



in Africa which have not yet regained their independence, armed struggle has been placed on the agenda, and the mystic policy of non-violence has been buried for ever, in these African countries ~~by~~ which have already regained their independence, the struggle against neo-colonialism has begun in earnest. In Latin America, revolutionary Cuba has set the whole Latin American continent ablaze ~~with~~ with revolutionary enthusiasm. The socialist camp, the progressive forces in the United States, Europe and other places are in a world wide anti-imperialism front, there is indeed a favourable international situation.

The subjective conditions. The support of the popular masses for the national liberation war was total and unreserved, the morale of the people was high and our people were prepared to make the utmost sacrifice in the cause of our liberation.

But very sad to say, in people like Holden Roberto our people did not find a dedicated leadership. In people like Holden Roberto, the people in fact misplaced their confidence and their hopes and ~~now~~ in consequence our revolution was betrayed.

A. (1) The absence of collective leadership at the head the G.R.A.E. does not allow an objective analysis of the situation both inside the country and outside. The G.R.A.E. has become the personal instrument of Holden's ambitious intrigues. His personal whims ~~xx~~ constitute the Law. The P.D.A. Led by Mr. Kouzika fight to save the face of the F.N.L.A. at the price of innumerable humiliations. We shall cite only few examples:-

a) - The sending of the agents of the (Congo-Leo) security personnel to the headquarters of the P.D.A. night in June, 1964 by Holden Roberto, to search for arms which the leaders of P.D.A might hide. At this occasion, Mr. Ferdinand Ndombele, Minister of Social Affairs of the G.R.A.E. was subjected to a number of various measures.

b) - At the Minkuzu training base (Congo-Leo), used by G.R.A.E. the P.D.A. out of the total of 1000, has only 30 soldiers.

c) - Holden Roberto, in order to ensure for himself the fidelity of Mr. Emmanuel Nziki, member of the P.D.A. and Minister of Finance of the G.R.A.E. initiated intrigues between Emmanuel Nziki and his Party with the result that the latter has been eliminated from the G.R.A.E. for the misappropriation of ~~vw~~ millions of Francs. Thus you can see where goes the money given by African States intended to help the liberation of Angola.

d) - Mr. Taden who was the representative of G.R.A.E. in East Africa has been dismissed from his post because of the serious accusations against Holden Roberto.

e) - The students who oppose the tribalistic and dividing politics of Holden Roberto, have their scholarships suppressed and in some cases, even their travelling documents have been withdrawn. We cite in illustration the case of Orlando Fortuna, who for refusing to participate in the dividing politics of Holden Roberto, now finds himself

stranded somewhere in Europe deprived of both the scholarship and travelling documents.

f) - Holden Roberto has always received cordial support from the authorities of the Congo-Leo. He has used this support against Angolan patriots. We shall cite the arbitrary arrest of Daniel Chipenda, President of the Young of M.P.L.A. We cite also the arrests of hundreds of patriotic Angolan soldiers whose only crime was that they supported our stand which is critical of and opposed to the politics of Holden Roberto. Several of these soldiers have found their death in the Congolese prisons of Ndolo, Lusumu and Thysville, many other are still incarcerated in Congo prisons. For those who are still in these Congo prisons, We request the Committee to make the necessary representations for the immediate release of the patriotic soldiers. As reference, we give a few names of some of these soldiers or officers:

1. Abel Alfredo, 2. Alberto Sipata, 3. Agostino Alberto, 4. Firmono
5. Paulo Cardoso, 6. Victor Benguela, 7. Domingos Guedes, 8. Albino
9. Carlos Bandeira, 10. Jose Luacio.

There are also other soldiers and patriots of the M.P.L.A. detained in Congo prisons at the instigation of Holden Roberto.

g) - Roberto sells arms and medical supplies intended for the fighting people of Angola, to the Congolese authorities at Leopoldville. The army of national liberation must be not only a fighting army but also ~~historically~~ a political army, to be a political army, its political consciousness must be raised. It is this political consciousness which should guarantee the consolidation of the national democratic revolution when the fighting is over. The army for the liberation of Angola is not political conscious. It remains incapable of winning the enthusiastic support of the masses to the national cause. It is this lack of political consciousness which makes determined to fight resolutely against Portuguese colonialism. We shall cite yet another example of M.P.L.A. cadres who were massacred on two occasions by the soldiers of Holden's U.P.A. on the orders of Holden Roberto. We cite also the case of hundreds of innocent Angolans who were massacred by the agents of Holden Roberto in North Angola. Their crime that they did not belonged to the Mukongo ethnic-group to which Holden belonged. We cite also the refusal of Holden Roberto to accept the volunteers offered by President Ben Bella as aid to our struggle. Instead of these Algerian volunteers, Holden Roberto has put at head of his army Mr. Berhardt Meinhertz, an American Officer who served in the American army in South Vietnam.

The soldiers of Holden's U.P.Z. allowed the entrance of American journalists into the interior of the country who, in addition to make publications and tape recordings, furnished precise information to the Portuguese colonialists about the location of our soldiers. Following this commandant Antoine Muandazi was arrested by the Portuguese after his interview with an American journalist in his army headquarters at Serra da Canda in Angola. The American journalist in question was Lloyd Garrison.

The soldiers of Holden's U.P.A. use the arms and ~~new~~ ammunitions, furnished by African countries for hunting buffaloes in order to sell the meat at the post Matade (Congo Leo) instead of using the arms and

ammunitions to fight the Portuguese colonialists. From these we can see that the national liberation army has indeed degenerated to a very low political consciousness. As regarded the flirting of Holden Roberto with Congo-Leo a quotation from the speech of Jose Kalundungu, Chief of State Major of A.L.N.A. "we are strongly opposed to Tshombe whatever support which he may eventually give to Angolans resident in Leopoldville. For us, there are not even explanatory & justifications which can absolve the G.R.A.E. for flirtation with a power led by notorious agents of the imperialists. Certainly, Holden Roberto awaits the fulfillment of the promises of support from Tshombe. The Angolan people who are waging a struggle for their national independence should remain firm in their solidarity with the Congolese nationalists who desire the achievement of real independence for their country along the path chartered by Patrice Lumumba. The tolerance of the activities of G.R.A.E. by Tshombe make us have misgivings about the future of our country". Tell me with whom you associated and I shall say who you are."we await the reaction of G.R.A.E. to the sinister massacre of Stanleyville by a Belgo-American coalition, is it that this reaction will come some day when the survivors of Stanleyville massacre and other patriots will have taken power in the whole of the Congo? The President of the Conakat and his masters will not gain victory. They will never succeed. Peace in the Congo will be conquered by the Congolese people without any outside imposition. The whole of Africa should realise that the heart of the continent is sick. We ask the African countries to go deep into a serious imperialists will learn in the Congo will save the whole continent.

Forward in the struggle, companions of Lumumba, forward the people of the Congo, neighbouring Angola engaged deep in the fight for freedom, is solidally on your side. In the accompanying manifesto we charter once again our line of action and declare our resolution to fight.

Made in Dar-Es-Salaam, 15th January, 1965. Angolan Manifesto.

Jonas Malheiro Savimbi