

UNITA Speaks

In the current Angolan situation the M.P.L.A. received most of the propaganda support from mainly the revisionist sources throughout the world. A number of the Soviet controlled A.A.P.S.O. Conferences were held in which support for M.P.L.A. was mobilised. There was a Conference held in Lusaka, one in Luanda, a third Soviet controlled I.U.S. Student Conference in Ghana. The Left in general took up a position that the M.P.L.A. was a socialist organisation while U.N.I.T.A. was collaborating with South African troops. Here we bring U.N.I.T.A.'s reply to these charges.

U.N.I.T.A. realises that the longer the fighting goes on in Angola, the greater the dangers of further international involvement in it. Already Russia, Cuba, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and other East European countries on the one hand – and South Africa on the other – have actual physical presence in Angola. We also know that, if the Soviet Union continues its established path of continued imperialist intervention, the physical presence of other foreigners is a virtual certainty – not because U.N.I.T.A. invites it, but because superpower politics will make it inevitable. Therefore, U.N.I.T.A. realises that it is an urgent necessity that the mass destruction of Angolan people on the Angolan terrain be halted as quickly as possible – consistent with U.N.I.T.A.'s determination to win the *total* independence of Angola from foreign rule.

It is with this goal in mind that U.N.I.T.A. continues its just struggle and is pressing for enough military victories to force Soviet-dominated M.P.L.A. to the bargaining table in recognition that no one group alone can militarily dominate our country, which geo-politically is controlled by three forces – U.N.I.T.A., M.P.L.A. and F.N.L.A. There *must* be this recognition on all sides of the Angolan reality – that each of these movements, like it or not, controls certain areas of the country where the majority population at this point in our history will only accept a government in which the people feel that they have some representation. To ignore this is to deny the geopolitical realities of Angola and to predict the future of Angola on hopeless lies and dangerous myths which will keep our country in turmoil for generations to come.

If no one group can then politically control the whole of our country without resorting to military force to kill, maim and otherwise subdue the Angolan people in the regions where its political support is non-existent, how then can Angola now realistically be governed and unified?

U.N.I.T.A., from the time it succeeded in bringing the three movements together to build a platform from which it could negotiate with the Portuguese for the transfer of power, has tried to devise a formula that recognises the Angolan political realities. In this spirit it has sought and diligently worked for an interim arrangement that would allow the total Angolan population to be represented through a coalition-type government, which would include equal or proportional representation from the three liberation movements. At a mutually agreed upon point in time, elections could be held, again giving proportional representation to the three Angolan parties.

At the same time, however, U.N.I.T.A. is realistic enough to realise that no country – at any time in history – has never been run effectively in that fashion. *We know that from such a coalition a dominant party will eventually emerge to lead the people down the long road of freedom, revolution and reconstruction.* U.N.I.T.A. believes that, during the period of peaceful transition, all three parties should patriotically collaborate on national programmes and projects to help unify the country by involving all of its people from all of the regions in mutual efforts designed to demonstrate the need and purpose of a national consciousness and national unity.

Angola's history of ethnic, regional and political division – a legacy of five centuries of Portuguese colonialism, demands such an approach. U.N.I.T.A. recognises the continuing need to heighten the *national* consciousness of the people as ANGOLANS – not Bankongo, Chokwe, Kimbundu, Ovimbundu or Kwanyama; not mestizo, assimilado or indigine; not Protestant, Catholic or animist – but as ANGOLANS first and foremost. To fail to recognise this need for the building of a national consciousness among all of our people is to fail in a great part of our historic mission to lead our people in the struggle for liberation, independence and progress. This is a goal fervently to be desired, but one which cannot be *imposed* upon our people. Angolans did not suffer the terrible centuries of colonialism and the horrors of the most recent 15 years of continued colonial war to be subjected again to the iron-fist rule of people

who do not truly represent them. Angolans will never again submit to the domination of people they see as enemies, whether they be domestic or foreign. Neither U.N.I.T.A., nor F.N.L.A., nor M.P.L.A., nor the powerful Soviet Union itself can defeat the will of the Angolan people to be free. All forces must come to recognise, as U.N.I.T.A. always has, the limits of military force and work for a political solution to Angola's crisis.

This conviction is the guiding force behind U.N.I.T.A's current determination to match M.P.L.A.'s Russian-exported military strength as represented by the hundreds of tons of sophisticated armaments, tanks, missiles and M.I.G.'s that the Soviet Union has brought or sent to Angola since the time of the formation of the transitional government last January. (U.N.I.T.A. estimates that Russia and its client states and allies have already delivered enough arms and weaponry to wipe out every Angolan town and village, destroy each of Angola's few schools and hospitals, kill every Angolan man, woman and child 20 times over – and still the Soviet weapons pour in. They come by shipload and planeload day after day, week after week, into the ports of Luanda, Congo-Brazzaville, Guinea-Conakry and Dar-es-Salaam, where they are expeditiously put in the hands of M.P.L.A. and its 3,000-Lumumba-killing Katangese mercenaries, 3-4,000 Cuban, 1500 Mozambican war veterans, 400 Russian "advisers" and East German and other East European and other ill-assorted, misguided, adventurous counter-revolutionary forces from other parts of the world. (Here it would be fitting to point out that of the 3-4,000 Cubans dutifully dispatched by Castro at the Soviet's behest, most are Black Cuban infantry-men, who, in the prevailing racist class structure in Cuba, are usually led by white Cuban officers and technicians. Is Castro sending our Black brothers to Angola to defend the revolution of the Angolan people, or is he, while following the Soviet imperialist line, also opportunistically ridding himself of part of his worrisome "race problem" in the so-called "classless" state of Cuba? Is it an accident that it is the Black Cubans who are doing most of the fighting and dying on Russia's behalf in Angola, while the White officers, advisers and technicians live to fight another day?)

BACKGROUND OF THE CURRENT WAR

Prior to the January 1975 Alvor agreement with Portugal in which conditions were hammered out for the establishment of a transitional Angolan government prior to independence then set for November 11th, 1975, U.N.I.T.A. had worked increasingly to bring the three movements together to build a common platform from which we could together negotiate with Portugal for the orderly transfer of power.

By early March, 1975, the mutual distrust and antagonism between M.P.L.A. and F.N.L.A. had begun to manifest itself in armed confrontations in the streets of Luanda, marking the beginning of the wanton killing of 20,000 Angolans who have died since that time – most of whom have been innocent civilian victims. Meanwhile, M.P.L.A. had begun to secretly stockpile weapons for the armed struggle for power that it was determined to win. Then, as now, U.N.I.T.A. did not believe that a military solution was the answer to Angola's historical, geopolitical, ethnic and ideological divisions. During this time (early March, late July) U.N.I.T.A. patriotically and repeatedly tried to mediate between the other two movements at Kakura. During this same period, U.N.I.T.A. continued to prepare for the previously agreed upon October elections by going throughout the country further organising peasants and workers, while emphasising U.N.I.T.A.'s programmes for national unity, socialist development and national reconstruction. Incidentally, U.N.I.T.A., unlike M.P.L.A., has since its inception talked with the people in their traditional languages, about the need for national unity, the need for the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. We have continued to do so, speaking the languages of the people, using terms, references, analogies and comparisons and examples that are a part of their own experience of foreign oppression and exploitation. Therefore, U.N.I.T.A.'s socialist principles and anti-imperialist stance is readily comprehended and accepted by the people, because they can see how their own everyday lives are affected by these concepts and practices. During the process of waging this political education campaign, U.N.I.T.A., already enjoying nearly a 60 per cent majority support of the Angolan people, began to get more and more popular support in places other than our traditional southern areas, which had been liberated during the guerrilla warfare against the Portuguese.

Finally, M.P.L.A.'s war acts against U.N.I.T.A. reached their climax in the August 5th firing upon President Savimbi's plane in the southern city of Silva Porto. U.N.I.T.A. could then no longer delude itself with the wishful thought that it would be possible to have a peaceful settlement between the three Angolan liberation movements. We took the shooting upon our President's plane as the sign that U.N.I.T.A. must, however regretfully, declare war on M.P.L.A. and enter the fighting.

U.N.I.T.A.'s MILITARY POSITION IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING ITS ENTRY INTO THE CIVIL WAR

Because U.N.I.T.A. had lived and worked among the people and fought the Portuguese

from bases inside the country, with no external support or propaganda apparatus, it had never received any significant support from the outside world. Instead it had always rightly practised a policy of independence and self-reliance; that is, relying only on the support of the Angolan people in our guerrilla war against Portugal. Therefore, at the time of our entry into the current fighting in Angola, we did not have a ready source of arms. U.N.I.T.A. had no super-power connections. Thus U.N.I.T.A., while politically strong, was very weak militarily, having begun only recently to receive modest supplies of weapons from African countries who had begun to recognise U.N.I.T.A. as the Pan Africanist hope for Angola. But, since no African country manufactures weapons, these friendly African states could only share with U.N.I.T.A. the weapons they had secured from the major powers through a variety of trade and aid relationships. By this means, U.N.I.T.A. indirectly received weapons made in Russia, China, and United States, France and other weapon-manufacturing countries. With these modest supplies, coupled with the critical and active support of the Angolan population, principally in the south and centre, U.N.I.T.A. began a counter offensive against M.P.L.A.-Soviet Union with their tons of tanks, bombs, bazookas and other heavy and ultra sophisticated weaponry from the Soviets and their lackey states and clients. But, not only had the Soviet bloc sent all these thousands of tons of weapons, but it also began to pour in "advisers and technicians" of all descriptions – Russian, East German, Czechoslovakian and Cuban mercenaries.

Finally, the Soviet-supported state of Cuba, there-to-fore always regarded by the world as a friend and supporter of the socialist aspirations of the world's peoples, allowed itself to be used and/or bullied and coerced by Russia into supplying 3-4,000 Cuban infantrymen to fight against the very Angolan people who comprise the huge peasantry and much of the smaller proletariat in our country. Furthermore, these 3-4,000 Cuban infantrymen *are mostly BLACKS, led by mostly white officers!*

TANZANIA'S VACILLATION AND HYPOCRISY

Clearly the conditions outlined above demanded that U.N.I.T.A. begin to quickly seek additional armaments to meet the Soviet threat.

U.N.I.T.A., which had earlier in 1975 sent a goodwill delegation to China, used the good offices of President Julius Nyerere to help secure such armaments from China. (Nyerere, of course, after several long discussions with President Savimbi, had been duly convinced – he said at the time – of the need to support U.N.I.T.A., which he had by then learned was a revolutionary, Pan African socialist party). China agreed to help U.N.I.T.A. in its revolutionary struggle against Soviet imperialism in Angola and in August, 1975, sent U.N.I.T.A. a vast quantity of badly needed weapons to the port of Dar-es-Salaam, where 15 trucks had been sent overland to pick them up for transport back to U.N.I.T.A. bases in southern Angola.

Meanwhile, M.P.L.A.-Soviet Union was on a military rampage in the South and quickly by force gobbled up Luso, Sa da Bandeira, Mocimadas, Lobito and other cities where U.N.I.T.A. has always had virtually total political support. These quick military victories, along with M.P.L.A.-Soviet bloc worldwide propaganda projecting M.P.L.A. as the "party of the people", "controlling 12 out of 16 Angolan provinces" etc. apparently convinced Nyerere that he should not – in spite of his previous agreement with China and U.N.I.T.A. – seem to be helping U.N.I.T.A. by allowing the use of Dar-es-Salaam for importation and delivery of weapons to us.

When he refused to allow U.N.I.T.A. to pick up its supplies, Nyerere offered us the spurious excuse that he did not want to further the war of brother against brother. This would have been an understandable position, except that *at the very same time he was allowing the Russians and others to deliver hundreds of tons of weapons into Dar-es-Salaam where they were quickly flown to Luanda and other M.P.L.A.-Soviet-captured cities!*

In other words, it is all right and "revolutionary" for M.P.L.A.-Soviets to kill U.N.I.T.A. militants, supporters and other Angolans; but wrong and "counter-revolutionary" for U.N.I.T.A. to fight back in defence of the people's revolution.

At this point, with the weapons we had begun to receive from African countries and other sources, and the weapons captured from M.P.L.A. soldiers fleeing after defeat at the hands of the now better armed U.N.I.T.A. militants and an aroused populace, we were able to begin to further our counter offensive to recapture some of U.N.I.T.A.'s lost positions in the south. Soon also, U.N.I.T.A. began to receive some heavy armaments, by another route, from China. The increased supplies have been of tremendous importance in helping U.N.I.T.A. recapture all of its southern territory and to advance northwards.

However, armaments alone were not enough to solve the problem of countering the Soviet-M.P.L.A. offensive to force their regime in Angola, because the only combat experience that U.N.I.T.A. troops had had was in guerrilla warfare against the Portuguese. Our guerrilla-trained and seasoned army had by and large never even *seen* a tank or a missile so it was

necessary to quickly secure positional battle technicians and experts on modern weaponry. These technicians were recruited where they inevitably were to be found – among the European community in Africa, and they consist mainly of French and Portuguese who had fled to South Africa following the beginning of armed conflicts between M.P.L.A. and F.N.L.A. last spring.

It is *absolute* and *total lie* that South Africans, on Pretoria's payroll, are fighting with U.N.I.T.A. troops. U.N.I.T.A. – like M.P.L.A. and F.N.L.A. – has within its ranks some Whites who for generations have considered themselves Angolans and who cannot be equated with the mercenaries, opportunists and imperialist interventionists who are fighting with M.P.L.A. All other Whites in U.N.I.T.A.'s ranks are temporarily there as instructors from our sources of arms suppliers or from friendly African independent states.

SOUTH AFRICA'S INVOLVEMENT

South Africa, for some reason of its own, invaded southern Angola in July, 1975. Both U.N.I.T.A. and M.P.L.A. troops attempted to repel this invasion, and both were militarily defeated in the Cunene. The whole town of Ongiva (Pereira D'ECA) was destroyed by South Africa in its successful battle to secure for itself the area of the Cunene Dam along with the Namibian border. Only one single building remains standing in the town of Pereira D'ECA. This invasion was publicised throughout the world and thus South Africa's presence in Angola since July is a matter of record, and U.N.I.T.A. has never felt called upon to deny this fact.

As a matter of record, it should also be known that one of U.N.I.T.A.'s leaders and most valiant guerrilla fighters, Vakalakutu, led U.N.I.T.A.'s forces against the South African invasion in which it established a toehold in southern Angola. At this very moment, brother Vakalakutu is somewhere in southern Angola with his remaining troops making guerrilla attacks against the invaders.

Moreover, contrary to Soviet-M.P.L.A. charges of a South African-U.N.I.T.A. alliance, U.N.I.T.A., since its inception, has always enjoyed fraternal relations with the militants of S.W.A.P.O. from Namibia, who have long been fighting against the Pretoria regime in Namibia. S.W.A.P.O. guerrillas have lived in U.N.I.T.A. camps in southern Angola, shared U.N.I.T.A.'s food and armed supplies and have launched most of their attacks into Namibia from U.N.I.T.A. bases. When the South Africans engage in "hot pursuit" against S.W.A.P.O. guerrillas, in the process they have often killed U.N.I.T.A. guerrillas along the S.W.A.P.O. guerrillas. Therefore, the lie that Soviet-M.P.L.A. propagandists are spreading, that "U.N.I.T.A. wants an alliance with South Africa", represents the depth of the evil and of contradictory absurdities and lies that these imperialist propagandists are spreading from all corners of the globe.

U.N.I.T.A. fought its battles against the Portuguese on the terrain of Angola and never enjoyed the external metropolitan sidewalk cafe, bar and coffee house associations with European journalists, who now are found mindlessly repeating and propagating M.P.L.A.-Soviet propaganda that has been digested by them over a period of years of these kinds of contacts and associations. Even now, European reporters mainly continue to file their stories from Luanda, where they only have access to the "news" that M.P.L.A. gives them.