
ANGOLA

PORTUGAL & ALLIES (NATO)

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National Union for Total Independence of Angola

UNITA



INTRODUCTION

The War of National Liberation in Angola is and will continue to be waged by Angolans themselves on Angolan soil. The active, conscious, freely committed and maximum political participation of the masses of the Angolan people is necessary for the success of this War of National Liberation. These are the people who have been heavily oppressed for the past five centuries by Portuguese colonialism. The political consciousness of the oppressed people of Angola must be created through people's war. This armed struggle has to follow definite scientific methods unequivocally. Revolutionary principles must be applied creatively within the particular conditions of the Angolan struggle.



The implementation of these ideas requires the permanent presence of the top leaders and most of the leading cadres among the local population in Angola. This is the theory which UNITA has practiced since its foundation in 1966. Since June 1968, UNITA's president Jonas Savimibi and Miguel Nzau Puna, UNITA's secretary general, have made it a living reality.

The picture above shows president Jonas Savimibi and Miguel Nzau Puna (right) sharing a popular dish known as "Nshima" in Angola in 1969.

NATIONAL UNION FOR TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA (U.N.I.T.A.)

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CONTENTS

- 1 . . . UNITA's Programme
- 2 . . . Interview with President Jonas Savimbi in Angola, August 1970
- 3 . . . Letter to Le Monde Diplomatique Exposing the lies of Basil Davidson about Angola.
- 4 . . . Military Communique of FALA (Forces Armadas de Libertacao de Angola). Period of August-July-September 1970.

THE PROGRAMME OF UNITA

UNIAO NACIONAL PARA A INDEPENDENCIA TOTAL DE ANGOLA

Art. 1: DENOMINATION:

The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

DEFINITION:

The UNITA is a political organization formed by Angolans irrespective of sex, tribe or religion.

Art. 2: STRUCTURE:

The UNITA is organised as follows:

- 1) The Nation, the Province, the District, the Region and the Cell.
- 2) On the level of the Nation corresponds the National Council and the Central Committees, In each Province, Region and District, the UNITA has a Provincial Committee, District Committee and Regional Committee.
- 3) The Cell is the basic organ of UNITA.
- 4) The supreme organ of UNITA is the General Assembly formed by delegates of all basic organs.
- 5) The UNITA adopts three principles as methods of action and these are as follows: -
 - a) Collective Direction
 - b) Democratic Centralism
 - c) Criticism and Self-Criticism

Art. 3: THE IMMEDIATE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF UNITA

- 1) To mobilise all the Angolans - mostly those who are more oppressed - to become a solid base for the National Liberation struggle.
- 2) To fight steadfastly against illiteracy in order to raise the political consciousness of the Angolan masses.

- 3) To unite all Angolan popular forces which are determined to fight relentlessly against the Portuguese colonial domination.
- 4) To prepare the Angolan people for the National Liberation struggle which might be long and bitter.
- 5) To spread to all Angolans living outside the country the idea that real independence for Angola could only be achieved through an armed struggle waged against the Portuguese colonial power inside the country.

Art. 4: The UNITA will struggle constantly for the formation of a UNITED FRONT of all the Angolan Nationalist forces without any discrimination whatsoever.

- 1) The UNITA is ready to participate in the formation of a large Anti-Colonial United Front with other African Organisations.
- 2) The UNITA shall join African Organisations and the Afro-Asian Organisations which truly fight against Colonialism, Imperialism and Neo-Colonialism.

Art. 5: MEMBERSHIP:

Any Angolan who accepts and fights directly for the integral implementation of this programme, can become a member of UNITA.

Art. 6: FUTURE OBJECTIVES OF INTERNAL POLICY:

The basic aims of UNITA (National Union for Total Independence of Angola) is to establish an African Government by Africans and without any foreign interference.

THE UNITA STANDS FOR:

- 1) Total National Independence
- 2) Territorial Integrity of Angola
- 3) Promotion and Development of genuine African Culture
- 4) Emancipation of Angolan women
- 5) Protection of the families and communal welfare
- 6) Equality for Angolans in the face of the law irrespective of sex, tribe or religion

- 7) Planned economy to meet all the needs of our population and to construct an industrialised country
- 8) Abolition of the forced labour system and other forms of exploitation of physical labour in the country
- 9) Creation of the National Army for the Defence of the country

Art. 7: ON EXTERNAL POLICY:

- 1) Liquidation of all foreign bases in Angola
- 2) Non-participation in any military alliance or blocs
- 3) Independent external policy which takes into consideration the supreme interests of the Angolan people
- 4) Co-operation to the fullest extent with all the National Liberation Movements in Africa and all the progressive forces the world over to get rid of all forms of foreign domination from our continent
- 5) Implementation of all the principles of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU)
- 6) To fight for the establishment of peace in the World
- 7) Respect of the Charter of the United Nations on the basis of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries
- 8) Solidarity with all the progressive forces who fight against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism

Art. 8: FINANCE

The funds of UNITA shall come from the membership fees, subscriptions and donations.

Art. 9: Any omission shall be solved by the internal Regulations of UNITA.

Dr. Jonas SAVIMBI, President of UNITA, interviewed by Yvette Jarrico in August 1970. Interview transcribed from a recorded tape.

THE POPULATION

Question: According to the Portuguese authorities, only one per cent of the population of Angola lives in the area where Angolan guerrillas are flourishing. According to the same sources, both the towns and all the more densely populated areas are completely under Portuguese control. Can you, if possible, make a distinction between territories under provisional, partial or complete control?

Answer: The Portuguese claims must not prevent us from making a scientific study of the situation in Angola. It is natural for the Portuguese government to make false allegations and statements in order to defend its own interests, which are on the point of collapse. I am answering these questions from the Centre of Mexico where UNITA has some of its base areas.

UNITA today controls approximately over one million people who do not pay taxes to the Portuguese colonial regime - people who are organized and, in short, liberated. According to Portuguese government statistics, the population of Angola is as high as 5,600,000 people. However, for UNITA the important thing is to know what role these people are able to play in our struggle for national liberation. The people of Angola, despite the biased statements of the so-called "expert" journalists, have always supported the struggle for national liberation. One must realize that without the people, without the support of the masses, it would never have been possible either to begin the struggle or to continue it. Doubtless you want me to say whether this or that tribe is behind UNITA, but I'm afraid this is just the kind of distinction that I refuse to make. Today, we understand so much better that a struggle for national liberation is a matter of permanent unity between the people and their leaders, between the leaders and the masses.

LIBERATED AND DISPUTED AREAS

Question: Mr. President, are there areas in which you have joint control with MPLA and UPA?

Answer: The question of differentiating between the liberated areas and those controlled by the enemy I consider to be of paramount importance. For UNITA, there is no question of using double-talk. We must be clear, because revolutionary duty demands it of us. Of course, there are in our areas liberated zones, disputed zones and zones controlled by the enemy. When we in UNITA speak of liberated zones we do not wish to be confused in any way with other liberation movements who speak of liberated zones within their own country, whilst pretending to have rears in other neighbouring countries. When an area is liberated that means, in scientific and military terms, that you have your rears in your own country. UNITA's liberated zones are also its rears.

Just as there are zones over which we are in dispute with the enemy, so there are zones completely controlled by the Portuguese colonialists.

In our liberated areas our life is organized politically, economically and socially. Of course, if the enemy wants to enter our liberated areas, it is possible for him to do so because this is merely a question of trying, but the enemy certainly cannot really penetrate those areas and remain there; he will be forced to retreat.

The disputed zones are those where we can exercise relative control over a certain period of time and which the enemy can penetrate and likewise exercise temporary control. However, neither side can remain there. In the zones controlled by the Portuguese colonialists the situation is clear-cut; it is the Portuguese who remain there. Final victory will mean that UNITA will turn the disputed zones into liberated zones; those controlled by the Portuguese will become disputed zones; and ultimately the disputed zones will be liberated zones.

UNITA, MPLA, and UPA

Coming back to your question of the disputed zones claimed

by both UNITA and MPLA. I believe that it is my duty to clarify the situation for world public opinion, and make them understand what lies at the root of this unfortunate problem.

It is not UNITA who has declared a fratricidal war on MPLA, but MPLA who by excessive ambition wanted to oust UNITA from the Eastern part of Angola. In this, however, they failed. Consequently, there have been conflicts between UNITA and MPLA. But there is no zone which we dispute with MPLA. In fact, whenever or wherever UNITA patriots appear, MPLA elements take flight, since they do not have the support of the local population. Therefore, I am unable to describe any zones, which are claimed both by UNITA and MPLA; such areas simply do not exist.

Regarding UPA; until now UPA has been carrying on its activities in Northern Angola along frontier between Congo (Kinshasa) and Angola. Last year, 1969, a communique from the UNITA secretary general, Miguel Nzau Puna, warned international opinion of the unfortunate consequences of a fratricidal struggle between ourselves and UPA. Last year, in fact, UPA tried to introduce bands of armed men into UNITA's liberated areas near Katanga (Congo). We demanded that these UPA groups retreat at once, because without political co-operation or agreement it would be impossible for armed groups to penetrate into UNITA areas. I consider, therefore, that there is no question of a dispute between ourselves, UPA and MPLA. Where UNITA exists, UPA can no longer exist. As far as MPLA is concerned, certainly they can offer resistance; but when UNITA mobilizes its men, the population in the areas occupied by MPLA give us every assistance necessary, and then MPLA men have no alternative but flight. Therefore there is no dispute on this subject. UNITA is master in its own liberated areas.

PORTUGUESE ARMY

Question: Mr. President, certain "experts" claim that the Portuguese Army is a well equipped, fearless force. In view of this, do you think that it is a vain hope to think of liberating Angola militarily? On the other hand, Basil Davidson after spending six weeks with MPLA, has just published a work in which he states that it is the Portuguese who are counter-attacking, because in his opinion they are in the main demoralised. As a leader of a resistance movement, what is your assessment of the state of the Portuguese army in Angola? Could you tell us about your more recent encounters,

Answer: There are certain very pertinent aspects of this question which deserve a sincere and realistic analysis.

First of all, it is true that the Portuguese Army is well equipped, but then it does not equip itself. The Portuguese are equipped by their allies, chief amongst whom are the U.S.A. and N.A.T.O. It is because of this that the Portuguese Army is well equipped. However, it is wrong to think the Portuguese are intrepid fighters, because we have had encounters with them, and have captured all our supplies from them and taken some of their soldiers prisoners. As you well know, UNITA has never received any arms, not even bullets or grenades, from outside the country, so it would be completely hopeless to think that we could hold out here inside Angola unless we were able to capture Portuguese arms. How then, if the soldiers were fearless could we get their arms? Indeed in our August and October 1970 communique we have shown how, in addition to arms and ammunition, we have succeeded in capturing Portuguese prisoners.(1) How could intrepid soldiers allow themselves to be captured? They should fight to the finish, but there are no Portuguese soldiers who fight to the finish. They drop their arms and surrender. Our friends contact our representatives abroad in Cairo, London, Stockholm, and Lusaka so that they may see these communiques (of August and October 1970) and appreciate for themselves how the Portuguese "fell flat on their faces."

You asked me to describe one of our most recent attacks on the Portuguese, but I think this would be pointless. Which of the confrontations should I describe? There have been many, and each individual attack had many characteristics. In UNITA's case, after each attack the military and political leaders get together to sum up experiences and with each attack we are ready to learn and to correct the mistakes. How could I describe just one attack? Which shall I choose? And why? The success and victory we have had up till now are the result of many individual victories.

With reference to Mr. Basil Davidson's claims at establishing whether it is the nationalists or the Portuguese who initiate a confrontation, I would simply like to say one thing: I heard, here in Angola, the B.B.C. interview with Basil Davidson in which he was asked if MPLA actually exercised control over the area he had visited, that is, control with implications, such as administration, free life, schools,

1. Read August-October Communique 1970 page

economic co-operatives of production etc. Basil Davidson said, "MPLA exercises a strategic control." He ought not to allow himself to use double-talk; it is absolutely essential to use scientific terms. For UNITA, control of a zone must be, above all, tactical; that is to say, the enemy cannot penetrate it; and if he tries he will be forced to retreat. Strategic control means that you can run away from "here" to "there", leaving behind an enemy who retreats, and this is exactly what MPLA does. So if there are some soldiers who would not dare to fight the Portuguese, they are the soldiers of MPLA, never those of UNITA. In UNITA's case there is a confrontation, a fight.

In short, in the areas which UNITA controls the Portuguese cannot enter because our control is both tactical and strategic. Naturally, areas completely controlled by us may be reduced to small areas, but these areas are entirely controlled by UNITA patriots. Therefore, the statement about nationalists avoiding confrontation only applies to Mr. Basil Davidson's friends, and not to UNITA.

THE ROLE OF THE ARMY IN ANGOLA

UNITA liberated areas were visited by two Englishmen: The first one was a reporter of the Times of Zambia, Steve Valentine, in 1969. And the last one was Mr. Mike Marshment who visited UNITA areas in 1970 and met most of the UNITA leaders in Angola. The following are excerpts of Marshment's interview with Dr. Jonas Savimbi, President of UNITA, leading Angolan struggle from within Angola and based there permanently since June 1968.

Question: Mr. President, I have been travelling now in Angola for 22 days and one of my first impressions is the discipline and the drill of your army. This surprises me greatly. I never heard a guerrilla army behaving and acting like this before. I found, at first, it was rather strange that these rugged and tattered men should be so smart in their drill and discipline. I expected a band of adventurers almost. But this is not the case. I know you are the commander-in-chief of the army. I would like to hear your views on this. You must have decided to turn your army into a sort of a professional army.

Answer: I think that we started this when we entered Angola in June 1968. The reason is that we found our forces dispersed and

scattered in a vast area. They did not have the same standards of training, and the same discipline, although all of them have the same strength. They are very busy organizing and mobilizing the people. I think this represented a danger to our guerrilla army and liberation war, because the guerrillas were going to be divided into regional groupings which could not represent any effective force against the Portuguese colonialists. Then, we decided to unite the army under one discipline, training and drill. Another thing is that we believe that in the liberation struggle the army will play an important role.

We use the army to mobilize the people, to fight, and sometimes even to work in the fields with the people. If the army is not disciplined it cannot meet all those challenges. The army would feel that it was just good in one thing, and not good for other things.

Also we knew that our guerrilla army had many tasks to perform, so they had to know exactly their responsibilities. Today, 1969 we have under our control over a million people, and it is obvious that we cannot organize a million people at once, so we have to start somewhere. The army has to be the first group, in fact the starting point. Then the smaller group can go on carrying out the tasks that the party asks them to perform. The army has to show a sense of responsibility, understanding and maturity. This is why we are demanding so much from our army in terms of discipline, organization and work. Otherwise, the army will represent a danger to the people. The army would not be working for the people, but rather the people would be working for them. Since the man who has the gun thinks he is stronger if he does not understand why he has the gun in his hand he is going to abuse the power of the gun against the people.

Also, the soldiers of our army come from different parts of this country, from different areas and different tribes. Today, we are making an experiment which is proving to be effective in trying to bring together all these soldiers from different parts of Angola under one leadership, under one policy, and under one aim; the total liberation of Angola and serving the people. I think that I have no reason to say that this attempt will fail, because until now, all of them have been working harmoniously. Then, I think it will be one of the starting points for uniting the whole country, because if in the army they can work together, if they can understand the various problems of this country and this struggle, such as the function of the army as a combative

and organizing force, in the future we shall use the army to reconstruct the country.

This is why it is essential that the army understands the differences between tribes without arousing antagonism. If they can say that one comes from this or that part of Angola, but all of us are Angolans working for the same goal, then, this will be the ideal army, the army that will serve the people, and not the people having to serve the army. In Angola we would not like our people to be frightened by the army. On the contrary, the army must understand the complex problems that we are facing today and that we shall face tomorrow.

LIBERATION OF THE TOWNS

Question: Do you think, Mr. President, that it would be possible to liberate militarily the cities and all Angolan territory up the western coast? Or do you consider the guerrilla warfare to be merely an element of pressure in the struggle against the colonial system which will not end unless the United Nations and the Great Powers actually demand that Portugal put into effect the defacto right of the people to self-determination and independence?

Answer: Certainly, it is an important question whether or not we expect to liberate Angola militarily or not. There are certain concepts of bourgeois philosophy which cannot be reconciled with the terms and conceptions of world revolutionaries. As one of the oppressed, I am bound to make this distinction because the struggle demands that one must identify and define which side one is on. For we who are engaged in the armed struggle for national liberation have made a careful scientific analysis of the concrete conditions of our country and the consequences of such a struggle. One is therefore not engaged in armed struggle with the intention of making that struggle merely a secondary pressure, or of waiting for the United Nations or the Great Powers to come and say "Boys (i.e. Portugal and ourselves) stop!" Never!.. We do not merely have an ideal, a programme, an ideology, we have also the determination of an entire people, which must be correctly mobilized. In UNITA, when we speak of a protracted armed struggle what we mean is that as soon as the Portuguese grasp the significance of the

armed struggle and the necessity for the African people of this country to rule themselves, they will leave. Therefore, dear friends, if the Portuguese withdraw today from Angola, it will mean that they have realized that they cannot hold out, and that will be a victory for the people's armed struggle, not for the United Nations. If the Portuguese withdraw tomorrow, or in 15 years time, it will be because they have seen in political, economical, military and social terms that they have been defeated. Therefore, there is no illusion among the UNITA patriots that we should wait for the United Nations and the Great Powers to say their piece. Here inside Angola there is an armed struggle which will triumph, not only over the soldiers of Portugal, but also over the whole concept of colonial, social, economic and political domination. On that day, the Portuguese will acknowledge the fact that they can do no more here. Therefore, no concessions, no coalitions, no "peaceful coexistence" are possible in Angola. Either the Portuguese leave this country to the Africans to govern themselves, or the armed struggle continues. You ask if one day UNITA will control the cities; that can only result from the development of the armed struggle in the rural areas.

In Angola 95% of the population are peasants. In our struggle, they are most reliable class. Therefore, they should join the struggle voluntarily and consciously, intergrated into it by the most politically advanced elements of the party and the people. When this is achieved, we will begin to control the forest, the rural areas and surround the cities. And as the struggle develops we will first take over the small military posts, then the military garrisons, and the cities will inevitably yield. But this depends on the course the armed struggle takes one cannot talk about tomorrow or the next day. The armed struggle will go on and the day is not far off when the Portuguese will no longer be able to leave their cities, and be strenghtened from outside. They will be obliged to give in, in one way or the other.

What UNITA cannot condone or accept is the ill-intentioned maneuver of giving independence to puppet groups here in Angola, in order to continue to exploit the African people. That UNITA cannot accept. Independence must be real. When this moment in time arrives, the Portuguese here in Angola will be yielding to military pressure. UNITA will oppose at all times any idea of colaboration between the Portuguese and their lackeys in giving independence to certain elements without the African people as a whole has not reached

political consciousness. When the Portuguese leave, it will mean that they have failed and the armed struggle has triumphed.

THE ROME CONFERENCE AND THE AFRICAN NATIONALISTS

Question: Mr. President, what do you think of the audience granted by the Pope (Paul VI) to Amilcar Cabral of PAIGC, Marcelino dos Santos of FRELIMO, and Agostinho Neto of MOLA? It is possible to conclude that the Pope has effectively condemned the Portuguese colonial policy? If so, what would be the consequences in Angola itself?

Answer: The audience granted by Pope Paul VI to the leaders of the three liberation movements after the Rome Conference is I think, an encouraging sign, indicating support for our struggle for national liberation. However, this question of the Rome Conference must be analysed in two stages. We cannot assess the Pope's motives and intentions. We can only assess accurately the facts that we see.

The Catholic Church is very influential and powerful in Portugal as well as in Angola. If this papal audience contributes to the disintegration of the colonialist and reactionary forces in Angola and in Portugal, it is helpful and positive. UNITA supports this move.

The regimes of the late Salazar and his successor, Marcelo Caetano, could never have managed to stay in power without the unconditional support of the Church in Portugal. Consequently, the audience given by the Pope to the leaders of the three liberation movements sparks off confusion and doubt among Christians on the question of whether Portuguese colonialism is just and is truly justified in serving as a bulwark against communism. The Pope said no, colonialism is not just. This is a positive attitude. However, the political implications are nothing to do with the Pope, but rather with the organizers of the audience. We must make a clear distinction between the audience itself and the politicians who organize the Rome Conference and prepared the ante-room for the audience. It is those who organized the conference in order to deceive the public who must be condemned, and not the Pope. However, time will show whether the attitude of the Pope is consistent. Revolutionary struggle does not take only one form. The main form

is armed struggle; and to divide and confuse the enemy is one of the other forms.

UNITA AND UPA AND BASIL DAVIDSON

Question: Mr. President, do you think Basil Davidson is right in claiming that Roberto Holden's UPA is off course, and if so do you think the reasons he gives are correct?

Answer: I have a great deal to say about Basil Davidson's claim to have visited the so-called liberated areas of MPLA. To this end, I would prefer to concentrate on matters concerning UNITA, not UPA. I am not an advocate for UPA. I think it would be the sensible and normal course for all those friends who would like to hear a commentary on what Davidson says about UPA to question the leaders of UPA, if they find that the reasoning and arguments of the author are of consequence. But, if you ask me, I am sorry, I cannot reply because I am not a member of UPA, but of UNITA.

UNITY OF THE NATIONALIST FORCES

Question: Mr. President, do you think that there are any possibilities of a reconciliation between UNITA and MPLA?

Answer: The political programme of UNITA envisages the possibility and realization of a common united front of all the forces fighting for the liberation of Angola during this stage of the national democratic revolution. The unification of the Angolan movements is a constant factor in our political programme. Everyone who can be united must unite, to fight all those whom it is necessary to fight. If MPLA is a force with which we must unite, UNITA is prepared to unite with MPLA. If MPLA is a force to be fought, UNITA will fight MPLA.

Before I go further, I would like to place our movement in a proper perspective. At a congress in March 1970, our comrade Secretary General Miguel Nzau Puna quoted Lenin "To know a revolutionary one must observe him in his home-country", and another comrade, David Samuimbila, who died

recently and was secretary for military planning and training. . . . of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FALA) also quoted Lenin: "Revolutionary theory without practice is only an argument, but also practice not illuminated by theory becomes blind."

Therefore, we can only assess the attitude of MPLA in its dealings with the people in Angola. Will MPLA encourage the masses, unite them, and protect the masses or will MPLA antagonize them and so act against the people? Only then can we judge whether MPLA is a force with which we can unite or which we must oppose. Unfortunately, till now MPLA has proved that it is opposed to the African masses. UNITA as a revolutionary organization cannot be against the people. However, if MPLA wishes to claim that it is the only movement in Angola, it is free to do so. But one thing is certain, MPLA cannot deceive all the Angolan people all the time.

NECESSITY OF A REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY

Question: Mr. President, do you consider your differences to be ideological? Is it UPA's dependence on the USA and MPLA's connections with the USSR that are at the root of your differences with these movements? Or is there any personal enmity, a conflict of personalities, generation, or ethnic backgrounds which could be an obstacle to an ultimate reconciliation?

Answer: This question although pertinent, contains certain assumptions that we have to examine. As to whether the differences are ideological, I would say that without an ideological stand we would never have left UPA.

We left UPA because of the methods of working and fighting, which incidentally were the same reasons that prevented us from joining MPLA. However, from now on I think it is necessary for African liberation movements to be able to define their ideological position in concrete terms. And not simply to define it, but also to live and practice it in their concrete struggles.

It is normal to have fundamental ideological and practical differences between UNITA, MPLA and UPA. But, despite this, as I said previously, it is possible to have a National Democratic Liberation Front, a front concerned with the

struggle for national liberation embracing all elements who can be united. I can say categorically that there are ideological differences between UNITA and MPLA and UPA. Since you have limited your question to MPLA, I presume that you think that MPLA is a progressive movement; but if one judges a revolutionary from the way in which he acts at home among his own people, then, it is here inside Angola that you should find out, analyse, and question how MPLA acts.

But this difference between us is not the basic aspect of our division. If the MPLA leaders whom you outside Angola consider to be progressive, understand what a proletarian revolution means (and even Agostinho Neto of MPLA claims to be Marxist), they would also understand what role a party, an individual, a group or even a personality plays in a democratic national revolution. If a group which claims to be Marxist cannot grasp this role, they are merely armchair revolutionaries, people who shout about revolution for opportunistic reasons, but in practice is an adventure and a vagabond.

Despite our differences, there are also possibilities of unity between our different groups in Angola. A correct scientific analysis of the nature of a national democratic struggle will show the leaders of all the movements who consider themselves to be revolutionaries their limitations, and, I stress this the limitations of a national democratic revolution. In the name of this revolution, then, they will sacrifice a great deal, but without losing sight of the ultimate goal.

THE LIES OF BASIL DAVIDSON ABOUT ANGOLA

Question: Mr. President, would it be possible to reply point by point to Mr. Basil Davidson's extremely strong accusations against you, which were published in the 'Le Monde Diplomatique' of September 1970 (and also in Dagens Nyeter, New Statesman, and many other interviews.)

Answer: I sincerely believe that to indulge in this sterile discussion without giving it a political analysis would be absolutely useless. I still believe that friends of the Angolan liberation struggle, on whatever side they may be, are sincerely interested to know not simply my own position, but the position of UNITA as a whole. So, I am obliged to speak out about this embarrassing question and

the lies of Mr. Basil Davidson's interviews and publications about Angola. I will do this reluctantly, so I appeal to friends who truly sympathise with our struggle to forgive me.

First of all, I doubt whether Mr. Basil Davidson was really inside Angola, because he said in his BBC interview and in his articles about his so-called visit to Angola that he was 350 kilometres from the Zambian border, at Muie. All the maps of Angola show very clearly that he could at most have been only 150 kilometres from the Zambian border, where Muie is located. This contradiction in distance just shows that either Mr. Davidson has not been inside Angola or, he reached only near the Zambian border.

I do not wish to reply point by point to those statements and articles of his which you consider to discredit me. I should simply like to select certain key points from his writings.

Mr. Basil Davidson said, for instance, that Muie was 350 kilometres from the Zambian border, whereas in fact it could not be more than 150 kilometres away. Secondly, he stated that Muie was situated in the centre of Mexico Province, which is utterly false, because any honest person and who wants to know the truth will see from the maps the Portuguese have drawn up that Muie is in the South of Mexico Province and to the North of Cuando-Cubango. Therefore, Basil Davidson must be lying. Thirdly, Davidson said that MPLA controls the Cuando-Cubango Province, from which I must conclude that it also controls the province of Bie, Lunda, Malanje and other provinces.

How can a man like Mr. Basil Davidson who has acquired a political reputation by being the first European writer to publish a book exposing Portuguese colonialism in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, take upon himself the right to deceive world opinion? A prestigious position demands at the same time a sense of responsibility. If many people trust Mr. Davidson, he should not lie with impunity. He should tell the truth.

Furthermore, Basil Davidson, wants to reduce our struggle for national liberation to a mere confrontation between tribes, and I quote him from Le Monde Diplomatique of September 1970: "the first revolt in Luanda began

on Feb. 4th, 1961 led by the Kimbundu, and in Primavera to the north on March 15th, 1961 led by the Bakengos: opening up of the Eastern Front was carried out by the Kimbundis, Mbundas, and Ovimbundus." Later on, he makes a sweeping, wild and audacious statement that "Cabinda was only a laboratory for the MPLA." A laboratory, for all those who studied in Portugal or elsewhere; a place for study, attempts, experimentation and not for application. If this is so, it means that MPLA was not firm, determined and sincere in the struggle for the liberation of the province of Cabinda, but was experimenting, sacrificing, and playing with the African people of the province of Cabinda. For any revolutionary Marxist, this is absolutely hypocritical. MPLA wanted to put itself in a position where it could project its image to the countries outside and to world opinion, in order to gain some outside support. MPLA, therefore, was not sincerely concerned with the struggle to liberate the province of Cabinda, whatever they may say, this is self-evident from the statement and writings of Basil Davidson.

UNITA and its president cannot discuss personal problems and I am not authorized to do so. I can only limit myself to the discussion of the political problems. My personal position is separate from the struggle. However, history will show whether MPLA is speaking the truth or not. UNITA as the vanguard of the Angolan people, as a revolutionary party which leads the Angolan proletariat, the dispossessed people who are totally committed to the struggle for national liberation, has a duty to refute Basil Davidson's lies.

Also, Basil Davidson cannot be a friend of Africa if he advocates tribalism. Because in order to start the liberation struggle in Angola, we must above all unite all the people, win over the masses of people, go beyond their divisions and petty tribal differences so that the oppressed people can constitute one single national force which can oppose Portuguese colonialism effectively and practically. When Basil Davidson states that there is a division between Mbundas, Mbundus, Cabindas, Luchazis, Ganguelas, Tchokwes, etc, he becomes an apologist for Portuguese colonialism, an apologist and supporter of the apartheid of South Africa, for South Africa does not recognize a national sentiment amongst the black people. Apartheid in South Africa recognizes the division between tribes, what it calls conveniently "Bantustans", which means that the Zulus differ from Xosa, Shona, Sutus etc. Therefore, if Basil

Davidson says he is a true friend of MPLA and of Africa, Africans in Angola must doubt his honesty. Furthermore, Davidson has visited the liberated areas of PAIGC in Guine and of FRELIMO in Mozambique. Only history will show tomorrow if this man, who advocates tribalism and negates national consciousness among the African people in Angola, was sincere, because we can see quite clearly that the struggle of the African people in Mozambique and Guine is passing through a critical phase. Who knows if it was Basil Davidson who betrayed the African people of Guine and Mozambique? He claims that he was in Angola, which we have rather strong doubts about, and only time will tell whether this man can do the same as he did in Mozambique and Guine. We think that an element which encourages tribalism, deforms the truth, and negates national consciousness among Africans, is an element that must be denounced.

NECESSITY FOR UNITY

Question: Mr. President, what are your priorities? And if the opposition appears too serious to you, how. . . .

Answer: The unification of the liberation movements in this part of Southern Africa is absolutely imperative. UNITA's political programme takes the question of unity as being of paramount importance. But this unity must reflect and correspond to the necessities of our national liberation struggle. UNITA is trying to establish a collective leadership, and the president of UNITA is not the boss, the master of UNITA as Basil Davidson talks about Angostinho Neto of MPLA. In UNITA we wish to establish revolutionary, military, politically democratic institutions to lead our struggle. Therefore, it is not only the concern of Savimbi, as tomorrow after Savimbi, it will not merely be the concern of comrades Nzau Puna, Chiwale, Chitunda, or any other, but the concern of a consistent political party, a party with a political programme and revolutionary organization.

ANGOLAN NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Question: Mr. President, does an Angolan consciousness exist?

Answer: If there were no national consciousness, there would not be a national liberation struggle. But, national consciousness is created, it is not an innate phenomenon, and it has developed not only in Angola, but elsewhere. Look at France even: ofr instance France of Piemont, of the Pyrennes; of Alsace developed differently from the France of Flandres. Through struggle and common needs, men have come to realize that it is necessary to unite, to live together, to fight together and to die together. Today, there is an obligation: if you fight with others, you must also be able to live with them. You cannot cut yourself off from others and live without them. If you remain alone, you die alone. Today, in our country the tendency is to live together. In Angola an attempt is being made to educate the people politically towards a national consiousness. The Luchazes, Ganguelas, Tchokwes, Ovimbundus, Kikongos, Umbundus, Cabindas and other people must feel that they cannot exist alone.

THE FUTURE of WHITE MINORITY IN ANGOLA

Question: Mr. President, what future do you see for the white minority in Angola? Do you think that it will be similar to that of the French in Algeria, or like in Rhodesia?

Answer: Mr. Agostinho Neto interviewed by his friend Basil Davidson speaks of this eventuality. UNITA believes that the armed struggle will not only show the correct direction for the revolution, but it will also sweep aside the colonialist manoeuvres of the imperialists in the areas still uder colonial domination. In Angola, if the possibility of the Portuguese setting up a puppet regime exists, UNITA does not fear it. Let them come, they will be fought with the same determination and objectivity with which we fought the Portuguese. So if there are here in Angola people who try to take over power in the name of the Portuguese (and other monopoly capitalists), or as in Rhodesia, they all will be swept aside, because our struggle will inevitably reach its objectives. A french revolutionary said: "If you engage in a revolution you must take it right to its conclusion, otherwise you yourself will be swept aside by the same revolution."

EDUCATION IN LIBERATED AREAS

Question: Mr. President, what sort of education would you like to see in tomorrow's Angola? In what language do you think illiterate Angolans should learn to read and write?

Answer: UNITA has stated previously that it is here inside Angola at the service of the broad masses of people, the dispossessed, the proletariat. It would, therefore, be useless and, I believe, vain speculation to say what language would be spoken: French, Luchaze, English, Portuguese, Mbunda, Tchokwe, etc. It is not a question of language but of what direction the revolution will take. Socialism or capitalism? If it is capitalism, it is quite simple. We must merely adapt to the colonial institutions and machinery of the enemy. If it is socialism, the question is: how can we apply socialism in the specific conditions of Angolan society? To say a priori what language will be spoken in Angola is to know beforehand what the result of the enemy's political manoeuvres will be. We are here at the service of the African people and we cannot take anything for granted.

By what means can we bring education and scientific knowledge to the people? We shall see during the course and development of our struggle. To say today what language we shall speak necessarily implies imperialist prejudgements in line with modern revisionism. The question of the language to be used in the schools does not arise. First, liberate an area and see what in this particular area is the language which can best be taught to 10, 20, 30, 40, 200 people. From this you can draw a specific conclusion. The same test must be applied in other areas. To say, a priori, we shall teach this or that to the illiterate masses as a whole is neither scientific nor revolutionary. Prejudging the situation is what dishonest people do who want to don a revolutionary garb but in practice be reactionaries, tools of imperialist intrigues. Therefore, let the party which is fighting inside Angola with the people for the total liberation and independence of the African people and the reconstruction of Angola analyse which are the most useful methods of popular education in each region, and see what are the practical means of education the people as a whole. What is good and effective for the broad masses of the people is good for the nation;

and what is good for a clique who indulge in debates in bars and coffee houses is good for the bourgeoisie.

AFRICAN MARXISTS

Question: Mr. President, mostly all the African states decry Marxism and profess superiority of the socialist system. Do you think that Frantz Fanon was right when he said that the greatest enemy of Africa was a lack of an ideology? Do you agree with those who say that Africa has set off on the wrong foot? Or do you find that in the last two years the art of government in Africa has improved, and that what is most sincere and effective will soon follow such as class consciousness and revolutionary spirit?

Answer: Quite frankly, I think that's rather a long question, and my answer will be shorter. As to this business of talking about "Marxism", "efficiency", "art of government". . . . what right does a European Marxist have to impose his own concepts on those Africans who call themselves Marxists? Marxism is a theory, a guide to action, comprehensive science which must be applied according to the specific and concrete conditions in individual countries. So, why should a European Marxist today have any right to demand that African Marxists reply to this question? I am bound to doubt the sincerity of these European Marxists because they would like to see our political, economic and social views through the perspective of their own countries. I think that it is impossible to be a revolutionary, a true Marxist without having tested the effectiveness of the system in one's own country.

A Marxist prejudices neither a person nor an organization. Marxism is a theory. Oppressed people must fight for their freedom. If there must be a European, or an Asian guide to direct an African towards his own struggle for emancipation, then such Marxism is distorted and UNITA does not subscribe to it. To say that Africans claim to be Marxists in order to throw off Marxism, requires proof to be brought to us so that we can study this case. But to generalize, or to scold us is somewhat paternalistic (and imperialistic), I am afraid.

END.

Interview by Yvette Jarrico
Published by UNITA office in London.

THE UNPUBLISHED LETTER TO LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUEBy the President of U.N.I.T.A.

(translated from French)

Jacques Fauvet
 Director of Le Monde
Diplomatique
 Paris, FRANCE.

From: Free-Land of Angola
 Central Base-Region No.2
 10th January 1971
 ANGOLA

Dear Sir,

I have previously resisted the temptation to give UNITA's views on articles published in your Newspaper, Le Monde Diplomatique, by Mr. Basil Davidson. I think now that my personal contribution would certainly be the wish of your readers, since Mr. Davidson in an article published on 25th November 1970 indirectly requested my participation.

Before elaborating my reply, I would like to stress the destructive nature of such discussions when one of the parties involved begins to make accusations as serious as those made by Mr. Basil Davidson.

In Angola the most important and delicate problem is that of unification of all the nationalist forces who combat Portuguese colonialism and its agents. Anything that helps this unification would not only be desirable but would be by far the most efficient contribution that could be given to our fight and struggle in general for the emancipation of the African peoples who are still under colonial rule. If my letter follows those general lines, only then can it deserve publication.

Anyone who carefully has read any of Basil Davidson's articles in English, French, Swedish newspapers and magazines will have immediately noticed his partisan and contradictory tone.

(What are the facts about Basil Davidson Lies?)

1) Mr. Basil Davidson says that he visited MUIE which, he says, is in the centre of Moxico. This is quite wrong, false, because in fact Muie is in the South of Moxico on the borders of Moxico and Cuando-Cubango (see Map of Angola, 1966, Edicap da Junta da Investioacao do Ultramar, Missao

Geografica de Angola, Apoio Geodesico e Cartografico). It is true to say that in Europe public opinion is very involved in the social struggles of their own countries, but from time to time interest is shown in African problems. However, this does not give Mr. Basil Davidson (or any other person or organization) the right to exploit the ignorance of the European public opinion on African problems. On the contrary, he should try to inform objectively and never to deform the reality. Therefore, I appeal to the staff of your respected Newspaper, Le Monde Diplomatique, to try to inform the European opinion fully (and correctly) about our struggle, because "only truth is revolutionary",

2) Mr. Basil Davidson is very one sided about our struggle when he speaks only about the Umbundus, Kimbundus, Bakongos, Mbundas, Luchazes, etc. He is concerned with our people's efforts to organize themselves in resistance movements against colonial oppression on our continent, but he brings grist to the mill of apartheid which does not recognize any national character in the aspirations of the African peoples, just as though the Scots are not British too. When one realizes how fiercely the British opposed the secession of East Nigeria, it is very difficult to see how a British man can become an apologist for tribalism among us. To reduce our struggle to the dimensions of tribal rivalries in this way, is to attempt to throw general discredit on our efforts, as much for MPLA as for the other nationalists.

3) Mr. Basil Davidson speaks of the "strategic" control of MPLA. Such language which attempts to show that MPLA controls 9 of the 15 provinces (or 10 of the 15 provinces according to the new administrative division of Angola) is only permissible to a partisan journalist. But we find it very hard to accept from an English Colonel (of the British Army) who has worked with the partisan forces of Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia.

For UNITA, control , true control of the Zones, the liberation of vast zones and the subsequent creation of base areas consists only of "tactical" control. A liberated zone is one in which the enemy can no longer penetrate, for should he try to do so, he would leave only dead men and no longer would have the courage to continue. The opposite of this is pure and simple demagoguery, a word which is no longer in our dictionary.

Strategic control certainly exists, but only in the zones disputed by the enemy. The day that our forces and support among the people exceeds all the enemy forces, this control immediately becomes tactical. Therefore, only movements based outside the country can allow themselves to exert at most a "strategic" control. For UNITA there is a great need to establish our HOME in Angola itself. If it became necessary to move from strategic control to real control which is tactical.

This letter takes the place of an invitation to your Newspaper to send a journalist to our liberated areas in order to confirm at first hand the magnitude of our struggle and the dimensions of our success on the spot. We know that pressure has been exerted to prevent journalists from visiting our Bases in Angola. Even the African Liberation Committee of the O.A.U. has not been able to send observers to us so as to propagate the lies of others. But there are no lies in a genuine revolution which can destroy its success, not any pressure great enough to influence its course towards final victory.

4) In the Newstatesman of October 30, 1970, Mr. Basil Davidson writes as follows: ". . . But it is a problem in Angola where the World Council of Churches (WCC), for example, has recently given aid to three movements." Mr. Davidson had made a trip to the Scandinavian countries in 1969-70. As a result of this journey which was used to denigrate UNITA in order to support MPLA, the \$25,000 US dollars which the Swedish Democratic Party promised us verbally and by a letter remained a dead promise (letter). We find it easy to understand that when Mr. Basil Davidson speaks of the World Council of Churches, he would like all the material help (money) to go solely to MPLA. I am forced to read between the lines that these are Mr. Basil Davidson's true motives. But, I must admit that we were also suprised by this aid, for inspite of our policy of accepting all aid when there are no conditions attached, the WCC has never previously been among the list of our allies. His disappointment corresponds exactly to our surprise. Naturally, the WCC must have reasons for assisting not only UNITA but also the other anti-racist movements. But, I remind Mr. Basil Davidson that there are African Liberation Movements which even if recognized by the African Liberation Committee of the O.A.U. have not been aided by the WCC. Should I doubt whether Mr. Basil Davidson would not see in this aid to UNITA the hand of the USA-CIA?

I would ask him to inform himself about it at the WCC in Geneva, Switzerland.

In UNITA we believe that the most solid aid which does not obey pressures or sympathies is that of our own people. Mr. Davidson can not give this aid because it must be conquered by fighting within the country and through enormous sacrifices. Because of this support to our people, the outside world which had denied us their aid and even their logistic support now sees itself morally obliged to support us, because we represent a force and determination here inside Angola. We shall carry on certain of the support of our people.

5) In the same journal, Davidson, speaks of "Maoists" and of the aid from the Peoples Republic of China to the African Liberation Movements with an anti-Chinese tone which could not be stronger in Washington or even in Lisbon. No African movement can honestly support his affirmations, far less the MPLA. The anti-Chinese tone of Basil Davidson's writings are no longer in doubt, and for my part I believe that it is this spirit which motivated Mr. Basil Davidson's journey to our country, that is, if he really went there. . . Mr. Davidson wanted to take part in the ideological struggle which today divides the Socialist World which is the only camp that can really support the liberation movement in Africa and elsewhere.

UNITA has its own philosophy, but it is very largely based on the revolutionary principles which have already triumphed in other parts of the World. UNITA's struggle is part of this ideological struggle, for the liquidation of colonialism is part of the general struggle against imperialism. Here we want to establish the ideas which correspond to actual practical terms to the requirements of our struggle and to the true solidarity of the peoples fighting against imperialism. This places us on the side where we are. Mr. Basil Davidson has clearly shown which side he is on, but the struggle must not be taken lightly for two reasons:

- (a) If UNITA triumphs, Mr. Basil Davidson will appear as a simple plotter in the eyes of the world.
- (b) UNITA IS NOT WHAT Mr. Basil Davidson thinks it to be. UNITA sees itself as the avant-garde of the proletariat in Angola in this phase of the national democratic revolution until socialism triumphs here. Here we have

no need for defendants such as Basil Davidson who justifies anti-communism to the world in order to obtain Western support for MPLA. From the audience with the Pope (Paul VI) after a discriminatory conference organized under the auspices of MOSCOW to the articles of Basil Davidson, there is nothing but mystification from MPLA in terms of its political options.

As for Mr. Basil Davidson I simply say this: a man who has acquired a certain reputation has also taken on responsibilities and should not lead the public opinion on false trails in this way with impunity. The struggle will not pardon him so many lies, so many prejudices, and above all so much involvement in the wrong place. In this fight UNITA will play its cards to the FINISH, because it is a question of our life. Now it is Mr. Basil Davidson's turn to play to the finish also.

As for myself personally, I have never belonged to MPLA. As for my numerous contacts with them (MPLA) of which Mr. Davidson speaks I think that it would be desirable for these contacts to be taken up again so that we could advance on the road to unification of our respective movements.

As for the motives which impelled Zambian authorities to expel me from their country in 1967 after imprisoning me for six days without trial, it is good that Mr. Basil Davidson should have drawn overhastly conclusions. I shall content myself to relegate this affair of historical dimensions to posterity as part of the true struggle we are waging here, once we have taken up our arms.

The people of China, Korea and the heroic Vietnamese people have triumphed because they have adopted correct revolutionary principles for a just struggle. The brothers of Algeria have written a glorious page in the history of armed struggle of the weak peoples on our Continent. Here we do not have to invent much but we can draw on the experience of the other peoples who have won the fight in other regions. However, UNITY in Angola remains the most powerful tool in our hands against the manoeuvres of the close and direct enemy or against the distant enemy who prefers subtly in order to increase even further the dissensions in the heart of our national liberation movement.

UNITY of people in its class divisions with different interests MUST BE FOLLOWED BY UNITY of action between the different liberation movements in Angola. This task of unifying the liberation movements has been entrusted to the O.A.U. and neighbouring African countries. If they fail, the Angolan people will be called upon to succeed in achieving this with their committed struggle in the past 10 years, for UNITY is the only guarantee for our victory under less painful conditions.

For the time being, UNITA will carry on fighting within the country, and if necessary, fight alone.

With thanks and best wishes,

Dr. JONAS M. SAVIMBI
(President of UNITA and Commander-
in Chief of the Armed Forces of
Angola - FALA)

Terra-Livre de Angola
10. 1. 1971
ANGOLA

WAR COMMUNIQUE OF FALA

PERIOD: July, August, September 1970.

17th August 1970-

Besides minor clashes with the Portuguese Forces, we have to announce with pride the most outstanding attack launched by the Black Panther Company against a column of 8 lorries carrying troops to one of UNITA areas. This attack took place on the road from General Machado (Camacupa) to Luando. From the ambush, 55 Portuguese soldiers were wiped out. 1 Portuguese soldier was taken prisoner and several others were wounded. Our fighters have seized the following materials.

- a) 65 guns ranging from G3 to Mausers
- b) 2,500 rounds of FN ammunitions
- c) 500 rounds of Mauzer ammunitions
- d) 40 grenades (diagrama Lote F.M.P. -2/1968)
- e) Uniforms and valuable documents.

3rd August 1970 - three cars "Unimong" carrying soldiers from Kangamba to Alto-Cuito were ambushed. In this attack 20 colonial soldiers were killed and their arms captured. In this attack we have to regret the death of comrade EDUARDO KAPWEPWE who died bravely. He has been an outstanding fighter for all these three years he has been in UNITA and FALA ranks.

15th August 1970- a lorry full of public police (Policia de Seguranca publica) going to the railway station of Sandando was ambushed at a distance of less than 1Km. Eleven of them were wiped out. From the documents seized, pictures of the victims are added to this communique. Their names are: Fernando Borges Maia, sub-chief of police, and Franciso correia Agostinho

29th August 1970 -25 Portuguese soldiers patrolling in the area of Kangombe was ambushed by UNITA's column No. 2. 12 Portuguese soldiers were put out of combat. Two others were found dead some miles away from the place where the ambush took place.

During the 2 months that have elapsed, UNITA patriotic forces have wiped out more than 150 Portuguese soldiers and has captured a total of 162 guns. Some serial numbers of the captured guns run as follows:

<u>MAUZERS</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>FN</u>
S/42 No. 9574	FMP 082673	No. 3421
" 143	" 085169	" 52157
" 18768-E	" 077164	" 0151

<u>MAUZERS</u>	<u>G3</u>	<u>FN</u>
S/42 No. 6527-O	EMP 0832246	No. 34817
" 3644-K	" 083794	
" 9374-O	" 083572	
" 9127-O	" 083159	
" 1529-P	" 084538	
" 3978-O	" 074154	
" 84930	" 082561	
" 4545-L	" 065217	
" 2740-O	" 085176	
" 9139-O	" 069132	
" 6530-O	" 082153	
" 59-O	" 085317	

We have captured a total of 10,000 rounds of FN, and some 3,000 rounds of Mauzer, and over 160 grenades.

21st September 1970 - column no. 1 ambushed 4 lorries carrying the civil defence forces and police forces from Luso to Luanguirico. 12 policemen were killed, 13 guns seized, documents captured, and all the lorries burnt to ashes. In this attack 2 people were made prisoners of war. One was the wife of a civil defence member who was the wife of a civil defence member who was killed in the attack. She has been in Angola only three months coming from Portugal. Another person was the daughter of a policeman, who is only 7 years old. Their names are: 1) Maria Adelina curval Neto, born in Santo Tirso do Porto (Portugal) on December 12, 1945. 2) Maria Luisa Alves, age of 7 .