary President of the MPLA. Neto was imprisoned in Luanda. The population of Icolo-e-Bengo, the vil-

lage of Neto's birth, protested his arrest. The Portuguese troops summarily massacred 30 and wounded 200 of them on the spot in what is now called the Massacre of Icolo-e-Bengo.

ARMED STRUGGLE

Their peaceful solutions having been offered in vain, the MPLA embarked on the only viable alternative: armed resistance. On February 4, 1961, Angola became the first Portuguese colony to take the road of armed struggle. In the capital city of Luanda, MPLA militants led hundreds of Angolans in police station attacks to capture weapons and jeeps which they later used to liberate political prisoners and MPLA leaders from Luanda Prison. In the next few days, thousands of unarmed Angolan citizens were gunned down in the Portuguese reprisals. Although the MPLA forces made significant gains in the rural areas in the North-West of Angola, they faced tremendous odds.



As the war for national liberation developed, the MPLA had to confront not only the enemy forces from NATO-backed Portugal, but also puppet groups of Angolans who aligned themselves with the imperialist forces. The foremost was the Union of the People of Angola (UPA) led by Holden Roberto (the present day puppet reactionary who heads the FNLA). The UPA's bankrupt "policies" of creating splits in the national liberation movement by inciting tribalism, religious intolerance and hatred for literate people. Holden Roberto's party was financed by the imperialists; it is not surprising that the activities of the UPA always

served the interests of the enemies of Angolan liberation. From 1961-1964 UPA/FNLA captured and killed many MPLA militants based in Zaire as part of their plan to stop the MPLA.

The UPA issued suicidal and fratricidal slogans such as "Always attack the Portuguese en masse," "Kill all the whites, all people of mixed origin, all the literates and all the MPLA people." Penetrating MPLA militants were ambushed by Holden's troops and murdered. Thousands of Angolans were needlessly killed. The results were sorely felt in the development of the national liberation struggle in this difficult period. The Portuguese army seized the opportunity to regain control and the MPLA experienced political setbacks. At the height of the political crises of the Angolan liberation struggle in 1963, the OAU, operating on an inadequate analysis, followed the lead of the Congolese government and recognized G.R.A.E. as the sole representative of the Angolan people. G.R.A.E. was the Revolutionary Government of Angolans in Exile, a group created by the merger of Holden's FNLA and a tribal group called Alianza-PDA. This move failed to isolate the MPLA on a permanent basis as the imperialists had hoped. While based in Zaire the MPLA was prevented from crossing into Angola by the FNLA because of Holden Roberto's close links with Mobutu.

President Neto, who had escaped prison in 1962, led the MPLA through a period of restructuring and consolidation. By 1964, the MPLA militants had solidified strength inside Angola and reopened guerrilla activity in the Cabinda Front. On this front the MPLA acquired its first real military training. In July of 1964 several G.R.A.E. leaders resigned and progressively that organization lost credibility in the OAU.

The MPLA continued its political-military work among the masses and in 1966, the Third Region (the Eastern Front) was opened after it moved to Zambia as a base of operation. In the areas liberated by the MPLA, the people were organized into action committees, organs of popular political power. Health clinics were set up as well as schools and "people's shops". Cadre training schools were instituted to strengthen the gains won, both political and military.

In the beginning of 1967, President Agostinho Neto announced to the world in a historic speech a new stage in the Angolan people's struggle: the generalization of the armed struggle throughout the entire national territory. The Fourth Region in North-East Angola was opened by MPLA combat soon thereafter. By the end of 1968, the MPLA controlled one-third of the Angolan territory, and nine of fifteen colonial administrative districts were in a state of war. The headquarters

of the MPLA was no longer outside the country, but was now operating in one of the liberated zones since 1965. As the MPLA continued to open new combat fronts inside Angola and to regain international prestige, the OAU re-examined the MPLA, and in 1968 recognized its status as the true nationalist movement of Angola.

1969-1974

Meanwhile, the economic and sociopolitical contradictions of the fascist government inside Portugal were coming to a head. The appointment of Marcelo Caetano to succeed the dictator Salazar ushered in a period of desperate militarism by the fascists in the African colonies. In January 1969, an International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Portuguese Colonies and Southern Africa was held in Khartoum, Sudan. Participants represented organizations from Asia, Africa, Latin America, the socialist countries with the exception of China, western Europe and North America. They proposed vigorous action and international solidarity with the national liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies and in Southern Africa. This broad international movement of solidarity was of great importance in aiding the forces of national liberation in breaking the weakest link in the imperialist chain: the fascist government in Portugal. The fraternal support of the PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau and FRELIMO in Mozambique was, and continues to be, a source of great inspiration to the MPLA in their struggle against imperialism.

With the overthrow of fascism in Portugal on April 25, 1974, it became evident that an independent Angola would become a reality. The agents of imperialism stepped up a campaign of factionalism within the Angolan liberation movement. This factionalism took the form of a split in the MPLA led by Daniel Chipenda. The First Congress of the MPLA held in Lusaka, Zambia in August 1974 attempted to establish unity among the factions in MPLA. Failure to accomplish unity at this Congress did not dampen the determination of the MPLA to fight for total independence. With November 11th, 1975 charted as the day of independence in a joint Portuguese-MPLA document, political deterioration inside Angola could not be tolerated. In September of 1974, the factions within MPLA agreed to set up a tripartite provisional leadership with the view of consolidating political action until the next MPLA Congress. Dr. Neto maintained the Presidency and the Political Bureau and Central Committee had representation from the three tendencies. Two Vice-Presidential posts were created to represent the two factional groups, dubbed the Eastern and Active Rebellions. This fragile unity was doomed to failure in view of the imperialist links to the Chipenda faction in MPLA. In July 1975, only four



Learning to read in the liberated zones: MPLA established schools in the areas they liberated

months before the date of independence, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola launched the military offensive against the internal and external forces of reaction in Angola.

The victories scored by MPLA militants and the undisputed hegemony of the MPLA at the time of independence are documented history now. In its 19 years of existence, the MPLA has succeeded in surmounting tremendous difficulties on the road to independence. The Angolan people under the leadership of the MPLA will defend their hard-earned victory against all neocolonialist schemes of the imperialist countries and their agents. All progressive forces salute the patriotic forces in Angola, and will continue to give active solidarity to the People's Republic of Angola as it takes its place among the progressive independent nations of the world.

ANGOLA CHRONOLOGY

December 1956

MPLA founded by Dr. Neto

1957 Gulf Oil acquires exclusive exploration rights in Cabinda

February 1961

MPLA led prison revolt

April 1961

CONCP founded to coordinate movement in Portuguese colonies

October 1961

MPLA units captured and executed by UPA/FNLA forces

April 1962

Holden Roberto announced formation of GRAE as front of FNLA

December 1962

1st National Conference of MPLA held inside Angola

April 1963

MPLA forces captured and executed by FNLA troops

June 1964

Jonas Savimbi resigns from FNLA

March 1965

OAU pledges support to MPLA

March 1966

MPLA opens Eastern front

December 1970

Use of South African helicopters and pilots in Angola

January 1971

MPLA opens Central-South front

March 1972

Portugal and South Africa announce Cunene Dam projects in Angola

September 1972

Swift Meat Co. opens ranches in southern Angola

July 1973

Daniel Chipenda, MPLA vice president and military commander put under house arrest in Zambia for trying to assassinate Dr. Neto

April 1974

Coup by Armed Forces Movement in Portugal

September 1974

Secret meeting in Cape Verde Islands between Spínola (head of Portuguese government) Roberto of FNLA, Savimbi of UNITA and Chipenda of MPLA break away faction to try and isolate Dr. Neto-MPLA

January 1975

United Front achieved between MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA and the formation of a transitional government

July 1975

U.S. aid and Skymaster jets sent to the FNLA

August 1975

South African troops invaded southern Angola

September 1975

UNITA and FNLA unite militarily against the MPLA. MPLA gains control of most of Angola. CIA financing of FNLA and UNITA revealed.

October 1975

Mercenary troops from U.S., France, West Germany, and South Africa, and troops from Zaire invade Angola

November 1975

Portugal leaves Angola and the MPLA declares the People's Republic of Angola. FNLA and UNITA set up government and headquarters at Huambo (formerly Nova Lisbon)

Important Facts

NAME

People's Republic of Angola

SIZE

Twice the size of Texas and the second largest country in Africa south of the Sahara.

(continued on page 8)

Important Facts

POPULATION

6 million people

RESOURCES

Oil, diamonds, iron ore, coffee, sisal

COLONIAL HISTORY

Ruled by Portugal from the 1490's to November 11, 1975 and was a center of slave trade to Brazil and North America. The population was used as forced labor on Portuguese plantations and in the mines, and as contract labor to South Africa, Rhodesia and Zaire. There were no political rights for the African population and 98% illiteracy.

LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) was founded by Dr. Agostinho Neto in December 1956 along with Amilcar Cabral (Guinea-Bissau) and Marcelino Dos Santos (Mozambique). Armed struggle launched on Feb. 4, 1961 with MPLA-led attack on political prison in Luanda. MPLA led the war against Portuguese colonialism with a regular army of 30,000 people. MPLA established in liberated areas: UNTA (Union of Angolan Workers), OMA (Organization of Angolan Women), SAM (Medical Assistance Services), and the CIR (Center for Revolutionary Instruction).

CIA GROUPS

National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) led by Holden Roberto and founded in 1961 by CIA funds. Main activity directed against attacking the troops of the MPLA in Zaire and in Angola. FNLA based on a tribal orientation with main base in Zaire. National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA) founded by the CIA and Portuguese Secret Police (PIDE) in 1966 and led by Jonas Savimbi who broke away from FNLA in 1964. Main purpose to collect information and harass MPLA troops for the Portuguese colonial administration. Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC) founded by Zaire and Gulf Oil Corporation in order to maintain Gulf in Angola.

ETHNIC GROUPS

Kongo, Ovimbundu, Lunda, Chokwe, Mbunda and about 50 others.



Gary—City Of Liberation

The struggle against U.S. imperialism in South Africa has not been very broad-based or at a massive level within the United States in the last few years. The only exceptions to this have been the strikes of the United Mine Workers against the importation of South African coal in the southern states in 1974, and the petition drive and work initiated by the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation to expel South Africa from the United Nations in 1974-75. The organized and united fight against racism and fascism in South Africa within this country has not matched the increased rate with which the U.S. capitalists have been strengthening their relationship with the brutal South African regime in recent years.

Not only has the explosive situation in Angola proven the close U.S.-South Africa relationship, but also the new strategy of South African troops acting as the conduits of U.S. imperialism in southern Africa means that no independent African country is safe from this type of U.S.-South Africa aggression. The use of a trojan horse, CIA-sponsored groups, such as the FNLA and UNITA, backed up by South African and U.S. mercenaries in Angola, signals a new stage of military aggression from which no African state is safe today. Hence, our solidarity work in the United States against this type of Kissinger-Moynihan policy in Africa has taken on a new responsibility. In the wake of the Vietnam experience, the fight for political and economic independence in the African countries will necessarily be radically changed and take a non-capitalist road of development. Otherwise, they will face greater dependence on neo-colonial relationships with the capitalist countries and U.S. sponsored invasions.

GARY, INDIANA IN THE FOREFRONT

A significant blow against the unchecked and deepening ties between the United States and South Africa was dealt in Gary, Indiana by the Gary City Council in November-December of 1975. For the first time in the United States, a City Council passed a concrete measure against supporting apartheid, and to support the national liberation of the oppressed people in South Africa. The focus of the Gary City Council action was a resolution calling upon the city to cease doing business with four major multinational corporations that support apartheid by their practices in South Africa. The historic resolution, sponsored by Councilman L.T. Allison, was directed against International Business Machines, Inc.; ITT; Motorola, Inc. and Control Data Systems, Inc. because they "maintain and perpetuate apartheid in South Africa." In effect, the passing of this resolution means that the city of Gary,

Indiana will not renew millions of dollars worth of contracts with these multinational corporations.

The importance of this resolution was illustrated by the fact that the corporations did not waste a minute in trying to defeat the resolution. John Opel, President of IBM, "hit the nail on the head" when he strongly implied to the Council hearing panelists that this action by the Gary City Council must not be allowed to spread to other cities. Similar measures had already been defeated in Berkeley, California and Washington, D.C.

Several days before the public hearing, the representatives (some Presidents) of the corporations came to Gary and attempted to convince the nine Gary City Councilmen to vote against the resolution. One Councilman noted that they came to Gary "with bags full of money promising all sorts of things." A lot of pressure was put on Mayor Richard Hatcher to also speak against the resolution.

THE COUNCIL HEARING

On November 24, a public hearing was held by the Gary City Council to debate the merits of the resolution. The hall was jam-packed with observers. Presentations were made by corporations representatives and a panel of eight experts on South Africa. Speaking in favor of the corporations were President John Opel of IBM and none other than Vernon Jordan, Executive Director of the Urban League. The eight panelists opposed to the corporations' role in South Africa were Roy Letlalo, a Black South African associated with the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility; Dennis Brutus, the exiled South African poet and Professor of English at Northwestern University; W. Sterling Cary, past President of the National Council of Churches and Chief Exec. Office of the United Church of Christ of Illinois; Jennifer Davis, a white South African and member of the American Committee on Africa; Harold Rogers, Editor of the *African Agenda*; Larry Gordon, member of the Corporate Action Project in Washington, D.C.; Prexy Nesbitt, Dean of St. Mary's Adult Learning Center in Chicago and Cortland Cox of Washington, D.C.

During the public hearing, the IBM president, speaking for all of the corporations involved, tried to whitewash the corporation support of the racist apartheid policy in South Africa. He brought along some letters written by Black South Africans expressing the need for these corporations in South Africa. One letter read into the Council record was from a Black employee of IBM who stated that IBM had donated \$52 to his school for a door to separate the Black students from the White ones. Needless to say, this donation of benign neglect did not meet with the approval of the

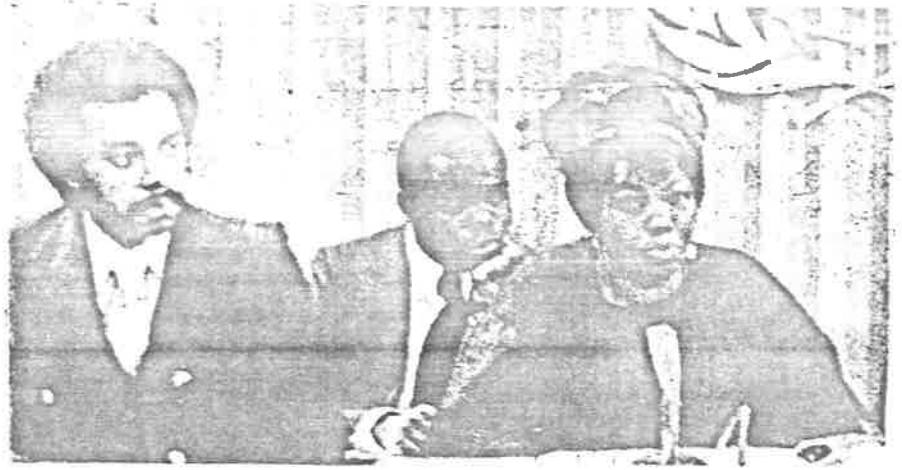
citizens of Gary at the hearing. Other letters were presented from so-called Black leaders who were appointed by the South African government.

The corporation case was further championed by Vernon Jordan of the Urban League who claimed that the corporations were doing a good job in South Africa because they provided employment for the Black people; of course he *did not* mention the slave working conditions, the enormous Black-White wage gaps; the break-up of families due to contract labor laws, the laws forbidding Black South Africans from trade union rights and a whole host of other super-exploitative working conditions condoned by the American corporations operating in South Africa. Jordan went on to sneer at the Council resolution by remarking that the few million dollars worth of contracts involved would not hurt the four corporations. Jordan's appearance and stated opinions at the public hearing clearly placed him in the camp of supporters of United States imperialism in South Africa; reportedly, Vernon Jordan was flown to Gary in an IBM plane. All of the eight experts unanimously condemned the role of the United States government and the four corporations in South Africa.

THE COUNCIL DECISION

The next day, the City Council met to vote on the resolution. At this session, a white South African representing the U.S. corporation interests in South Africa addressed the Council. He spoke of the horrors of dictators in the rest of Africa and concluded that, in effect, South Africa was a "free" state. The City Council passed the resolution by a vote of 6 in favor and 2 opposed. The following week, the resolution was vetoed by Mayor Hatcher. On December 2nd, the City Council met to hear the mayor's argument and to take a final vote. In the end, the council overrode the veto by a vote of 6 to 3.

The action by the City Council of Gary, Indiana, a major working class city of steel production and other basic industry, is a very important "first". It was not given adequate news media coverage because in terms of millions of dollars it represents one of the most significant acts of the Black and American people against U.S. imperialism in South Africa. The citizens of Gary were supportive of the resolution because of the apartheid policy of the South African government, the benign neglect of the U.S. corporations there, and the flight of jobs from U.S. cities to South Africa to reap super profits for American corporations. Actions of this nature must be multiplied hundreds of times in City Councils throughout this country.



Tony Monteiro, executive secretary of NAIMSAL; Mme. Jeanne Martin Cisse, chairwoman of UN Special Committee on Apartheid,

Unnamed Fighters For The UN Charter

(While the racist South African Government was invading the People's Republic of Angola progressive Americans were calling upon the U.N. to expel South Africa. On December 10, 1975 the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation presented 100,000 signatures to the U.N. calling for South Africa's expulsion. Printed below is the statement read by Anthony Monteiro, Executive Secretary of NAIMSAL at the U.N.)

Today, we, on behalf of the growing millions of peace fighters and anti-racists of the United States, of all races and nationalities, present 100,000 signatures calling for the expulsion of the racist representatives of the Vorster government of South Africa from the United Nations. This mass campaign, initiated by the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation, has been endorsed by a wide range of organizations and public personalities. This action, in conformity with the opinion of the majority of nations of the 29th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, expresses the association of U.S. citizens with the struggle being waged for freedom and majority rule in South Africa. As well this effort associates the people of our country with the UN Charter, the Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention Against Apartheid. It is our opinion as well that the 20 million oppressed in South Africa are themselves unnamed fighters for the UN Charter, for world peace and for national sovereignty.

This expression we hold is decisive because our government has, in the Security Council, vetoed the majority sentiment, as expressed in the General Assembly. This veto, infamous in itself, compounds the infamy of the massive corporate U.S. investment in apartheid, the military collaboration between our

government and the apartheid regime, the enormous trade and extension of credit from our nation to South Africa. This collaboration with apartheid fully endorsed by our government is a denial of the sovereignty and right to self-determination of the colonial oppressed majority of South Africa. It is direct support to a regime which is universally condemned.

However, we also recognize the regime of South Africa, which brutally oppresses the majority of that nation, as a direct colonizer and illegal occupier of Namibia, in violation of Security Council and World Court decisions. The South African racists have sent army unit regulars to Zimbabwe to oppose the patriots of that land, in support of the illegal Smith regime. Today, South Africa has invaded Angola, in clear violation of the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of the Angolan people. This aggression in southern Africa is a crime against humanity.

Finally, the struggle for majority rule and national self-determination being waged by the people of South Africa is, besides all else, an act of solidarity with the majority of U.S. citizens who themselves are for peace and oppose racism, colonialism and apartheid. Our solidarity with the oppressed millions of South Africa is therefore basic to ending racism in the United States and realizing the democratic aspirations of the people of our own land.

Apartheid South Africa must be totally isolated from civilized humanity, until civilization is restored. This glorious responsibility is being magnificently carried out by the liberation movement, the authentic representative of the people of South Africa. We are honored to be counted among their supporters.

Today South Africa In Angola— Tomorrow Angola In South Africa

The creation of an independent, progressive regime in Angola is a tremendous threat to the racist, apartheid government in South Africa. That is why an MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) victory is such a nightmare for South Africa. Consequently, the Republic of South Africa (RSA) is not content with simply "taking sides" in the Angolan Civil War, but has sent its own troops into the conflict. This article will attempt to examine the various aspects of South Africa's intervention in Angola, and its overall significance.

The principle National Liberation Movement and NOW Government in Angola is the MPLA led by President Agostinho Neto. The internal reactionaries, and bogus groups created by the U.S. imperialists are the FNLA and UNITA who have formed an alliance with South Africa. One of the partners in the alliance, FNLA, is losing ground, and may soon be eliminated. But this original FNLA/UNITA alliance also receives assistance from the United States, Rhodesia, China, Zaire, and other western imperialists.

This alliance with South Africa, regarded as a "pact with the devil", has infuriated most African states, preventing them any significant support. Nevertheless, on Nov. 17, 1975, Dr. Jonas Savimbi of UNITA remarked: "We need people capable of driving armored vehicles which we ourselves cannot operate. They may possibly be from South Africa or Rhodesia. Those who fought in Biafra are also with us."

12,000 TROUPS

It is reported that South Africa has committed approximately 12,000 to 15,000 troops to the invasion of Angola. Some of these soldiers have been captured by MPLA freedom fighters. The RSA military thrust includes two regular army combat units, consisting of a mechanized calvary, and an armored team. A mercenary column, operating as shock troops, was formed last year in October in the southern portion of Angola. These ground troops were backed up by air support consisting of two wings of fighter bombers, and French-made Alouette helicopters. It must be pointed out that this recent invasion dates back to 1967 when South African forces first entered southern Angola.

"It is not surprising that South Africa should intervene since she had long supported the Portuguese colonists", President Samora Machel of Mozambique stated recently at the OAU summit meeting; "it is the logic of apartheid".

Most of the RSA military strikes have been launched from Namibia (Southwest Africa) which borders on the South of



Angola and from bases in southwest Zaire. The RSA is in constant fear of the national liberation war increasing in Namibia and spreading to South Africa by the developments in Angola since there is a vigorous national liberation movement in Namibia lead by SWAPO and the ANC in South Africa.

CIA-RSA ALLIANCE

The RSA invasion was collectively planned by the U.S. and the South African government since the CIA created FNLA-UNITA was unable to defeat the MPLA. Recent revelations have proven what the *African Agenda* has reported all along, that the CIA was involved in covert activities in Angola. When MPLA set up a government in the capital city Luanda, on Independence Day, November 11, 1975, it marked the defeat of the CIA covert conspiracy. And while the Vietnam-weary, Watergate bedeviled Congress was doing toe-to-toe battle with Ford and Kissinger over these same issues, the South African forces were mobilizing for their invasion of Angola in the south, mainly on the side of the UNITA. It is correct to assume that whatever the RSA does in Angola, it is done with the approval and support of the U.S. Why?

U.S. private investment in South Africa is about 2 billion dollars, making it RSA's third largest trading partner. The rate of return (profits) on these investments exceeds 20%, which is extremely high. These handsome profits result not only from RSA mineral resources, but from its vicious system of apartheid, or racial separation.

The best way to explain "racial separation", South African style is to examine what it means in real terms. William Pomeroy reported in his book, *Apartheid Axis* on RSA's so-called "two-tier" wage system: "In 1969 the average black African family had an income of \$528; for the average white family the annual income was \$5,832." This sums up the effects of apartheid pretty well.

Apartheid could not exist without the support of the Western Imperialist, even though it is a source of embarrassment. But as one writer put it, "Gold, diamonds, and profitable investments, combined with colonial links, fierce anti-Communism, and a strategic situation between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans have made South Africa too important for the West to hate".

The Western nations that comprise NATO can ill afford to become overtly involved in Angola on the side of the RSA. African nations like Nigeria whose friendship is important to them, have shown that they won't stand for it since they have recognized the MPLA government in Luanda. Reports indicate

(continued on page 16)

The Maoists Splitting Activity In Angola

The present leaders of the People's Republic of China (PRC) use every opportunity to remind the developing countries of their "support" for revolutionary processes no matter in what part of the globe they take place. One of such propaganda actions taken by the Maoists in recent times was a speech by Chiao Kuan-hua, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, at the Plenary Session of the 30th UN General Assembly.

Presenting Peking's stand on developments in Angola, Chiao Kuan-hua spent considerable effort to prove that China had always held a neutral position in respect to the three main political forces of that state: the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). He alleged that Peking's actions had always been aimed at creating conditions to promote the overcoming of differences, national reconciliation and the unification of Angola.

The facts show, however, that the Maoists' attempts to pass Peking off as a factor consolidating the unity of ranks of the national liberation forces in Angola and preventing their split are false. On the contrary, all actions by the Peking leadership indicate that the PRC has never ceased its subversive activity against the Angolan people, has actively backed the pro-imperialist groups and organizations, and instigated them to actions against the genuine representatives of the Angolan people and their vanguard—the MPLA.

CHINA-FNLA ALLIANCE

As far back as the early 60's, the Chinese leadership openly staked on Holden Roberto, one of the leaders of the FNLA, an organization closely linked with international monopoly capital. He is a man to whom, according to the Lisbon newspaper *O Seculo*, "the true interests of the Angolan people are alien". In December 1963, he had a meeting in Nairobi with Chen Yi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the PRC, and other Chinese officials. During the talks, H. Roberto, who represented the so-called Interim Government of Angola in Exile, was promised Chinese assistance despite the fact that the organization he headed had already revealed itself as a force preventing any attempt to achieve unity in the national liberation movement of Angola.

At the same time the Maoists took a markedly hostile stand in respect to the MPLA. Peking's direct pressure resulted in a split of the MPLA in late 1963. A leftist group, which withdrew from it, accused the MPLA leadership of a "rejection of an armed struggle and of compromise with imperialism". After that negotiations were held between the representatives

of this group and H. Roberto, which resulted in a merger of their organizations.

The Maoists expanded relations with the FNLA leaders, and by direct political and military aid, rendered to them in close cooperation with the Western imperialist circles. Thus, according to reports carried by the African press, Chinese and US officials repeatedly exchanged opinions in Peking on the situation in Angola and on measures to assist the FNLA. In the course of the confidential US-Chinese meetings, in which Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the PRC took part, the sides agreed on increasing military aid to H. Roberto. It was stipulated that China would increase arms supplies to Angola and an agreement was reached on the necessity of the presence of Chinese military advisers and instructors in the acting FNLA units.

Under this agreement, Peking delivered to Angola large consignments of weapons used by the neocolonialists to fight against the true patriotic forces of that country. The main recipient of the Chinese weapons was the FNLA, which, according to the *France Nouvelle* journal, is an "organization of reactionary nature set up with the assistance of multinational corporations to preserve their control over the huge mining wealth of Angola."

In an interview given to the France Press correspondent, H. Roberto declared that one of the most important tasks facing his organization was to create conditions under which "Neto (MPLA leader) ... will vanish."

ZAIRE-CHINA-FNLA

An important role in building up the war machine of the FNLA was played by the Chinese military instructors and advisers, whose total number, according to the France Presse, has reached 119 including military experts training cadres for the FNLA in neighboring Zaire. As the newspaper *Le Monde* pointed out, the emissaries recruiting into the FNLA army are moving from village to village and recruiting young people in the age when they can carry a rifle. After that the recruits are transported by trucks to remote camps of Kinkuku and Kotakomi in Zaire where, in the course of a few weeks, the Chinese instructors form them into "strike groups". By so doing, with the help of their experts and weapons, the Maoists trained and equipped in 1974 a division of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola in the territory of Zaire. "All of my soldiers have been trained by the Chinese", Chairman H. Roberto declared openly on the pages of *Le Monde* on June 6, 1975. "I admire the Chinese and their achievements very much", he added, since "the Chinese help me unconditionally".

Another right-wing organization in Angola, the National Union for the Total

Independence of Angola (UNITA), set up in 1966, gets financial assistance from China through Great Britain. According to the African press, the South African pastor T. Bush is its representative in London. Under Peking's pressure, the UNITA rejected an agreement with the MPLA, which was one of the obstacles on the way to a successful development of the national liberation struggle in Angola.

FRIENDS OR ENEMIES?

The double-dealing and anti-Angolan policy of the Maoists, who pass themselves off as "friends" of the national liberation movements but in fact enter into an alliance with the agents of the imperialist circles and monopolies, is condemned by all progressive forces, both inside and outside Angola. During his visit to Peking in May-June 1975, L. Lara, one of the MPLA leaders, told the Chinese side that the Angolan people could not understand how "China could support the grave-diggers of Angola and render assistance to an organization created, financed and controlled by the CIA, an organization whose only aim is to suppress genuine independence of the Angolan people". "It is our duty to point out", he stressed, "that the Chinese leaders are following a wrong track."

Independence of Angola was proclaimed on November 11, 1975 in the conditions of a bloody struggle resulting from the interference in the internal affairs of Angola by the imperialist circles of the West and the Maoists, their allies. A whole number of African countries and states of the socialist community announced their diplomatic recognition of the new sovereign state. The Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization also declared its support for the Angolan people. The People's Republic of China has not announced its recognition of the young Angolan republic. The splitting FNLA and UNITA organizations and the external forces behind them did not lay down their arms. The armed units of the FNLA continued to threaten Luanda, the capital of Angola, from the north, while the UNITA intensified its activity in the southern regions occupied by the troops of the RSA.

Thus, the discourse of Chiao Kuan-hua, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the PRC, at the 30th session of the UN General Assembly, about China's "support" for the unity of ranks of the national-liberation movements was but a camouflage of the unsightly subversive actions of Peking aimed at splitting and weakening the liberation movement in Angola. These actions play into the hands of the imperialists in their struggle against the freedom and independence of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

(Edited from Novosti Press)

The new government of the People's Republic of Angola (PRA) is led by the following people: President-Dr. Agostinho Neto, Prime Minister-Lopo do Nascimento, Minister of Defense-Iko Corriera, Minister of External Relations-José Eduardo Santos, Minister of Information-Luís Almeida, Minister of Interior-Nito Alves, Minister of Planning and Economic Coordination-Dilolwa Rocha, and the Minister of State-Lucio Lara. Printed below is the new Constitution of the PRA.

The Constitutional law of the People's Republic of Angola, (PRA) headed by Dr. Agostinho Neto, is based on the following principles:

ARTICLE 1—The People's Republic of Angola is a sovereign, independent and democratic State, whose first objective is the total liberation of the Angolan people from the vestiges of colonialism and the domination and aggression of imperialism, and the construction of a prosperous and democratic country, completely free from any form of man's exploitation by man, realizing the aspirations of the masses.

ARTICLE 2—All sovereignty rests with the Angolan people, but the MPLA—their legitimate representative, composed of a broad front in which all the patriotic forces involved in the anti-imperialist struggle are included—is in charge of the political, economic and social leadership of the nation.

ARTICLE 3—The masses are guaranteed broad and effective participation in the exercise of political power through consolidation, extension and evolution of the organizing forces of people's power.

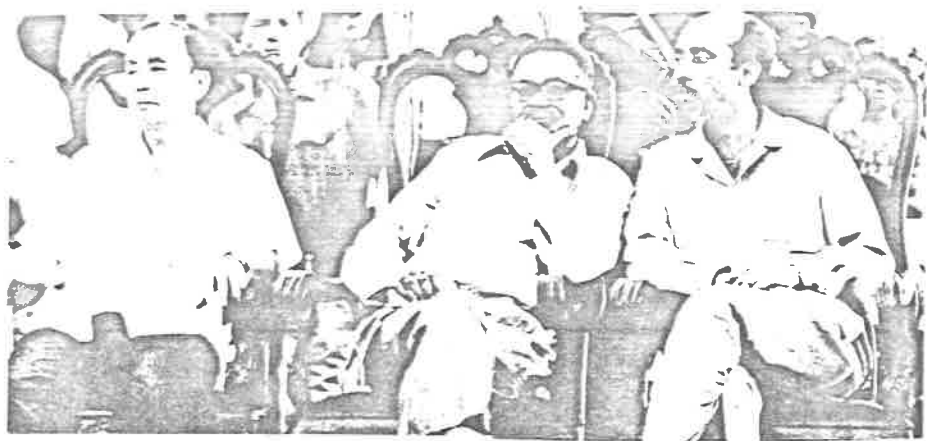
ARTICLE 4—The People's Republic of Angola is a single and indivisible State whose inviolable and inalienable territory is that defined by the present geographic limits of Angola, and it energetically fights any separatist attempt to dismember its territory.

ARTICLE 5—Economic, social and cultural solidarity among all regions of the PRA will be promoted by common development of the entire Angolan nation and elimination of the results of regionalism and tribalism.

ARTICLE 6—The People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA), the people's fighting arm, under the leadership of the MPLA and with its President as their Commander-in-Chief, are institutionalized as the National Army of the PRA in charge of defending the territorial integrity of the homeland and participating in production and therefore in national reconstruction, alongside the people. The Commander-in-Chief of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) appoints and removes the top level military leaders.

ARTICLE 7—The People's Republic of Angola is a lay State in which there is complete separation between the State, the church and religious institutions. All religions will be respected and the State will provide protection for churches, religious places and objects, providing they obey state laws.

Constitutional Law Of The People's Republic Of Angola



INDEPENDENCE DAY NOV. 11 1975

REPRESENTATIVE FROM SOUTH VIETNAM, NETO & M. dos SANTOS

ARTICLE 8—The People's Republic of Angola considers agriculture as a base and industry as a decisive factor in its development.

The State directs and plans the national economy for the purpose of systematically and harmoniously developing all natural and human resources and utilizing the wealth for the benefit of the people.

ARTICLE 9—The PRA will promote the establishment of just social relations in all sectors of production, stimulating and developing the public sector and increasing cooperative methods. The PRA will be very particularly concerned with solving the land problem in the interest of the peasant masses.

ARTICLE 10—The PRA recognizes, protects and guarantees private property, including that of foreigners, provided these favor the economy of the country and the interests of the Angolan people.

ARTICLE 11—All natural resources of the soil and subsoil, territorial waters, continental platform and air space are the property of the State which shall determine the conditions under which they are exploited and used.

ARTICLE 12—The fiscal system shall be guided by the principle of progressive payment of direct taxes with no fiscal privileges of any kind being permitted.

ARTICLE 13—The PRA energetically fights illiteracy and ignorance and promotes the development of education at the service of the people and of a true national culture enriched by the revolutionary cultural conquests of other peoples.

ARTICLE 14—The PRA respects and applies the principles of the UN Charter and the Charter of the OAU and will establish relations of friendship and cooperation with all states on the basis of principles of mutual respect for territorial sovereignty and integrity, equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of each country and reciprocity of benefits.

ARTICLE 15—The PRA supports and expresses solidarity with the people's struggle for their national liberation and

will establish relations of friendship and cooperation with all the democratic and progressive forces of the world.

ARTICLE 16—The PRA will belong to no international military organization, nor permit the installation of foreign military bases on its national territory.

In the Constitution of the People's Republic of Angola it states that its President shall be the President of the MPLA, who as chief of State shall represent the Angolan nation. The People's Assembly is also created as the highest body of the State of the PRA, and a special law will determine its composition and system of election and operation.

The Constitution also states that as long as Angolan territory is not totally liberated and the conditions for the installation of the People's Assembly do not exist, the highest State body shall be the Council of the Revolution composed of the members of the MPLA Political Bureau, the members of the General Staff of the FAPLA, the provincial commissioners, and members of the government named for this purpose. The Council of the Revolution shall be presided over by the President of the PRA and its purpose is to exercise legislative power; define and guide the country's domestic and foreign policy; approve the general State budget; name the Prime Minister; name the provincial commissioners; authorize the president to declare war and peace; decree a state of siege or emergency and authorize amnesties.

The new government of the People's Republic of Angola shall be composed of the Prime Minister, the State Ministers and Secretaries, and shall be presided over by the Prime Minister.

The People's Republic of Angola is divided administratively into provinces, councils, communes, circles, neighborhoods and settlements.

The symbols of the PRA are the flag, the insignia and the anthem.

Reprinted from *Tricontinental* (X, 1975) by Chicago Committee for the Liberation of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea

The Monopolies And Angola

Progressive world opinion has long recognized that the monopolies of Western Europe, South Africa and especially the U.S. have an enormous stake in the exploitation of Angola and are working desperately to preserve it. This policy extends to pressure placed on countries neighboring the People's Republic of Angola (PRA), e.g. Zambia and Zaire. Information about the copper monopolies, Anaconda and Kennecott and their odious machinations in Chile have long been known. The international copper monopolies have their bloody tentacles on the copper of Zaire; copper accounts for 75% of its foreign currency earnings. Zambia is a major copper producer as well, and although attempts have been made there to lessen the brutal stranglehold, the monopolies continue to play a significant role in their copper industry. The copper of Zaire and Zambia are both shipped via the Benguela railroad in Angola and from there to Western Europe and the U.S. These monopolies have played havoc with the price of copper, these countries' main earner of foreign exchange, calling to mind similar manipulations of the cocoa of Ghana during Nkrumah's regime. This recognition has forced increasingly more Zambians and Zairians to ponder the example of Cuba, which obviated U.S. finagling with the price of sugar by turning to the dependable socialist camp. Nonetheless, in assessing Zaire's and Zambia's pro-FNLA and UNITA policies, the maneuverings of the copper monopolies cannot be discounted.

MONOPOLIES MOUTHPIECES

Of course, there are other elements in these countries that actively assist the monopolies and their aggression against Angola. Chief among these is General Mobutu of Zaire, the assassin of the Congolese patriot Patrice Lumumba. Over the last 12 years, the U.S. has advanced the Mobutu government \$430 million, including \$50 million in military aid, more than any other African country for a similar period. Mobutu has amassed one of the world's greatest fortunes because of the blood-stained dollars of the barbarous monopolies. The use of Zaire regular army troops in Angola indicates that U.S. imperialism's investment is paying dividends.

Hence it should come as no surprise that the monopoly mouthpiece, the U.S. State Department, has actively supported Mobutu's brother-in-law Holden Roberto in the north of Angola on Zaire's border and Jonas Savimbi, who has been vainly striving to maintain Benguela for the multi-nationals, in the southwest and south. Millions of our tax dollars that could have been used for constructing of schools, hospitals and housing have been squandered on these reactionaries, though all signs indicate they are dest-

ined to meet the fate of Thieu and Ky of South Vietnam.

The monopolies have not relied on the State Department alone in their schemes against the Peoples Republic of Angola. In blatant violation of international law they have actively interfered in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. The example of the Cabinda region of the PRA is well-known. This oil-rich area, where Gulf Oil has a \$200 million investment, was plunged into discord by yet another phony liberation movement, Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC). Representatives of the PRA have accused Gulf Oil of having CIA agents on their staff in Cabinda disguised as construction bosses. The PRA has accused Gulf as well of funneling aid directly to FNLA and UNITA. Roberto and Savimbi, following the dictator's handbook co-authored by Thieu and Mobutu, are no doubt salting away millions for future villas in Switzerland.

GULF OIL CONSPIRACY

That Gulf Oil should be entangled in these foul designs is not surprising. During Nixon's bogus election campaign of 1968, the major owners of Gulf Oil, the infamous Mellons of Pittsburgh, gave a reported \$298,962, which ranked them with the oily Rockefellers as major contributors. Afterwards, Nixon inked the Azores agreement in 1971 which pumped \$435 million in U.S. tax dollars into the economy of fascist Portugal, so that it could better prosecute the wars in Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Angola. Displaying the usual ruling class contempt for democracy, Gulf's "boy" Nixon negotiated this pact without the "advise and consent" of Congress.

In attempting to discern the reasons behind Gulf's aggression in Angola, the fact that it has 75% of all U.S. investment in Angola must be emphasized. In 1972-74 it contributed an estimated \$50 million to the Portuguese colonial government in Angola. Recent reports of Gulf refusing to make payments legally due to the legitimate Angolan government is further evidence of its continued perfidy. Equally disquieting is an item in the *New York Times* of 21 April 1974 which averred that, "Gulf Oil Corporation, of all the American companies, is closest to the Central Intelligence Agency."

This conspiracy of silence of the monopoly press is exceeded by their conscious disregard of the role of the Western European and South African multi-nationals. They do not speak of Krupp of West Germany which exploits Angola's iron ore or Diamang, a union of South African, Belgian and Morgan Bank capital, which exploits its diamonds. They studiously ignore the nuclear deals recently revealed between Bonn and Pretoria, though those deals have ominous implications for all of progressive Africa.

BRITISH INVOLVEMENT

In their frenzied haste to oppose the Soviet Union, the monopoly press ignore repeated denunciations of the British monopoly Lonrho in the progressive African press. This conglomerate has enterprises in 26 African countries. In 1974 it had revenues of over \$829,700,000. 76% of its revenues are derived from Africa in activities ranging from tea-growing in Malawi to motor-vehicle sales in Kenya. It is involved in agriculture, financing, mining, motor vehicle sales and service, publishing, shipping textiles and alcoholic beverages. Its investments in the countries of southern Africa are heavy, especially in South Africa and Zambia; Lonrho's stake in Angola is also great. The chief executive of this monopoly, Rowland W. Roland has come under particular attack in progressive Africa because of his dictatorial, heavy-handed methods in the mold of John D. Rockefeller and Harold Geneen, ITT's head. Clearly, Lonrho is a major factor in the anti-imperialist politics of Angola and southern Africa.

Thus Britain has been particularly active in supporting reactionary forces in Angola. Racial Communications LTD. of Berkshire has supplied UNITA with communications facilities. In line with NATO intrigues the U.S. carrier *Independence* made a port call in Portsmouth, England at the beginning of December, where they took on supplies and fuel before steaming to the Azores. It has been recently reported that this carrier, which has aboard 90 F-4 Phantom jets, is off the coast of Angola. For some time U.S. spotter planes have been flying missions over Angola from southern Zaire. It is now feared that the *Independence*, which also has aboard tons of napalm, Sidewinder missiles and anti-personnel fragmentation bombs in pods, will be used as a base for air strikes against Angola. In other words, a Vietnam-like bombing campaign is being organized and it appears that U.S. imperialist strategists may not even bother to resort to fabricating a "provocation" (a la Gulf of Tonkin) before they begin.

The monopolies, particularly the U.S. monopolies, have once again demonstrated that they are willing to trample on legality and democracy in order to accomplish their savage aims. Secretary of State Kissinger and the 40 Committee are implementing monopoly's policy and going through their paces in the state monopoly set-up like trained bears. If the U.S. and Angolan people are to be spared another Vietnam-like war, the cry of "U.S.—HANDS OFF ANGOLA" must be raised even more insistently!!

Angola—A Test For Africa

to transform it into a neocolonial possession of the imperialists.

Finally, the awesome blows lodged against the Portuguese colonialism by the PAIGC, FRELIMO and the MPLA as well as the actions inside Portugal precipitated the collapse of Portugal's fifty year old fascist dictatorship on April 24, 1974. The first phase of this collapse, however, was characterized by a substitution of the old type of fascism with a new type—that of Antonio de Spínola, who initially grafted himself onto the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement. This was the same criminal de Spínola who had organized and directed Portugal's imperialist aggression against the Republic of Guinea on November 22, 1970 and the assassination of Amílcar Cabral on January 20, 1973 in Conakry. Mobutu and Holden Roberto placed themselves in a position to collaborate with de Spínola. Fortunately, he was handily deposed by the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement and liquidated politically.

ATTACKS ON THE MPLA

At the same time, Portuguese colonialism—unhinged and surprised by this series of events—began to resort to a tactic of divide and conquer within the MPLA, the only nationalist force fighting inside Angola at the time, in hopes of forestalling the total liquidation of its domination over Angola. A two-way split, which had been carefully nurtured by the imperialists, took place in the midst of the movement. One split, orchestrated by a fringe group of intellectuals, was called the "Active Revolt Tendency," while on the other hand, an important figure within the MPLA, Daniel Chipenda, having been recruited by the imperialist forces, mounted what he termed the "Eastern Revolt" on a purely tribal basis.

These two alleged "revolts" were the work of imperialism and were in turn exploited to the fullest by the imperialist strategies. Finally Chipenda refurbished his ties with the FNLA and joined his master in treason, Holden Roberto, by the middle of 1974.

At the same time the imperialists tried to destroy the MPLA from the inside, they also engaged Mobutu at this point to oversee this division of the spoils. One can see then, that as the movement to liberate Angola grew stronger, so did the ties between Spínola and Mobutu. We in Conakry at this time published a letter which had been received from a Portuguese friend and which explained thoroughly the sordid plot to facilitate the secession of oil-rich Cabinda and to in turn, weaken the MPLA. This shameful deal took place at the occasion of the Mobutu-de Spínola meeting on the Isle of Sal in the Cape Verdian archipelago. Most astute political observers began to make a connection between this infamous arrangement and the numerous

Portuguese delegations showing up in Kinshasa subsequently. And an indiscreet number of clandestine types began to contact Zairean authorities in order to prepare the dramatic stage of the Angolan situation that we are now witnessing.

When Portugal announced that it was ready to concede the independence of Angola by November 11, 1975, the OAU had done nothing to aid the Angolan people in a concrete way before this date. Why?

We have previously mentioned the secret agreements between Mobutu and Spínola concluded on the Isle of Sal, which represented the interests of world capitalism in the Portuguese colonies. Although Spínola was no longer in power in Portugal, the agreement retained its value. Zaire would annex Cabinda, while secretly promising to give certain capitalist powers a free hand in exploiting the immense oil reserves of this Angolan province. Holden Roberto, agent of imperialism, with aid from Mobutu, would then be installed as chief of state in Luanda, while secretly promising to give imperialism a free hand in Angolan internal affairs, and to tie Angola's fate more securely to the interest of South Africa and the other minority regimes in southern Africa. This was not the first imperialist plot against Africa which required the complicity of African traitors. Imperialism, for example, had had its interests served by Tschombe, who snatched the riches of Katanga from Congo-Zaire. The Katangi secession was only ended in fact after Lumumba had been assassinated and after a certain amount of control over the economy of Congo-Zaire was guaranteed.

THE IDI AMIN LINK

On the occasion of Angolan independence on November 11, 1975, the traitors were obliged to honor the terms of the Mobutu-Spínola agreement. It has been discovered also that certain ties between Mobutu and Idi Amin, which had been forged during the period when Amin had become dependent upon Mobutu as an intermediary in disagreements between himself and the British government, also played a role in the configuration of events. Mobutu has used and continues to use these ties between himself and Amin to maneuver the latter man into aiding the terms of this agreement concluded behind the backs of the Angolan people.

One must remember that in order to wrench the FNLA and UNITA out of the hands of imperialism in order to form a united front against a routed Portuguese colonialism, we would have had to plead with the MPLA to accept these two formations as genuine movements of liberation. Several attempts were made in this direction, but all of them ended in failure. The FNLA and UNITA refused to

abandon their allegiance to imperialism. Nevertheless, Amin continues to use this pretext of a united front between the MPLA and the two bogus formations against the Angolan people, against the independence and integrity of Angola and for the interests of imperialism, of the racists of South Africa and also for his colleague Mobutu under the most criminal of circumstances. What Mobutu hopes to do is to pirate the oil of Cabinda, while claiming that the only purpose attached to his intervention is a coherent plan of independence for Angola. The dependence of the FNLA and UNITA upon imperialism is a clear-cut contradiction of Mobutu's falsely articulated purpose of unity. It is of the utmost importance that the OAU support the MPLA generously and exclusively in order to arrive at our sacred objective—the total and unconditional independence of Angola.

Idi Amin has dared to propose that:

1. Portugal postpone its proclamation of the independence of Angola for several days.

2. That Portugal should then hand over Angola to the OAU in the form of a mandate despite the fact that the Angolan people, under the leadership of the MPLA, had fought for their independence with whatever arms they could acquire since February 4, 1961.

3. That an armed force of the OAU go to Angola to substitute for the Portuguese army of occupation and thus maintain the domination over Angola's people.

This was an insult to the Angolan people and to Africa. An insult that we cannot contain.

We remember well our past appeals for the formation of an all-African army. We make this appeal on each occasion jointly with President Nkrumah. This appeal, however, was for an all-African force which would intervene against imperialist troops in African territories under foreign domination and not for a force that would attempt to crush a legitimate national liberation movement on the eve of victory. The reactionary African governments were then opposed to such an idea. Today, however, as we stand in the twilight of Portugal's withdrawal from Angola, they demand that Portugal hand Angola over to the OAU, and that the OAU send troops to occupy Angola. Is this not an insult to Africa?

ONLY ONE MOVEMENT

We affirm that there is only one national liberation movement in Angola, the MPLA, the only party of all the Angolan people, which has extracted its independence from Portugal, and is now faced with two imperialist and neocolonial formations who dare to demand the rights of genuine Angolan patriots. We

assert also that it can be historically proven that Jonas Savimbi's UNITA was created with an eye toward defending the interests of Portuguese and South African settlers whose program was to make Angola a Portuguese outpost of imperialist interests. UNITA says this quite succinctly in its manifesto. And it is upon this basis that the fake movement has led and continues to lead a struggle against the Angolan people. It was the UNITA delegation of observers at the United Nations that joined with the Portuguese delegation in attempting to censure MPLA. And today we are called upon to maintain that it is a genuine liberation movement. Who has it liberated? How many square meters of Angola have been liberated by UNITA? Who is it trying to deceive?

When certain parties do not want to take a position on the Angolan situation, it is quite convenient to say that, "All three movements—UNITA, FNLA and MPLA—should bury their differences." But a sincere Catholic would never say that the Devil and Jesus should reconcile their differences. A devout Muslim would never say that Mahomet and Satan should reconcile their differences. One can not form a clear-cut policy out of a pseudo-equilibrium and confusion.

Some African Governments demand a government of national union as their sole condition for the recognition for the sovereign state of Angola.

They denounce the fact that Cuba, the Soviet Union and other revolutionaries support the MPLA.

They are quick to forget that the arms and munitions, the uniforms and the vehicles used by the liberation movements have always been given generously by the very same countries since their inception that stood for the fight against colonial domination.

They desire in turn to place the actions of the progressive countries and those of fascist regimes such as South Africa and Rhodesia, of the friends and enemies of Africa, on the same footing.

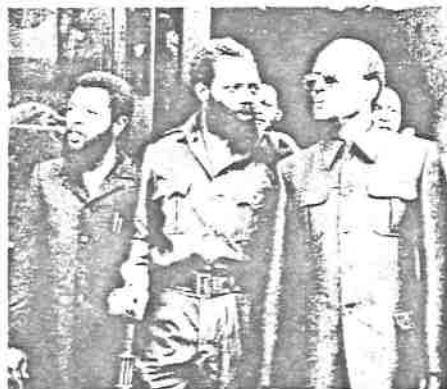
These are positions of resignation—even of deliberate treason. For they implicitly create confusion between the positions of the MPLA and UNITA and the FNLA, between Cuba and South Africa, between independence and neocolonialism.

A FIFTH COLUMN

To demand that the MPLA join with the FNLA and UNITA in order to constitute a new government, under the present circumstances, which are characterized by military operations, punctuated by crimes of genocide against the Angolan people, by the combined forces of South Africa, UNITA, the FNLA and fascist Portuguese colonialist—would be saying in effect to the MPLA that it should place itself on the side of imperialism and actively foster the creation of a fifth column in the state apparatus.

Taking into account the prevailing equal balance between the MPLA on one hand and UNITA and the FNLA on the other, between the friends and enemies of the people and then to maintain that one should aid all of them or that one should not aid any of them is to chose imperialism, colonialism and fascism. In brief, it is to chose against Angola and its independence, against all the people of Africa, against universal justice.

To speak out against South African military aggression and invasion of independent Angola and to, in turn, condemn the diplomatic, material and military aid given to the Angolan people, their national party, the MPLA, and their independent state, the People's Republic of Angola, is to deliberately opt for a partition of Angola and a betrayal of its territorial integrity. In the final analysis, it is to opt for the recolonization of all Africa as opposed to the liberation of the entire continent.



Chipenda, Savimbi Holden Roberto.

There are two basic factors that we are obliged to analyze dispassionately and objectively.

1. All the nationalist movements in the Portuguese colonies managed to form a coordinating council. This council was recognized by the OAU. On November 8, 1975, it convened a conference in Lorenzo Marques in Mozambique with the participation of all the leaders of liberation movements which had won national independence in all the former Portuguese colonies. By way of a unanimous vote this council gave its total support to the MPLA, which in its estimation was the only protagonist in the Angolan situation which represented the interests of the Angolan people, and Africa as a whole. The Council asked all of the African states to support the MPLA. This was on November 8, 1975—three days before the declaration of Angola's independence. Thus those who were truly interested in the independence of Angola begged us to support the MPLA and the government that it had formed. This was an historical fact which was obliged to govern the attitude of other nations unless they had other intentions.

2. UNITA and the FNLA developed close ties with South Africa and Rhode-

sia. This became, in turn an open secret, which was described in detail by the colonialist and racist governments of South Africa as well as the world press. South Africa alleged that it had intervened in Angola in the name of Western Civilization and its superior interests.

SOUTH AFRICA IS NEXT

Ian Smith and Vorster therefore aided UNITA and the FNLA by the direct intervention of their armies in Angola on the side of these two bands of renegades and adventurers. The advent of troops sent from Rhodesia by Ian Smith and by Vorster in South Africa exposed all the dimensions of the Angolan situation to the view of the entire world. If one understood the implications of the situation, one did not hesitate.

Why did South Africa and Rhodesia support these two puppet organizations. Because, if the regime installed in Luanda was a genuinely African regime, progressive and anti-imperialist, it would be duty-bound to aid Namibia, just as we have aided Guinea-Bissau. If Namibia was liberated Rhodesia could no longer resist the trend of history, and if Zimbabwe and Namibia were both liberated, apartheid would be condemned to memory. This is certain. It is an inevitable process. This is why all of the imperialist countries in Europe supported the FNLA and UNITA. The later formations therefore serve as buffers which would halt the liberation of all of southern Africa.

President Samora Machel of Mozambique has just asked the summit meeting of the OAU to make the aggression of South African troops in Angola its single, most important point of discussion.

The South African radio has stated clearly why it has chosen to support the FNLA and UNITA. The whole world is thus able to hear the extent of this support on a daily basis. Ian Smith has spoken on the question of Angola at least five times. The foreign press has published its declaration of support for these two organizations numerous times. Can we, in turn, remain indifferent? How can we possibly adopt a position of wait and see? See what? Wait for what? Each person is free to take a position that they deem suitable for them. But at this moment we have had enough time for reflection.

If it was a question of choosing between two or three individuals, it would be simple. But in this instance, what is at stake is the future of Angolan people, the national independence of Angola and the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of its people.

Today the battle for Africa is played out in Angola. It is a test for all of us. We are therefore duty-bound to choose immediately, and we have done so.

Why does Zaire support the FNLA, while at the same time sheltering the

(continued on page 16)

Recommended Books

1. *In the Eye of the Storm*, by Basil Davidson, Penguin African Library. An excellent history of the Angolan people's struggle against Portuguese colonialism in their country. Good on the history of the MPLA. Price: \$2.50.
2. *The Facts on Angola*, AIMSAL/NYC, 530 W. 112th St. No. 62, NYC. Press reports from the U.S., Soviet Union, Guinea, Somalia, Portugal, South Africa and other countries on Angola. Price: \$1.25.
3. *Angola Weekly News Summary*, by the MPLA Solidarity Committee, 825 West End Ave. #14F N.Y.C. 10025. Weekly summaries on news of Angola published from different sources. Good for keeping up on Angola on a day-by-day basis. Price: Donation.
4. *The Moynihan-Kissinger Doctrine and the "Third World"*, by Henry Winston, New Outlook Publishers, 205 W. 19th St. N.Y.C. 10011. Excellent on U.S. policy toward Angola and other countries and the new levels of racism in American foreign policy. Price: 50¢.

(continued from page 15)

Angola—A Test For Africa

Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC)? It is because of the oil in Cabinda, as we have indicated earlier. It is Biafra all over again. If we are not careful though, Angola will have consequences of a much graver nature than Biafra.

We affirm that when it is a question of African problems we can not be in the same camp as Smith and Vorster, defenders of apartheid and colonialist imperialism in Africa. Any solution that the two racist regimes are amenable to is automatically suspect and contrary to the interests of our people, contrary to their liberty and their dignity. What is in fact true is that it is possible that this struggle will be long and hard, but Africa will win, whatever the means employed against it.

Edited from
Afrique-Asie, January, 1976

(continued from page 10)

Today — Tomorrow

however, that a NATO supported detachment, called the Daniel Chipenda Brigade (one of the FNLA-UNITA leaders) has moved toward Luanda from Namibia. NATO is undoubtedly happy to see the RSA fighting in its interests, making any overt incursions into Angola unnecessary at this time.

Finally, the RSA is being challenged by the changing balance of forces in Southern Africa generally. RSA Defense Minister Peter Botha reportedly stated that "forestalling a possible Soviet threat to the cape sea route was ultimately not as important to South Africa as preventing an encirclement by leftist-leaning governments from Angola in the west to Mozambique in the east. South Africa and Israel share many parallels, and this is one of them.

A look at a political map of southern Africa tells much of the story. The days of apartheid are numbered; and the emergence of an independent, truly-liberated Africa is at hand. Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) is isolated, and on the defensive; even Namibia is engaged in struggle. South Africa is being suffocated and Angola simply represents another set of hands at its throat and this is why the RSA has chosen to fight in Angola, because tomorrow the war for the liberation of the South African people will have many close allies.

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