

**Support the Second
Anti-Colonial Struggle
of the Angolan People**

NORMAN BETHUNE INSTITUTE 1976

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Anti-Colonial Struggle
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1976**

**WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES,
UNITE!**

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EDITOR'S NOTE

On Saturday March 13, 1976, a mass rally was held in Toronto to celebrate the 10th Anniversary of the founding of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the 13th Anniversary of the founding of the Internationalists in Canada.

UNITA, the genuine national liberation movement of Angola, is presently fighting an anti-imperialist war against Soviet social-imperialist-Cuban armed aggression and against U.S. imperialist-South African racist intervention in order to establish a genuinely independent government of national union in Angola.

On Sunday March 14, 1976, in Toronto, a press conference was held by representatives of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. This organisation is entering the second phase of its war for national liberation, an anti-colonial war against Soviet-Cuban aggression. UNITA is opposed to the Soviet Union seizing the fruits of the 15 year war of national liberation waged by the Angolan people against Portuguese colonialism, and is calling for a government of national union, an end to Soviet-Cuban aggression, an end to all foreign interference, and for a genuinely independent Angola.

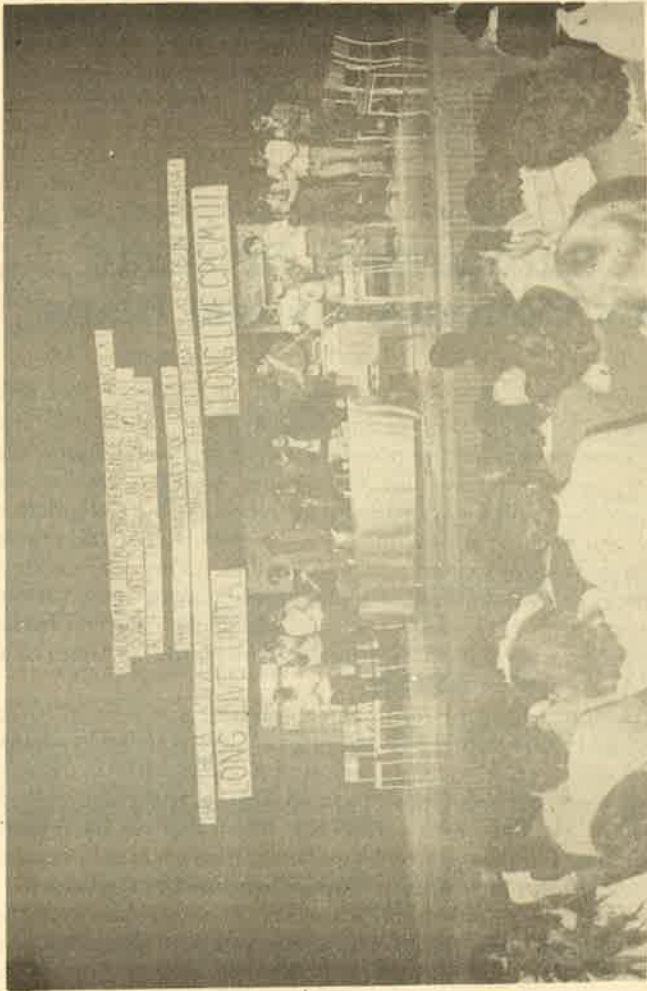
This pamphlet contains the proceedings of the rally and the text of the press conference.

Introductory Remarks by Comrade Hardial Bains

Comrades and friends, this evening we have a two-fold program. The first portion of the program is a very short one, and the second portion of the program will be relatively longer. We have three main speakers for this evening. After the speakers we will have food which is available for everyone and a social function which will begin at approximately ten o'clock. In between there will be some revolutionary songs and poems. So in order to begin this program I would like to ask the representatives of the various organisations from Toronto and Montreal which have vigorously supported the revolutionary struggle of the people of Angola and UNITA, to come on the stage.

In Toronto, where the various elements who are agents of Soviet Union and Cuba have been carrying on various slanders against UNITA and have tried to disrupt the meetings of UNITA in the past, we have comrades who have stood up to them and smashed their disruptive activities. And I think it is fitting that we have them represented here tonight. So I have been called upon to introduce a comrade from the Toronto Student Movement. (Applause)

Next we would like to introduce to you a comrade from the Anti-imperialist Alliance of Kitchener-Waterloo which has also been very active in the Kitchener-Waterloo area to support the struggle of the Angolan people to the extent that this is one of the cities where Soviet revisionists and their Cuban puppets have not been able to organise any meeting in support of their aggression in Angola. So here is the comrade from the Anti-Imperialist Alliance of Kitchener-Waterloo. (Applause)



Mass Rally which was held on March 13, 1976, to celebrate the 10th Anniversary of UNITA and the 13th Anniversary of the Internationalists.

We would like to introduce to you the President of the Canadian Student Movement. Canadian students all across Canada have been very active in supporting the struggle of the people of Angola and UNITA. I would like to introduce to you the President of CSM, Michel Parayre.

Besides, we have several organisations from the national minority communities which are connected with the liberation organisations in their own countries and which have also vigorously supported the struggle of the Angolan people and vigorously supported UNITA. So I would like their representatives to come forward. First is the Militant Front of Greeks Abroad — Anti-Fascist and Anti-Imperialist, from Montreal. (Applause) Comrade from the Arab Progressive Study Group, Montreal. (Applause)

Comrade from the Antonio Gramsci Circle, Montreal. (Applause) Comrade from East Indian Defence Committee. (Applause) Comrade from the Pakistani Progressive Study Group. (Applause) Comrade from the Filipino Progressive Study Group. (Applause) Comrade from the Filipino Cultural and Historical Society. (Applause)

Comrade from the Progressive Iranian Study Group. (Applause)

And we have a militant comrade from the community who participated in vigorous anti-racist struggle. He is very well-known to everyone, Comrade Martin Bracey. (Applause)

A comrade from the Black Progressive Study Group. (Applause)

And we have Comrade Mustafa Anvari who is leading the work on the Zimbabwe Solidarity Committee. (Applause)

And we have a comrade from Native Progressive Study Group. (Applause)

So comrades and friends this meeting has been organised on a very short notice, in fact the notice has been only one day. And all the comrades here, have participated actively to support this program. This program is organised by the CPC(M-L) for two reasons, one is to celebrate the 13th Anniversary of the founding of the Internationalists which falls on March 13, 1976 and the other is to celebrate the 10th Anniversary of the founding of UNITA, the fighting organisation of Angola which we are very proud to find was also founded on the same date in 1966. (Applause) And while our comrades in Angola are vigorously, by force of arms facing the onslaught of Soviet revisionism and Cuban puppets, vigorously carrying out revolutionary national war against foreign interven-

tion, we have been carrying on support for the struggle of the Angolan people through our own struggle against revisionism, the two superpowers and against the monopoly capitalist system here in Canada. And in the last few months particularly, this struggle has been waged against the myriad of slanders and attacks on UNITA in the press as well as through the opportunist circles here in Canada in order to clarify the issue. We have enthusiastically stood up with the comrades here — comrades from UNITA, supported them, and we will carry on this support until the time Angola is genuinely independent and there is a government of national union.

So far as we are concerned this is just a beginning of the struggle in support of Angola, of the Angolan people, and of UNITA. The 13th Anniversary of the Internationalists has significance in the sense that in Canada today only CPC(M-L) is vigorously supporting the national liberation movement whether it is in Zimbabwe, Angola or other places.

The rest of the organisations which claim they are progressive have taken one diplomatic posture or the other. It is funny to see that some individuals in this country have taken up the diplomatic posture that just because China supports three liberation movements and opposes Soviet intervention, that these people also will not take a stand on the question of support for UNITA. The reason for this is that they are actually supporters and apologists for Soviet intervention in Angola. They give, sometimes openly, sometimes behind the scenes, this line that no country in the world can be liberated without the support of so-called socialist countries. It is very important to understand that a small country like Cambodia, relying on its own efforts was able to defeat U.S. imperialism, was able to defeat the Soviet social-imperialist intrigues. In fact, in this period at this time, the only way a genuine national liberation can be won is by relying on oneself. There is no other way to genuine national liberation anywhere, whether we are talking about the capitalist countries which are under domination of one superpower or the other, like Canada is under domination of U.S. imperialism, or Eastern European countries which are under domination of Soviet social-imperialism, or we are talking about countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, the only way they can win national liberations and social revolutions is if they rely on their own efforts.

In national war as well as revolutionary civil war weapons are important, but in the final analysis, it is the masses, millions of people

aroused to unite in one force with one mind against the main oppressor which is decisive, and those people who are carrying on propaganda at this time that only by the help of so-called socialist countries can you win liberation, are actually the worst enemies of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

I have said before CPC(M-L) is not in any way diplomatic on the question of support for UNITA. We have supported UNITA from way back in 1967 and we consider that only under the leadership of UNITA, only under the banner of UNITA, will there emerge a genuinely national, independent and nationally united government in Angola which will stand against the two superpowers and reactionaries inside and outside Angola. So we stand firmly on the side of UNITA and at no time will we vacillate on this question. There may be various people who get confused by the press or news reports but we communists don't get confused by the press, because we know that the imperialist and social-imperialist press cannot say anything which serves the basic interests of the oppressed masses. As we saw, all of a sudden Cubans becoming liberators of Angola — it is very interesting that the press here which spent a large amount of space in the 1960's about Cuba being subversive, Cuba exporting revolutions into Latin America and all this and all the scenario around Che Guevara, and all of a sudden the same press today is applauding Cuban puppet troops in Angola which have gone there to slaughter the Angolan people. As far as we are concerned, we, the Marxist-Leninists here, are principled people, we stand on principles. So what some scribblers in the Western press or what the news on radio says does not in any way confuse us. And our friendship is eternal friendship which is based on proletarian internationalism, it is based on supporting each other's struggle.

We are not in solidarity with the people of Angola for some humanitarian reasons. We are in solidarity with the people of Angola because we are fighters on the same front, we are also oppressed, we are also exploited and repressed by the same forces which may exist and operate differently in Canada but they are still the same forces. So we are fighters on the same front.

So comrades and friends, the founding of the Internationalists has significance in the sense that this was the first anti-revisionist organisation in this country which exposed Khrushchovite revisionism, and 13 years after, it has become the historical duty of the descendants of the Internationalists to take up the same banner against revisionism which we raised in the 1960's. And

what we were saying in the 1960's — that Khrushchov and his cohorts are the enemies of the national liberation movements, has been proven correct by the life experience of the national liberation struggles of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. So we are very proud to celebrate the founding of the organisations here and these two celebrations will further deepen and broaden the unity and solidarity which exist between the people of Canada and the people of Angola, between CPC(M-L) and UNITA.

So with these introductory remarks, comrades and friends, I would like to introduce to you the three respected guests we have from liberation organisations from southern Africa. And first I would like to introduce to you the comrade from Zimbabwe African National Union, Comrade Michael Mawema, who is a member of the Central Committee of ZANU. So comrades and friends, Comrade Michael Mawema. (Applause) Second, I would like to introduce to you our chief guests here, Comrade Tony Fernandes who is the Information Minister of UNITA and Comrade Jorge Sangumba who is the Foreign Minister of UNITA. I would like to present to you both comrades. (Applause... shouts of Washa Africa...Washa Zimbabwe...Washa Angola...Washa UNITA...applause)

Comrade Bains: So comrades and friends, we would like to begin this program with a poem written by one of our comrades, which has already become quite a well-known poem. So I would like the poet himself to present this poem which is printed in **We Are the Heirs of Norman Bethune. (New Literature and Ideology No. 19)** *(The poem is reproduced on the next page.)*

Socialist in Words, Imperialist in Deed, We Will Kill You Just the Same!

"In defence of socialism"
That's the signboard of your aggression
Against the people of Angola
But your mask is falling off
You're exposed for what you are
Socialist in words, imperialist in deeds
Soviet Social Imperialists
You are digging your own grave.
Mr. Brezhnev and Co.
You think you can sneak in
Through the back door
After the U.S. Imperialists
Have been thrown out the front
But the people of Angola
Are freedom loving people
With Liberation on their minds
Independence in their hearts
And Revolution is their soul

So don't go to them with a
Hammer and sickle on your chest
And fascism in your heart
Because they will kill you just the same!
Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun
With the gun, the colonizers conquered

The gun is all they understand.
A people that have blessed their homeland
With their own sweat and blood
Who with gun in hand

Freed themselves from the puppets of U.S. Imperialism
Will never lie down before your puppets
But Messrs. revisionists, you will never learn.
A weak nation can defeat a strong,
The people of a small country
Can certainly defeat the aggression of a big country
When they dare to rise in struggle
Take up arms
And seize their destiny firmly in their own hands.
Soviet Social Imperialists, you have lifted a big rock
Only to drop it on your feet.

So don't come to us with a
Hammer and sickle on your chest
And fascism in your heart
Because we will kill you just the same!

You have robbed us of the victories
Of the 1st Dictatorship of the Proletariat
Of the workers and peasants of
Lenin's and Stalin's homeland
And now you are trying to rob us
Of the victories of the people
Of Asia, Africa, and Latin America
But we will not be deceived
We will not be defeated
And you will pay for your crimes.
With Chairman Mao at the helm
And the People's China as our reserve
The tide of revolution is rising
The east wind is prevailing
The people of the world are marching forward
With gun in hand
We will never be your slaves
We will put you in your graves
Along with your class brothers.

So don't come to us with a
Hammer and sickle on your chest
And fascism in your heart
Because we will kill you just the same!



**Comrade Michael Mawema, Member of the Central Committee
and National Organising Secretary of Zimbabwe African National
Union (ZANU)**

Speech by Comrade Michael Mawema

Comrade Hardial Bains:

Comrades and friends, the first speaker is from ZANU whom I think most of you have met before. Comrade Michael has just completed the second leg of his tour of Canada. He started his fund-raising tour some weeks ago and has travelled all over Canada from one city to another, and he has informed us that if anyone wants to know the geography of Canada, they can come to him. (laughter) So anyway, the comrade would like to present to you some comments about his trip and some comments, statements and a speech on the recent developments in Zimbabwe. There has been a lot of news in the press about Zimbabwe and Comrade Michael would like to explain various developments which are taking place. So I would like to introduce to you the first speaker for this evening, Comrade Michael Mawema. (Applause)

Comrade Mawema:

Thank you comrades and friends,

We are walking on a tightrope. We are trying to cross a bridge. The land we are walking away from is the land of Southern Rhodesia, a land of oppression, a land of discrimination, a land of racism, a land where men are taught to hate, and where men are valued in terms of dollars and cents. We are walking this journey from the land of Southern Rhodesia to the new land of Zimbabwe, a land of our hope, a land of our yesterday, a land of today, a land in which we will find relevance and meaning in this world, and a land which will serve the African personality which colonialism,

imperialism and racism had stolen from us. On this journey, as we walk across this tightrope, we are confronted by hazardous events, and the weak may be blown off this tightrope by strong winds into the valley. The strong may walk across but they may need help. We have walked on this bridge for a long time. Many strong and weak ones have fallen down but only to receive good friends who have operated rescue teams to meet our fallen young men and young women. You are the rescue team that has stayed below this bridge to rescue us, to help us when we needed help. The relationship that has existed between you, the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) and us has begotten fruit. It has brought new summers in the desolate parts of Zimbabwe that have gone through terrible winters. In the sites of our country that had gone barren, your friendship with us has generated new growth, given new power, has created new hopes, and we are seeing new horizons.

You are indeed good friends. It befits you to be inheritors of a great man like Bethune and you have rightly called yourselves the inheritors of this great internationalist. May the friendship between the progressive people of Canada in the CPC(M-L) and the people of Zimbabwe go forward! (Audience shouts Pamberine Chimurenga...Applause.)

Comrades and friends, there is a time when you are amongst friends and sometimes you feel lost because you fail to understand what is going on in their minds. But all the time I have been here in Canada I have felt very much at home. You have only failed to do one good thing for me, that is that you have not been able to control your weather to allow me to move as freely as I should have moved. I am sorry that I was not able to finish the tour as was arranged and I am sure the comrades and friends in Newfoundland where I was not able to go because of the bad weather will share with me the feeling that even though I didn't see them in person, the people of Zimbabwe and myself have seen them in spirit and in action. Give them those words and say that we will open a new chapter for them in this successful war which we are undergoing. Probably we will write a page or a chapter on good friends whose faces we do not know, whose voices we may not have heard but whose contributions we are most grateful for.

Comrades and friends, the people of Zimbabwe are engaged in a war, a war of gunpowder and blood, a war which we have committed ourselves to winning. We have to win to establish national

independence.

Our young men and women have joined the old and new choruses of revolution and are walking in the wooded countries of Zimbabwe and Mozambique and are striking success. When we came here last December, we spoke of some liberated areas in Zimbabwe which ZANU had liberated between 1972 and 1975. We spoke of the problems of detente, its effects on the Zimbabwe revolution and particularly its effects on the Zimbabwe African National Union. We told you about the conspiracies by the imperialists in the south, conspiracies by the collaborationists and reconciliationists among the African people and some of the defeatist attitudes amongst our people which contributed to causing some temporary setbacks to our revolution.

ZANU had to redefine, restructure and redirect its resources and personnel. We had to come out of this temporary setback into new areas of operation. For it is true I must tell you, that ZANU is the national organisation which is the spokesman of the masses. It is the spokesman of the silent majority, the suffering majority whom probably the world will not hear or see. We therefore represent the people of Zimbabwe. And in our forces, we represent the fighting men, that indomitable spirit where death is understood to be an honour, particularly if one dies in the national army. It gives honour both to the spirit and the soul, that indeed one is giving service to the motherland. We are winning. We won't let you down. We have no reason to. We have not undertaken the battle only to lose it. If there is anything that may happen, that may cause us to slide back, we are happy we have you to hold onto us and keep us going. Long live the spirit of proletarian internationalism!

You have heard of incidents of new discussions arising between the fascists and the racists Ian Smith and the old arch-colonialist Great Britain, trying to renew situations in which they ask us to accommodate or probably to recondition the old engine of colonialism and imperialism which is dying. The people of Zimbabwe would like to assure you that even with their efficient mechanics, efficient engineers, we are not going to take the old engine of colonialism, imperialism and racism for reconditioning. We are going to throw it away and destroy it. We are committed to bring about a new race of people, with a new outlook to life. We will be a race born from suffering, having gone through hell-fire. We hope you will understand us. We hope our enemies will

understand us, for we have nothing that will be left in us that will lead us to compromising the principles of Chimurenga, the principles of this revolution and the committedness of the people of Zimbabwe towards genuine independence.

As our war is about to be won, confusion arises in the world centres. The enemies of the African revolution in Zimbabwe start new stories with new theories. They create new friends for us and create new enemies for us. Now let us put this story as clearly as we can one more time.

The people of Zimbabwe are their **own** liberators. We will not invite the Cubans, nor seek Russian arms, nor sing songs from Moscow. We want to fight our **own** war against our **own** enemy, die our **own** death if need be, win our **own** battles if we must and establish a genuine, socialist independence in Zimbabwe.

Go tell the imperialist press, radio and television that we have no connection, we have no communication, we have no intention to seek, to be heard, to be seen with "given" friends. We want to pick and choose our **own** friends. And the people of Zimbabwe do not know that the Cubans and Russians are international liberators of the oppressed peoples in Africa, and Asia and Latin America. And since we have no evidence of their being liberators, we have no desire to communicate with them in any way. Let it be known therefore that in our desire for help, we have gone out asking for help. And, indeed, here I stand in this mission, in which we are asking for help, for we are aware that battles can be won and lost in the international front. But probably our battles will be lost in those circumstances in which we are forced into new types of "friendships" which we think are the types of "friendships" in which we will lose our independence before we can enjoy it.

Comrade and friends, be assured that we will not betray you. We will not sacrifice the principles upon which our comradeship has been established. We will not betray the soul and spirit of the fighting men in Zimbabwe by conniving with new systems of imperialism. If lose this battle we must, we would rather lose it honourably than betray the dead and living in Zimbabwe.

You have given us help and I must acknowledge on behalf of Zimbabwe African National Union that I have communicated with my comrades on the battlefield about what you have done. We have agreed this afternoon with Comrade Bains that if it should be necessary for you to create dialogue, to shake hands with the fighting men in the battlefield, they will be here with you in the **shortest** of time, you will see the men and women you have been

supporting.

It is with this spirit of confidence in you that we will lead our forces, lead ourselves in the spirit of victory. And we can come back to you and ask you to share with us the happiness that comes from the last minute of sacrifice and suffering which you are going through with us on this journey. Friends, and dear comrades, we will need this help from you because even if we got our independence, the problems that you have given us help with will not be solved by the raising of the flag of victory. This will just be the start of the problem. We may be in the land of Zimbabwe but probably we will not be in the cities and the houses of Zimbabwe. I request you once again, please, as you raise and collect clothes, books and medicines, as you send them to Tanzania and Mozambique and Zimbabwe, please continue to do this for the next four to five years. The war is not yet won, even if we do sing songs of independence and invite you to share with us this liberation. We will be subjected to the theories of the politics of government, the most troublesome time in which our nationalism will have to be understood in terms of its practical value, it must be understood in its service for the people for whom we are today fighting. I think that I said the other day, ZANU and the people of Zimbabwe have great confidence that as we are busy driving the tiger from the front door the CPC(M-L) will be behind guarding the back door to keep away the wolf. And please don't stray far, our wolves are very ferocious and hungry. Come closer, we need you. As the intensity of the war increases the suffering of the African people increases, the viciousness of the fascist and racist regime of Ian Smith increases. I think I did tell you stories, such that Smith employed the 12 torture experts from the U.S., that Smith has large numbers of mercenaries from North America including some of your cousins from Toronto here, probably brothers too, large numbers, thousands of them from Western Europe and from South Africa. But the greatest pain our people are going through is not that they are dying in the battlefield. The pain is that the innocent mother, the innocent child are being killed in the name of civilization, in defence of "Christianity" and in the promotion of "western democracy."

I think you have heard confession stories from this young British mercenary. I think some of you saw him on TV, and some of you read what he said. Now, that type of massacre which he referred to is not a new system of killing to the Africans. There is one type of killing which he spoke about in London but which the papers here

did not report. The Rhodesian forces, as they fight a running battle, go into a village, get the women and the old men in the village, dress them in jungle uniforms and ask them to walk. They then shoot them in the back, take pictures and count them as though they had shot guerrillas. Many of them have been shot. Hundreds of our villagers die in the green uniform of Ian Smith, shot under the hoax that they are guerrillas.

I made reference this afternoon to the fact that we have close to a million people now in concentration camps in Zimbabwe. Your own paper, the **Globe and Mail**, gave you information on the 10th of March and told you that 200,000 Africans have been "resettled" by the Ian Smith regime along the eastern border of Mozambique. Now that type of language understood in terms of the ordinary man, means that 200,000 Africans, peasants in the rural areas of Zimbabwe were herded into concentration camps. And if Smith had a quarter of a million people in concentration camps in just one week, how many has he herded into the concentration camps since 1972?

The closure of the border between Rhodesia and Mozambique is to us a welcome exercise, in that it spells the committedness of the African people to fighting and destroying the last vestiges of colonialism and racism in the southern part of Africa. We are sure that people of Mozambique will have to go through some pain and suffering but I am sure that they also have the hope and confidence that we are able to fight and win this war and reduce the greatest suffering. Indeed many African nations, probably through the OAU may help Mozambique. The commonwealth nations have said that they will help Mozambique. But I think the greatest help Mozambique needs is that our forces should be able to fight a winning war. Although we may not be able to look at the time clock and give you the date and hour, we can assure you that if the momentum of the war continues with the ferocity with which it is going now, we cannot see the forces of Ian Smith fighting for the next 6 months. I do not think so.

Do not be misled by any calls for reconciliation, for conferences. We will not attend any conference. We will not open dialogue with any supporter of Ian Smith. But we are prepared to go to one conference. And that is the conference at which Ian Smith will surrender. There is no doubt we will get into this one! There is no two ways about it! We will not be subjected to another southern African "detente". And to that conference we **will** go. For it is at this conference that the principles for which we have

committed ourselves, the principles of this war of national liberation, will be spelled out and be understood by both our friends and the people of Zimbabwe.

We would ask you comrades and friends that you open dialogue with the people of Canada. I have referred in some of my speeches to what I have called breaking this conspiracy of silence. I would like to go back to Zimbabwe, knowing quite well that you not only contribute material to us but that you activate the feeling of the young people, the old people, the progressive and democratic elements in this country.

I was taught a very meaningful and short slogan last Sunday. It was put on the wall in the meeting we had, which said the Canadian government is racist not the Canadian people. How true that is. Because people of Canada, you still have the conscience, you can still hold and feel your heartbeat on the left side of your chest. I was told that my heart is on the left side, when I was in the Boys Scouts, (Do you have Boys Scouts here?) We were told that our hearts are on the left side and if you like somebody very, very much you greet him with your left to show him that your heart is with him. Assuming that there is some truth in that, the people of Zimbabwe would be happy to shake you with their left hands. But as Africans, it is against our tradition. You never shake hands with your left. You always shake with your right. And shaking hands with left is some of the customs of imperialism and colonialism begotten out of the spirit of pretension and treachery. We would be happy to have friends without hearts beating on the left but on the right and you have them in the right place.

Comrades and friends, you are an honourable people. You have an honourable party. You have an honourable tradition. The people of Zimbabwe feel happy to associate themselves with you. A day ago I was in Antigonish, after I addressed the meeting, there was this young lady who came up to me and said, "Mr. Mawema, see, we like everything you have said, but the people who are accompanying you, who organised your meeting, we don't like them." I said, "What people?" She said, "These communists here." I said, "Oh, so what are you telling me?" She said, "You see, because you have a very important cause, you have given us a very good speech and we would like to help the people of Zimbabwe, but only if you do not go in the company of the communists because we think that you won't be having a democratic government." I said, "My dear sister, the people of Zimbabwe have suffered under colonialism, under imperialism and racism

which are the inherent characteristics of capitalism. People of Zimbabwe do not fear communism. They fear capitalism represented by you. And when we come here to seek friends and comrades, we do not wish to associate with people who think communism is an evil. Better still, ZANU does not want to receive support from people who want to impose conditions on ZANU. We come out of situations in which our bodies and minds were conditioned. And I have not come all the way to Antigonish to say, yes to you just because you have a dollar. I will say NO, even if you have a million dollars."

Friends, the people of Zimbabwe are free to choose what they like. But they are not prepared anymore to bow down to a new type of suppression and oppression. We will pick and choose our friends, we will choose to love at 8 o'clock, and hate at 12 o'clock, if that may be it. And we are happy you will understand us because we speak the same language. Do therefore know as I leave this country, that we will keep, we will sing the same songs we have sung here. And we will expect to invite you on the day of independence.

Indeed I have already promised one member of the Party, one Indian chief who was the first chief I ever met, I hadn't met an Indian chief, I had seen them in the films, but I didn't know what they really looked like when you got close to them. But the Party let me not only see them through the films, but introduced me to this group of people with whom Africa has to find a new relationship. And through you, we will invite these comrades to come and see Africa. Through you we will establish new relationships and new friends. And probably the success of the battle in Zimbabwe will mean that the defeat of Ian Smith, is also the defeat of John Vorster, the defeats of Gerald Ford and all the imperialists. With your support, we will not fail you. With your support our successes will be closer, our victories are assured.

And I thank you again, and I thank Comrade Bains and the comrades here. The people of Zimbabwe are most grateful for everything you have done. You are expecting now to see if we will deliver the goods. And the goods we will deliver in the name of a socialist republic of Zimbabwe. Thank you. (Long applause)



Comrade Tony Fernandes, Minister of Information and Founding Member of UNITA.

Speech by Comrade Tony Fernandes

Comrade Bains:

Comrades and friends our next speaker is going to be the main speaker in the sense that he will speak and the other comrade will participate during the question-answer period. Comrade Tony Fernandes who is Minister of Information of UNITA will speak and he will also answer questions. As well Comrade George Sangumba will answer questions. Comrade Tony Fernandes. (Applause)

Comrade Tony Fernandes:

Dear Comrades and Friends,

The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola — UNITA, is a movement founded on March 13, 1966. Today we are celebrating the 10th anniversary of our Party and celebrating also the continued struggle of the Angolan people towards national liberation. We also are very happy to participate in the celebration of the 13th anniversary of the founding of the great Internationalist Movement in Canada.

I will attempt to give you briefly a historical insight into why, how and when UNITA formed itself as a Liberation Army, as well as the very important premises on which the movement is based.

In 1965 a number of Angolan youth were very dissatisfied with the progress towards national liberation being made by the MPLA and FNLA. FNLA which made a few successful raids in its early years, was by this time in a stalemated position. Suffering from ideological bankruptcy, the movement consistently refused to base itself within Angola and learn from the peasant masses how to develop the struggle. MPLA at this time was closely tied to the USSR and based in exile. Being an urban intellectual movement, it found itself unable to speak to the majority of the Angolan population, 90 percent of which are peasants. Created as a wing of the Communist Party of Portugal, MPLA allowed itself to be dominated ideologically by external forces who knew nothing of the Angola of yesterday, the Angola of the time, nor the Angola of

tomorrow. Suffering from external manipulation, MPLA led skirmish raids inside the country, which the peasant masses received with nothing but hostility. Once these raids were made, MPLA would return to the safety of Congo-Brazzaville, leaving the peasant population of the countryside to carry alone the burden of all reprisals from Portuguese colonial troops.

Realising the serious nature of the deficiencies of FNLA and MPLA, the nucleus of what was to become UNITA sought assistance from the People's Republic of China to train a number of cadres in the tactics of guerrilla warfare. Eleven men were thus sent to the People's Republic of China early in 1965 and returned in November of the same year. Having smuggled themselves inside the country, these cadres began to mobilise the peasant masses, both politically and militarily. Within three months UNITA was able to organise the First Party Congress at Mwangai inside Angola on March 13, 1966. This date marks the official birth of UNITA. The Party Congress formulated its first short term programme involving all aspects of the war of liberation, from agriculture to armed struggle. The basis of the programme was self-reliance, since our cadres realised very early-on that material assistance from the outside world would indeed be limited, and probably only coming from the People's Republic of China. The emphasis, however, was on armed struggle to be initiated inside the country from bases within the country. Our cadres greatly heeded the lessons of peoples' revolutions, such as the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions, bearing in mind the many similarities in the conditions, and also understanding the relations of the revolutionary fighter to the people as being similar to those of a fish and water. Camps were then set up in order that our cadres trained in the People's Republic of China could train other cadres in the tactics and methods of guerrilla warfare. Also the cadres mobilised the peasants to participate in maximising agricultural production, extensive literacy programmes, as well as political education. Collective farms were established which could supply the guerrillas and peasant population of the whole area with constant supplies of food. In other words, an infrastructure was developed, enabling effective control of certain areas in Southern Angola by UNITA. However, in spite of this infrastructure, UNITA suffered from a serious lack of equipment. There were no shortages of African Angolans willing to fight the war of liberation, or shortages of Angolans wishing to supply medical and other small items from the towns. But the lack of weapons was seen by the

Central Committee and by the Army commanders as a fundamental reason for the curtailment of the movement. As Chairman Mao has pointed out, a Party with a popular base has no problems which cannot be solved by the creative capacity of the people. UNITA therefore initiated a series of raids on Portuguese barracks.

The first raid took place on December 24, 1966, and was well remembered by our cadres for it supplied our forces with 466 small arms and enabled us to destroy an air base being built parallel to our areas in Henrique De Carvalho. The raid was also well remembered by the enemy, and the Portuguese President of that time, Americo Tomaz said in an address to the Portuguese people:

"In the recent history of our nation we have two dates to commemorate.

"The first is the 15th of March 1961, which we have fortunately been able to forget, the second is Christmas eve 1966 which we have just experienced."

The enemy was taken totally by surprise, having become complacent with the skirmish raids of the other two liberation movements. A new chapter in the liberation war of our country had been written — the enemy understood this well and in the subsequent years, engaged in an effective propaganda war to prevent aid reaching our movement. UNITA comrades proved the validity of hitting the enemy when he is unaware, pursuing him when he is tired and harrassing him when he is resting.

After consolidating its bases to function as efficient units to serve our fighters, UNITA began consistent and highly effective raids against the Portuguese, during which even larger supplies of arms and equipment came into our reach. However, even at this time UNITA found itself facing a new enemy — the Soviet Union.

Unbeknown to many of our sincere comrades, the Soviet Union played a vicious and manipulative role in the struggle for African liberation. At no time did the Soviets give unconditional support on the basis of freedom and justice towards socialism, but rather they engaged in a war of defilement against genuine African nationalist movements which did not and would not become shallow Marxists. We say shallow only because the Soviets knew that any objective analysis of the material conditions the world over would have shown the Soviets to be agents of imperialism and capitalism. Rather than using material aid to support the fight against colonialism, the Soviets spent more aid in bribing the

Organisation of African Unity (OAU) member countries to not recognise genuine liberation movements in Southern Africa. We do not make these charges in retrospect because of the Soviet invasion of our country but because Soviet corruption and restraint on the liberation of Southern Africa was evidenced as early as 1967 to UNITA and even many years earlier to other movements. The Soviets went even as far as attempting to have the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) derecognised by the Organisation of African Unity because of its comradeship with UNITA. Lobbies were made by the Soviet lackies at the OAU and at individual member countries, while the foreign press were fed with lies and downright distortions of the liberation war in Angola. UNITA was said to be created by PIDE (The Portuguese secret service) or Ian Smith's government. Their reasoning behind the argument was that no movement could function effectively from within Angola without the support of the colonialists. This is very important to note for surely it shows the bankrupt nature of the Soviet's analysis of a war of liberation! This propaganda, however, was effective in isolating UNITA from progressive forces the world over. The Western press, including that well known puppet journal **Afrique-Asie**, energetically took up the chant of Soviet social-imperialism. For surely it is imperialism when the national struggle of one country is manipulated for the benefit of another. As a consequence, most of our offices in Africa were closed and our cadres expelled. The bitter lesson of the nature of Soviet imperialism which we learned at that time have been compounded today by the invasion of our country.

In 1969 UNITA held its Second Congress in Angola which established a structure for the Party enabling the peasant masses to participate in political decisions. The Congress established three Regions each with its own Regional Council. The Regional Council was elected by the 12 Zones in that Region who were in turn elected by the 36 cells in each Region. Again, the Central Committee of the Party was elected by Regional representatives and from within the Central Committee, the Political Bureau, the supreme organ of the Party, was appointed. This form of democratic centralism proved to be the most effective means by which the leadership maintained contact with the needs and wishes of the people. To accommodate the growing population in UNITA areas (people were coming from all parts of Angola to join the liberation army) the infrastructure had to be developed to include more schools, more hospitals, more agricultural development

programmes and all other services which would help the majority of our disinherited masses.

In spite of Soviet propaganda it became increasingly clear that major events were taking place in Angola. UNITA's strategy of consolidating liberated zones, attacking enemy areas and turning them into disputed zones until they were fully liberated caused many African countries to wonder seriously about Soviet claims. UNITA then invited a number of African and European journalists to go to Angola and see for themselves the liberated territory the movement controlled. After this visit many papers hinted that the movement was playing a very effective role in the liberation of Angola. Again the Soviet Union through their puppets in MPLA tried to undermine our movement. MPLA began to infiltrate UNITA areas in the eastern provinces. Their intentions were very suspect since they did not come to join UNITA in attacking the enemy, but simply in organising skirmishes against our forces.

Another factor in undermining Soviet propaganda was the relationship that developed between UNITA and SWAPO (South West African People's Organisation) when they realised the necessity to form ties with our movement. The very fact that UNITA had bases in the bush, controlled liberated territory and was able to offer protection to the people and our cadres after raids, was more than enough to encourage SWAPO militants to seek an alliance. However, this alliance was not simply a marriage of convenience. UNITA, understanding the geo-politics of the region and the collusion between Portuguese and South African colonialism, realised that Angola could never truly gain its freedom until the whole of Southern Africa was free. Rather than engaging in spectacular rhetoric as many African countries did and still do, UNITA put into practice its Pan-African views and allowed SWAPO cadres to share barracks, food, clothing and weapons with our own militants. The strength of this relationship grew to such an extent that on many occasions UNITA guerrillas joined SWAPO guerrillas on the raids into Namibia. Rather than the Soviet Union rejoicing in this development, it played every dirty trick in the book to sever the relationship including attempting to have SWAPO derecognised by the OAU in 1970, and withdrawing material assistance to SWAPO at the same time. MPLA acted as the Soviet Union's lackey in this bid against UNITA and SWAPO, which shows clearly the nature of both MPLA and the Soviet Union in terms of the liberation of Southern Africa. This major lobbying by MPLA and the Soviets had, in fact, the opposite

MPLA says
the reverse

of the desired effect. African governments began to realise that UNITA was obviously an important force in Angola. Seizing the time, UNITA began increased diplomatic activity in Africa. In January 1972, UNITA invited the OAU to send a fact-finding commission into Angola. Although this did not materialise, the OAU in May of the same year extended administrative assistance to the movement by an almost unanimous vote of the OAU Liberation Committee. This was a major diplomatic victory for the movement which greatly increased the morale of our cadres in the liberated zones.

In August 1973, the Third Congress of UNITA took place and resolved that the movement was to be formed into a political party. With the capture of an increasing number of enemy soldiers, UNITA created a blaze of publicity by handing them over to the International Red Cross. Again, taking advantage of the situation, UNITA invited a number of Afro-American journalists and comrades to come to its liberated territory. They stayed from July to November of 1973, and reported back to the world the truth about the movement's base in the country, and its popular support.

The whole momentum of UNITA's struggle finally reached the OAU, and UNITA was belatedly duly recognised as a liberation movement in December 1974, the eve of the formation of the transitional government which was the fruition of UNITA's attempt to form an Angolan united front. The process of liberation was further speeded up by developments inside Portugal itself. The economic effects of the colonial wars in Mozambique and Angola had serious repercussions on the Portuguese economy to the extent that 60 percent of the annual budget was allocated to the military colonial effort, while at the same time, taxes had been increased by one hundred percent over a period of two years. Motivated by this disastrous colonial adventure, members of the Armed Forces instigated the April 25th coup d'etat. The coup d'etat occurred at a time when UNITA was the only effective fighting force in Angola, MPLA having disappeared into oblivion after the split with its armed forces led by Daniel Chipenda in 1973, while FNLA had not successfully engaged the Portuguese army for many years. The Armed Forces Movement however, did not wish to negotiate independence with the liberation movements, but rather impose a neo-colonialist federation between its African colonies and Portugal. General de Spinoia fought vehemently to pacify UNITA, but without success. On the contrary, UNITA issued an ultimatum to the colonial power which read: "The Political

Bureau and Central Committee of UNITA, the Armed Forces (FALA), and the entire people of Angola, shall continue the armed struggle until the so-called new democratic regime of Portugal, led by General de Spinoia accepts: (1) that Angola is to be unconditionally granted total independence; (2) that the three political parties, FNLA, MPLA and UNITA are given free access to the entire Angolan territory; (3) that all Angolan political prisoners, including all prisoners of war, are freed without delay".

On June 14, 1974, Portugal had no choice but to accept UNITA's ultimatum. UNITA, realizing the divisions that could be exploited between the three Angolan movements by the Portuguese, immediately embarked on a diplomatic effort to bring the three together in order that negotiations with the colonial power could be effective. Dr. Jonas Savimbi flew between Kinshasa and Dar-es-Salaam constantly engaging the two other Angolan leaders in a dialogue to bring them together, to at least deal with the Portuguese. The result of this diplomatic campaign of UNITA was the Mombasa meeting, chaired by President Kenyatta in December 1974, when the leaders agreed to form a united front and to demand immediate independence and the total withdrawal of all Portuguese forces from Angola.

All three liberation movements were present in Portugal where a historical document, known as the Alvor Agreement, was signed with the Portuguese Government on January 15, 1975. This agreement stipulated all steps to be followed through the process of total decolonization of our country, including the formation of the transitional government to prepare the entire country and people for independence on November 11, 1975, through elections. The Portuguese 'Communist' Party of total Soviet obedience immediately sent aid to Angola to help MPLA prepare the ground for confusion and to sabotage the elections. Everybody knows that in a colonial country like Portugal, our natural allies were, and are, the working poor classes, the peasants and the workers, who can guarantee a true socialist revolution. But because the traitors of class struggle, represented in Portugal by the P'CP, and in Angola by MPLA, still have provisional control over these so-called revolutionary parties, they feared to confront the nation, they feared the people, preferring the sabotage of elections. In Portugal the so-called P'CP did not receive any backing from the working classes; and during the elections there, received nothing more than 12% of the total countryside vote in Portugal. For fear of the same disastrous end in Angola, they decided to use

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provocation, undermine agreements, disseminate insecurity, cultivate fear, and invent imperialist plots to justify their Machiavellian adventures. Such was the work of MPLA during the transitional government of Angola, with total blessings of the Soviet bourgeoisie which immediately dispatched to Angola tremendous quantities of arms. In April 1975, the Russian social-imperialists sent to Angola a Yugoslav freighter, **Postoyna**, which docked in Luanda to off-load military trucks and crates of SA 7 missiles, as well as a great number of AK 47s. A week later two more Yugoslav freighters, the **Jaldo** and the **Mila Gojsalic** docked in Luanda harbour where they unloaded 400 tons of equipment for MPLA. In May, an East German freighter, the **Elbe**, off-loaded a full cargo of heavy weaponry in Luanda. All these supplies were off-loaded with Portuguese consent, for the Portuguese were still the administrative power in Angola. Still in May, Soviet-owned freighters, 8 of them, including the well-known **Josef Dubrovinski**, off-loaded tanks, armoured cars and ammunition for MPLA. At the same time Soviet transport aircraft, about 30 of them, including AN 12s, AN 24s, and IL 18s had been landing in Brazzaville; off-loading all types of war equipment for onward routing to MPLA in Luanda. With such equipment 15,000 Cuban mercenaries were ordered by the Kremlin to Angola, in order to impose MPLA as a minority regime on the Angolan people. This operation accelerated the civil war into which our movement, UNITA, was dragged around August, 1975. Facing the gravity of the situation, our movement succeeded in convincing the other two to accept a conference so that a generalized civil war be spared to the already suffering Angolan people. This was accepted and the conference took place in Nakuru, Kenya, where an agreement of the same name, was signed between the three liberation movements of Angola. UNITA sincerely believed that all parties were willing to avoid civil war, and that we could go back to normality, solving all our problems by political means. The enemy knew that no democratic process was favourable to him, and thus took the opportunity of the week-long conference in distant Kenya to reorganise and plan more deadly battles, not only with the newly acquired Soviet sophisticated weapons but also with the freshly arrived thousands of Cuban expeditionary forces. They did not wait long, for eight days after the Nakuru Conference, the most violent attacks against FNLA barracks and UNITA offices were carried out. The transitional tri-partite government collapsed totally, FNLA was expelled from Luanda by

force of the Cuban-led Russian military might, and UNITA withdrew to its areas of popular support. The civil war was taken by MPLA to all corners of the country while the Soviet social-imperialists stopped at nothing to strengthen the Cuban adventurist forces in Angola. FNLA in the north could not stop the advance of Soviet machinery from the air, ground and sea. UNITA in the centre and south of the country tried with the support of all the people, to stop the advance of the Soviet-Cuban invaders, until February 1976, when no longer could we face the six to ten thousand Cubans engaged by the Soviets in an open war. But the war was not over.

Taking lessons from revolutionary history, our Party, Army and people, decided to continue to struggle, using guerrilla warfare until all the Cuban and Soviet forces are defeated. After the fall of our capital, Huambo, the Political Bureau and Central Committee made the following statement:

Communique from the Political Bureau and Central Committee and the High Command of UNITA

The political and military situation in our country has undergone a rapid evolution which has made it necessary for the Political Bureau and the Military Command to reappraise the situation and decide on the following new guidelines.

The armed forces that the MPLA has used against UNITA and indeed against the Angolan people are not Angolan. We are facing a regular army of Cubans, Czechs, Guineans and Russians with modern and highly sophisticated weapons. No army in Africa outside Egypt has had to face a war machine of such dimensions as those of the army now invading our country. Our allies who could help us to change the situation, lacked political courage. But we want to make clear, in this communique, our gratitude to the African countries that backed the policy of the formation of a Government of National Unity for Angola. We single out the Republic of Senegal and President Senghor, the Republic of Ivory Coast and President Boigny, the Republic of Zaire and President Mobutu Sese Seko, the Kingdom of Morocco and King Hassan II, the United Arab Republic and President Sadat, the Republic of Gabon and President Bongo, as well as the Republic of Zambia and President Kenneth Kaunda, and other leaders and countries. Our gratitude also goes to the current Chairman of the OAU, Field

Marshal Idi Amin Dada.

The meeting has decided:

1. To save the UNITA army from annihilation at the hands of the regular Cuban, Czech, Guinea and Russian army, and its sophisticated weaponry.
2. To convert with the utmost speed UNITA's army into a guerrilla force.
3. To intensify the mobilisation of the Angolan people against the invasion of our country by foreign forces from Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Guinea and the Soviet Union, which will never be able to occupy our country indefinitely.
4. To reach conclusions about the unfulfilled promises of help, which led to sacrifice of many hundreds of our best soldiers. External help is going to be necessary and we appeal to the conscience of free men and democratic countries, to identify themselves with justice, democracy and socialism.
5. For our freedom and our country we are determined to continue fighting — in the fields, in the mountains, and valleys, until such time as the Cuban and Russian invaders suffer the same final fate as the former Portuguese colonisers in Angola.
6. We appeal to our internal and external 'cadres' to strengthen unity, for it is only human beings who can make history and freedom for the others.
7. Those who have taken the alleged invasion of Angola by South African troops as a pretext to justify their own enslavement of our country are no more than lackeys of **social-imperialism**. And those who have been duped by the non-existent popularity of MPLA and by the sincerity and unselfishness of Russian social-imperialism in Angola will very quickly understand that they have only managed to impose a minority as the rulers of our people, thus creating a satellite of Russian expansionism in Southern Africa. But Russian social-imperialism shall be defeated in Angola.
— *The Central Committee, the Political Bureau and High Command of UNITA.*

Our guerrilla bases, which had been in operation during the war against the Portuguese, were reactivated, and the military pushed back into the bush, that is into areas inaccessible to the Soviet tanks and providing dense forest cover against MPLA MIG bomber attacks. Because the support base of UNITA is essentially made of hundreds of small villages, which dot the vast Angolan countryside, the fall of Huambo had relatively little effect on the

functioning of the movement inside the country.

The development of the consciousness which exists in the more than half of Angola controlled by UNITA entails a total process of winning over the hearts and minds of the people to a cause, which relates at the same time to the most fundamental issues of their existence. Reconstruction in UNITA-controlled areas can be seen through the three principal auxiliaries of the Party, the SYNDACO, which is the union of the workers and peasants, the LIMA, the league of the Angolan women and the JURA, the Angolan youth league.

Perhaps the best organised, LIMA, the Angolan women's league, encompasses more than 10,000 women who had initially been trained for combat during the war against the Portuguese colonial regime. These forces have, within the last week, ambushed and killed 17 Cubans in retaliation for the wholesale slaughter and violent incidents of rape which have been perpetrated against the peasant population in the areas under Cuban control.

Though still maintaining a military component, LIMA now has chapters throughout the Angolan countryside and concentrates on political mobilisation of the population in those areas, instructing women in effective techniques of village political organising. Its Quacha Institute in Suambo, near the small town of Villa Nova, provides care for the blind, the disabled, administering rudimentary levels of occupational therapy and literacy classes.

LIMA also operates co-operative farms in which food is produced for public institutions such as the orphanages under their care. City women pledge two or three days a week in which they walk the generally more than 15 miles or so to farms and join their countryside colleagues in farming.

SYNDACO, the union of the peasants and the workers, encompasses not just workers but also peasant farmers who are formed into co-operative brigades which determine local food production policies while regulating the crop grown to suit demand. There are no food shortages in these areas because of the planning, even during this present war phase.

SYNDACO, likewise, operates credit and insurance unions. Food crops are structured so that families of workers obtain weekly allotments of food, paying a fixed amount calculated on the basis of their wages and family size.

The youth league, JURA, has taken the initiative of setting up elementary schools throughout the country and has drawn the

parents into the process with its political mobilisation work.

In conclusion, Comrades and friends, let me say that the complicity of the West in Portugal's colonial legacy and in assisting white minority regimes in southern Africa has been long, invidious and well-documented. The Soviet Union's aims for establishing its own sphere of influence in this region pose an unfamiliar menace and the principal issue to be reckoned with in the present Angolan conflict. Many, today, point to the Russians' long-standing support for the liberation movements as justification of their escalation of war and the intrusion of nearly 16,000 Cuban troops. Of course, the point isn't support to liberation movements really but support towards what end.

The Soviet Union will make use of any movement it can as an instrument of Soviet foreign policy. African liberation does not actually enter into its picture. The aid which the Soviet Union gave to MPLA during the 14 years of anti-colonial struggle was more than offset by sums spent to persuade or blackmail governments and organisations into not recognising UNITA. Large sums were equally invested in an elaborate propaganda machine to discredit their Angolan rival, claiming it non-existent or in the pay of one foreign power or another.

In 1969 the Soviet Union indirectly sponsored the Khartoum Conference of liberation movements aimed at shifting emphasis from the OAU Liberation Committee, which also gave aid to organisations which followed the scientific teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Attempts at unification of the movements for the long-range goal of genuine liberation not just in Angola but in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania were undermined by Soviet fears of losing control over their preferred side.

In attempting to understand Soviet aims in southern Africa, we must recognise the microcosmic shoving match going on. The U.S. tried to appear progressive in nudging the traditional colonial powers out of their colonial dominions in the Third World. Likewise the Soviet Union was too much a latecomer on the power scene to amass colonies and neo-colonies. It thus tries to appear progressive in its contest with America by giving support to certain liberation movements but this support is geared to bolstering into power the party under their wing, regardless of its strength in its own country. Such support only serves to impede the self reliant development of these movements and the emergence of a national leadership accountable to their own people and tested through armed struggle.

This very issue threatens to split the Namibian movement SWAPO, whose leadership is now forced to maintain a friendly posture with MPLA in Luanda, issuing joint communiques of mutual assistance because of SWAPO's backing by the Soviet Union. But with the entire SWAPO military operating from UNITA bases near the Namibian border, they will be compelled either to relinquish Soviet backing or to give up their struggle altogether while maintaining a militant propaganda image for the sake of public consumption.

And after all what is progressive about sending 15,000 Cuban troops backed up by the entire Soviet military establishment to kill, rape and occupy the territory of Angola's rural majority, her peasant class? The Soviet revisionists have trampled on the sovereignty of Angola, expecting to use Angola as a springboard for expansion in central and southern Africa. Their intention is to control and to further sabotage the national liberation movements in the whole of the area and grab the strategic resources in the region. Russia now plans to create a series of satellites far beyond Russia's own frontiers and to use them to control first Africa and then the world.

Russia does not intend to make mistakes it has made in countries such as Egypt, where Russia thought that it had created satellite governments but was expelled because it did not have enough strength to maintain its position when nationalist governments withdrew as allies of the Soviet Union. The 15,000 Cuban soldiers will guarantee that the Russians will not be expelled from Angola.

And lest we forget, Russia only began to give MPLA large amounts of aid after Portugal had promised Angola independence. Liberation, then, was of course not even an issue. The Soviet Union is profoundly dissatisfied with the present division of world power between itself and U.S. imperialism. And it wants to squeeze into every area where it feels it can gain a foothold. But the threat of world war III, not fought in Moscow and Washington, but by proxy in Africa and other Third World countries is the most piercing aspect of this issue. And until African countries appreciate the necessity for insulating their continent from such extra-territorial antagonisms, the menace is profoundly real.

The only constructive outside factor in the entire Angolan conflict has undeniably been the People's Republic of China. For more than a decade, the People's Republic of China was consistent in its support of MPLA, FNLA and UNITA. Without the

People's Republic of China there could not have been a victory over Portugal. When the Russian-fanned civil war erupted, China withdrew military support so as not to exacerbate the programme and work towards its resolution. For this reason China won significant respect among OAU officials and African leaders for what was described as China's correct position on Angola.

Comrades,
The mobilisation of the population against the invasion of the foreign forces of Cuba, Russia, Czechoslovakia are also being greatly stepped up. And the successes of guerrilla raids are now mounting. We must remember too that UNITA fought successfully against the Portuguese army of occupation which encompassed more than 60,000 soldiers. The Cuban attempt in comparison is feeble and doomed to the same kind of failure that America faced in Viet Nam, the Portuguese in Angola and the imperialist lords in China.

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION!

Thank you!



Comrade Jorge Sangumba, Foreign Minister of UNITA.

Speech by Comrade Jorge Sangumba

Comrade Bains:

Comrades and friends, the next speaker is Comrade Jorge Sangumba, the Foreign Minister of UNITA.

Comrade Sangumba:

Comrades and Friends:

In fact I am not going to make a speech as such because I think that Comrade Tony Fernandes was almost exhaustive on the history of UNITA. I will make some comments about the present situation, by giving you some concrete examples of the behaviour of an army of occupation in Angola: what the Cubans are doing; what the Soviets are doing; and in fact, what the prospects of victory are going to be in Angola, against Cuban and Soviet forces of expansion.

In the statement of Comrade Fernandes he divided the war into three parts, what I call the tragicomedy of the Angolan liberation struggle. The first act of this tragicomedy was the war of liberation against the Portuguese colonialists, financed and assisted by all the NATO countries and the Southern African racist, minority regimes. The liberation movements played their roles for 15 years and historically we succeeded in throwing the Portuguese out of Angola and with the people of Mozambique, the people of Guinea-Bissau and the people of Sao Tome, we succeeded in throwing the Portuguese out of Africa.

The second act of this tragicomedy is the beginning of civil war between the FNLA and MPLA, in which UNITA was forced by circumstances to be dragged along. Why? I remember many meetings that we had with the brothers of MPLA where they always told us, "If we are to be comrades we have to define who are our enemies and who are our friends." I remember one day in Lusaka — I don't know whether Brother Neto, the President of

MPLA, had had a little too much whiskey or not — he scribbled on a piece of paper and wrote that the number one enemy of the Angolan people was Mobutu of Zaire, the number two enemy was Mr. Holden Roberto and FNLA and the number three enemy, the last enemy, he said was U.S. imperialism. Comrade Savimbi then asked him, "Who then are our friends?" He said, "Our friends are: 1) the Soviet Union 2) all the European socialist countries and 3) all of the progressive African states." When we asked, "Which progressive African states?", he replied Congo-Brazzaville, Guinea Conakry and he mentioned many others. Then, I personally asked him, "Dr. Neto, what type of socialist state are you trying to build in Angola?" He said, "The answer to your question is very simple. We are trying to build a Cuban model." (laughter) Now you can see that Neto has really been very consistent by bringing into Angola 16,000 Cuban troops. The Cubans are now not only smoking big cigars in the major towns, but are also trying to control our sugar plantations, or are already controlling our sugar plantations. They are now trying to control the fisheries of Angola and settling in an area, a very fertile area of Angola called Sela. The Cubans are bringing their families into Angola and Dr. Neto, the leader of MPLA announced last week in Congo-Brazzaville, that in April he is going to extend citizenship to the Cuban forces in Angola. As you can see, he really is trying to build up a Cuban model. (laughter)

Now, people have been asking why the "progressive" countries have been supporting the MPLA. By progressive countries, they mean places like Tanzania, Guinea Conakry, Congo-Brazzaville, etc. At the beginning when UNITA was trying to create an atmosphere of peace and stability in Angola, we made more than three trips to Congo-Brazzaville. We spoke to N'gouabi — the president of Congo-Brazzaville and the man who announced that Congo-Brazzaville is going to be a communist state by parliamentary decree (Laughter) — and we said to Mr. N'gouabi, that if we were to keep a real peace in Angola, since there is fighting between MPLA and FNLA, we have to make UNITA militarily strong.

All reports were unanimous in saying that if in Angola, we were to hold orderly elections, UNITA, would win. And by elections, I don't mean elections of the U.S. model, or British model, or French model, where the class in power has the state machinery to manipulate the elections, through the press, the police, the courts, the administration, etc. In Angola, we have three liberation

movements which do not have the state machinery to manipulate elections — which means that the popularity of each movement is a genuine popularity. People do not appear at meetings just because they want to see what type of terrorist Savimbi is or what type of Portuguese Savimibi is going to speak. They really have a genuine interest in UNITA, MPLA, or FNLA. So, people were unanimous in saying that if we had elections in Angola, UNITA comfortably would have over 75% of the electorate. Now, when Mr. N'gouabi realised that possibly UNITA could make it into power, he started to organise a formula with countries like Tanzania in which, since UNITA has a socialist programme, it had to be associated with MPLA. But the real intention of this was to make UNITA an appendage of MPLA, in order to crush FNLA. Then, later on, UNITA could be crushed by MPLA and MPLA could then be put into power.

When we discovered that this was a trap, we became neutral. This can be seen by the fact that UNITA did not become involved in the civil war until August — six months after it had begun in March. We said that we cannot be against FNLA or MPLA as such, because at this stage of the national democratic revolution the two liberation movements were not really the main contradiction within our society. We said that until November 11, the first contradiction we had to tackle was Portuguese colonialism. Of course, we failed to convince Mr. N'gouabi but fortunately Mr. N'gouabi gave us a DC-8 jet loaded with weapons. He said, "We are going to give you this gift of weapons, but please be associated with MPLA, against the reactionaries of FNLA". We said thank-you very much for your weapons which we are going to take to Angola, but we are going to consult our Political Bureau to see who shall be our allies.

Two weeks later, we went to Tanzania. We explained to President Julius Nyerere about the necessity of having a really strong deterrent between MPLA and FNLA, in order to avoid the civil war. We said "UNITA needs to be militarily strong, if we are to avoid civil war." Nyerere said "O.K., we are going to give you 250 weapons". I remember this very well; it was going to be Chinese carbines. Tanzania also agreed to train 25 of our young officers in a Tanzanian military academy for eight months. This was even after the civil war broke out in Angola, in March 1975.

In February 1975, we sent a delegation of twelve people to China, led by our General-Commander. The comrades in China gave us 90 tons of weapons. We negotiated with the consulate of Tanzania, so that the weapons could arrive at the airport or port of

Dar-es-Salaam and then be transported through Zambia to Angola. The main intention behind getting these weapons was that UNITA could be militarily strong in order to avoid civil war in Angola. Immediately after this we hear that a delegation from the embassy of the Soviet Union and a delegation from the Cuban embassy were going to Dar-es-Salaam, in order to convince Julius Nyerere that the weapons which were coming from China to UNITA were the weapons which would cause a civil war. In June, when Nyerere arrived in Lusaka, we asked him "What about our weapons?" He said, "Well, brothers, your weapons are in Dar-es-Salaam, very well kept, but we cannot give you the weapons. Otherwise, you are going to complicate even more the already complicated situation".

At the same time he said this, we had information that the same week, planes from the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia were flying day and night from Dar-es-Salaam to Luanda shipping weapons for the MPLA. We understood that Nyerere was also in the plot to isolate UNITA. The intention of Nyerere was both to make UNITA an appendage of MPLA in order to crush FNLA and then to make MPLA the only horse in the race.

So as you can see, part of the antagonism of some so-called progressive countries in Africa is not because UNITA is "reactionary" as many arm-chair Marxists in the United States of America, Europe and Cuban and Soviet agents are saying. If UNITA is "reactionary", how can we have tremendous popular support? Do the masses of people really follow reactionary movements? By definition that is a contradiction. If you are a progressive, you are striving to fight for the progress of something, and the progress for which we are trying to fight is the development of our own people. How is it that UNITA which is so popular, or at least more popular than MPLA and FNLA in Angola can at the same time be a reactionary movement? The same question we asked of Nyerere and he failed to answer. It is because of the entire Soviet plot that Comrade Tony Fernandes described in his speech.

Despite this we can say that come what may, UNITA has had a long experience of fighting alone. From 1966 to 1974, UNITA never got a single penny or bullet from any African state or from any country in the world. We fought alone for eight years and the reason for our success over these eight years was not because we used voodoo or received any miracles. It is because we are based on 3 principles:

Sometimes

China?

1) You have to rely, first and foremost on your own people inside your own country. You have to organise all the human and material resources on the spot; in other words, "self-reliance". If you mainly depend upon outside assistance, which sometimes is contingent and uncertain, the experience of UNITA is that the moment you need foreign assistance, it doesn't come. But when you say **to hell with foreign assistance**, that is when you find a lot of friends giving you dollars, weapons, and so forth. So, we decided to rely on our own efforts.

2) The leadership of the revolutionary movement is to be based inside the country. Not because we are trying to imitate what Chairman Mao did in China or what the people did in Korea or Viet Nam, it's not that. The problem is that colonialism in Angola was a contradiction, an internal contradiction. Now if we have to solve this internal contradiction, the leadership of the Party, the leadership of the masses cannot be outside the contradiction, but within the contradiction. As a matter of fact, any phenomena develops only because of the internal contradictions, the external contradiction has only some effect. That is why we have always been opposed to all those present southern African liberation movements, who think that they can lead a liberation struggle with success from the luxury of Dar-es-Salaam or Lusaka, New York, Moscow, etc., etc. I don't think they will ever succeed in doing anything concrete as long as they have the masses and guerillas inside the country and the leadership outside.

3) The final premise which we understood and are now going to reapply again in the struggle against the Soviet and Cuban soldiers is that you have to have a clear political and ideological line. Some people have been describing UNITA as "anti-communist", "pro-West" or "pro-U.S.", and saying that we are "reactionaries". I think there may still be some people who do not believe what I am saying. These people can read documents of UNITA from 1966 until today, we have been consistent. We are following revolutionary principles, based on the revolutionary teachings, which we have applied correctly in our revolutionary struggle. You can call it by any name you like, "microphone", "phone", "food" or "fork", but fortunately in this world people have to give names to things, and the main point that Comrade Fernandes mentioned is that we have to apply revolutionary principles based on Marxism-Leninism, not dogmatically, not the way Mr. N'gouabi wants to create a "communist society" in Congo-Brazzaville by parliamentary decree. But we have to take into ac-

count the geopolitics of the area, we have to take into account the virtues and vices of our own people, and we have to take into account the climate, the geography, the customs, and the traditions of our own people.

That is why we are saying to "Comrade" Fidel Castro, who is trying to export revolution to Angola, and to "brother" Neto who is trying to create a Cuban model, that the application of principles to create any socialist state in the world is unique. We cannot find a prefabricated formula, the principles which are going to guide the application are universal, whether in China, Korea, Viet Nam, the United States or Canada, but the application of it is unique. That is why if the leadership is not within the country to understand the social phenomena, they are going to be led astray. I think, that is why from 1966 to 1974 we succeeded in making a contribution to the Angolan liberation struggle. And we are certain that the Cubans can smoke their cigars as they like, they can live in the beautiful houses, and so forth, for they are not willing to come to the countryside, possibly the weather is not too good for them. (Laughter). But the Cubans and the Russians they will leave Angola with much more speed than the Portuguese left Angola. (Applause)

I am saying that, comrades, not just as platitudes, but because the Portuguese colonialists stayed in Angola five centuries. We fought a war in the bush and waged armed struggle for 15 years. During the five centuries of Portuguese domination of our country and people, they succeeded to create a complex infrastructure. There were over 600,000 Portuguese colonialists in Angola who controlled the economy, the commerce and the industry. The African man for his own survival and livelihood depended on the nearest Portuguese colonialist shop. He had to sell his cotton to the Portuguese shop; he had to sell his coconut to the Portuguese shop, he had to sell his piece of gold or diamond to the Portuguese shop. The Portuguese shop was his only market for survival.

The Portuguese succeeded to create a sophisticated type of intelligence network based on Gestapo tactics and the man who trained them was a German fascist. They created the PIDE system. The PIDE system was not only the responsibility of the Portuguese or the white man in Angola, even Africans were involved in the PIDE machinery. The PIDEs, the security forces, had tentacles not only in the towns but also in the villages. During the fight we had against them, sometimes our guerrilla force would arrive in the village and ask for food, for chicken or goats—not being sure

whether their fathers, mothers, cousins or brothers were PIDE agents. That means that the enemy was much harder to detect, you were not sure whether the PIDE was only the Portuguese or even your own brother. So you did not know who you were going to shoot at. Now the question is: Will Mr. Fidel Castro, Mr. Padgorny, Mr. Brezhnev and other Companies Ltd. there, (Laughter) and Mr. Neto succeed to create the same machinery that the Portuguese made for five centuries with failure at the end? Will 15,000 Cubans succeed to occupy only the towns? I don't mean the countryside and the townships, from the Zairean border to Pareira, the town near Namibia. Will the 15,000 Cubans be able to occupy Angola in physical terms? We do not think so. That is why we are saying that the Cubans, whether with their pants down or naked, they are going to run away from Angola. (Applause)

So comrades, I think I gave you concrete examples of the behaviour of the Cubans in Angola and why we think that our guerilla war, our revolutionary war which we call the second war of liberation (the first war of liberation was against the Portuguese) against the Cuban and the Russian army, is going to be successful. Whether the OAU recognises it or not, whether Africans who support MPLA recognise it or not, they will have to understand that what is going to change the external conditions is the internal condition. If we fight correctly in Angola, in less than a year, the OAU will change and all those African countries and others who recognised MPLA will change. How many years was China isolated from the world? How many years? Today, where is Mr. Chiang Kai-shek? (Laughter) So for how many years are the Soviets going to play tricks? Fortunately now we have learned a lesson. When the Chinese comrades and other comrades in the Western world used to write that the Soviets are social-imperialists, we thought well, possibly it is propaganda—Chinese propaganda, we did not understand this social-imperialism.

But we can tell you now, we see clearly, in our flesh we feel that Soviet social-imperialism is there. We see clearly that Soviet social-imperialism is Russian imperialism. Exactly like the logic of U.S. imperialism to create trouble and fail, and to create trouble and fail until total failure, Soviet social-imperialism will fail in Angola and we think that before 1977 is over, you will see that Angola will win the second stage of its liberation struggle. Thank-you very much. (Long Applause)

Closing Remarks by Comrade Hardial Bains

Comrades and friends, on behalf of CPC(M-L) I would like to express our complete support for the statements issued by the two UNITA comrades. In this respect I think that we will have to change our stand in the sense that up until now, up until this meeting, we were saying that there is a reactionary civil war fomented by the Soviet Union and Cuban puppets. But as the comrades have pointed out this civil war is over. It is now a second anti-colonial war. In this respect we support UNITA, we oppose the treacherous role of MPLA and all its supporters in Toronto and other places, and we will double and tripple our efforts to clarify this issue and to provide all the support necessary to our fighting comrades in Angola.

I remember in 1973 Comradé Sangumba invited us to attend their Congress. And I can promise them now, that we will definitely attend the Total Independence Celebrations. (Applause)

Angola is a small country in Africa but I think it is very very important, you can say the weakest link in the chain of imperialism and social-imperialism. Just a few months ago, some people were suggesting that the Angolan people were a bit late in terms of organising their anti-colonial struggle. At that time on February 7th in Montreal, I pointed out that this is altogether wrong. The Angolan people are not only fighting against the old type of colonialism which they successfully defeated, the Portuguese colonialism, but they have also taken up armed struggle against the aggression of the social-imperialists. We have complete con-

confidence that the independence of Angola will be total independence.

In this respect Angola is a great pathfinder, not just for the countries in Africa, but also for countries in Asia and Latin America. And its struggle has the same significance as the struggle of the Cambodian people who launched a vigorous anti-imperialist, anti-social-imperialist struggle and next year or the year after when Angola is totally liberated, this will be a liberation in the sense of defeat for international imperialism and social-imperialism.

With this comrades and friends, I thank the comrades from UNITA for coming here to celebrate the 10th Anniversary of UNITA as well as the 13th Anniversary of the founding of the Internationalists. I thank all the comrades and friends who have come here to participate in this meeting.

Now we will begin the singing of revolutionary songs with the famous Italian revolutionary song, **Avant il Populo.**



Comrade Jorge Sangumba and Tony Fernandes at the press conference held March 14, 1976 in Toronto.

Press Conference

The chairman of the meeting, a member of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), introduced Tony Fernandes, a founding member and Minister of Information of UNITA and Jorge Sangumba, Minister of Foreign Affairs of UNITA. Jorge Sangumba began the press conference by reading a prepared press statement issued by UNITA on March 13. The two representatives then answered questions for the reporters present at the press conference. The basic text of the press conference follows:

Comrade Sangumba:

Members of the press, Ladies and Gentlemen;

Now the Soviet-inspired civil war in Angola is over. The armed struggle has clearly become one of the Angolan people against the Russian army of colonial occupation. MPLA is no longer fighting UNITA and the FNLA, but Cuban mercenaries are fighting the people of Angola on behalf of Russian social-imperialism. There is now in Angola an army of occupation of fifteen thousand Cubans, and more than 1,500 Russian, Czech and East German military advisors. The first liberation struggle was against the occupation of our country by the Portuguese colonialists, armed and financed by all the NATO countries and racist minority regimes in Southern Africa. During the fifteen years of liberation struggle, the People's Republic of China provided major support to all the three Angolan liberation movements. Russian support was given to only one of the movements, MPLA. This same Russian support to MPLA was relatively slight when the enemy of Angola was colonial Por-

tugal. The American support was naturally zero. In fact through its support to its NATO ally, Portugal, the United States actually supported the colonialist oppressor of Angola, directly by its administration and through multi-national corporations such as Gulf Oil.

Now, since the war against the Portuguese colonialists has ended, why have so many Soviet weapons been sent to MPLA? To kill whom? Naturally, the Angolan people, and to impose by sheer force of arms a pro-Soviet regime which will be used as a spring-board to interfere with and attack other African States, thus creating a series of satellites far beyond the Russian zone frontiers. The USSR also laid its sights in Angola, regardless of all the consequences, in order to exploit Angola's abundant minerals, from oil to diamonds, and also to set up a reactionary global strategy to seek world hegemony.

Today, USSR ships have seized the port of Luanda, Lobito, and Mocamedes to transform them into naval bases and thereby to threaten the oil passage by sea, of United States and Western European countries from the east and south and dominate the southern flank. Consequently, taking Angola as a spring-board for expansion in Central and Southern Africa, the Soviet Union also attempts to further sabotage the national liberation movement in the whole of Southern Africa, and grab the strategic resources in the region. This is what UNITA considers in concrete terms, to be Soviet social-imperialism. The Angolan people surely, through the armed struggle that we decided a few weeks ago to wage, will resist and defeat Russian imperialism in Angola.

Now the issue of South Africa's involvement in the civil war of Angola, as a pretext of Soviet and Cuban invasion of Angola, is a false one. The South African question was manipulated by the Soviet Union in order to gain diplomatic support for the MPLA in the African and Third World countries. They succeeded temporarily. UNITA is no less an enemy of South African racist minority regime than is MPLA. In fact UNITA has been fighting against South African racist regimes and the abominable South African idea of Bantustan in concrete terms. From 1968, UNITA has been supporting the freedom fighters of Namibia through SWAPO. SWAPO does not have a single military camp inside Namibia, which means that all the activities have been done from the Angolan soil. Not from Luanda, not from the centre, but the southern part of Angola where UNITA has its military bases. UNITA shall continue to support all the just struggles and genuine

liberation movements in Southern Africa. Not only against Western imperialism, but also against Soviet social-imperialism.

Also, it has been reported that UNITA and the other friendly organisations have been recruiting mercenaries to fight in Angola alongside UNITA. UNITA never had, does not have, and will never accept mercenaries of any kind, to fight for us. Furthermore, the idea of mercenaries contradicts the very concept of guerrilla warfare which is based on people's support inside the country. The question of mercenaries was another Soviet propaganda gimmick to denigrate UNITA and divert attention from the main issue, that of Soviet and Cuban invasion.

The third stage of our liberation struggle is the guerrilla warfare against the Cuban army and the Soviet advisors who have been recolonising Angola. The Cuban soldiers are not only looting houses, and raping Angolan women, but also taking over the shops, smuggling diamonds, and settling the most fertile areas of Angola, such as in the area of Sela. Recently, the League of the Angolan women shot 17 Cubans for raping some of the Women's League. Two weeks ago, the guerrillas of UNITA destroyed 12 Soviet tanks, and armed cars such as T54's, T34's and captured 25 Cubans. The Cubans in Angola, apart from settling, are bringing over their families, and the MPLA in April 1976 intends to extend to all of the Cubans, Angolan citizenship.

The multi-national corporations, which during the struggle against Portuguese colonialism financed the Portuguese colonial army, are now financing the Soviet and Cuban armies. Last week, Gulf Oil paid to the MPLA-Luanda government \$102 million and the other multi-national corporations are about to do the same.

This second war of liberation against Russian and Cuban soldiers will and must continue until the last Cuban and Russian is driven from the Angolan soil. UNITA calls upon all the peace-loving and revolutionary organisations to fight together in all fields in such a way the Russian imperialism will suffer the same fate as U.S. imperialism suffered in Viet Nam. This is the end of the statement, that we could use. So if the members of the press or friends have any questions, we are ready to answer.

Question: What is UNITA's connection with the Communist Party of Canada, which I gather is sponsoring this?

Answer: The relations between UNITA and the Internationalists were formalised at the historic Necessity for Change Conference in London, England in August, 1967. More than 25 liberation organisations participated in this conference. UNITA and the Zim-

babwe African National Union (ZANU) were two of them. The Canadian Internationalists, an anti-imperialist youth and student movement founded in Vancouver in 1963 who later founded the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) sent a delegation to the conference.

Question: UNITA though is not a democratic movement for the liberation of Angola?

Answer: Of course UNITA is a democratic movement, not only from our point of view, because all the Western reporters have been unanimous on Angola. If we had elections in October last year, UNITA comfortably could have over 75% of the total vote. In other words, it means that we are really a movement of majority—in other words a democratic movement.

Question: You're saying in your statement you support other nationalistic movements in Africa or South Africa. What would be the next ground for the nationalist movement? Would Rhodesia be an example?

Answer: For our support? Well, Rhodesia—the only support that you can give to them, is not by sending an expeditionary army to Rhodesia. This you cannot do. As far as SWAPO is concerned, we occupy the same geo-political position. SWAPO is our neighbour. The people in the northern part of Namibia are the same as the people in the southern part of Angola, the Quanyama people, the Ovambolan. So we think that whenever we can assist them, we are ready to support them. But one thing UNITA will never do, that is, to dictate what type of struggle SWAPO should wage. If SWAPO thinks that through the United Nations, they are going to get total liberation of Namibia, it is up to them to decide. If they think that they are going to wage an armed struggle against the South African racist minority in Namibia, it is up to them to decide. Secondly, we want to help the brothers of Namibia, not in isolation but through other African states, by consulting them and finding out what is the best way of supporting them.

Question: You made no mention of South African troops. You talked about no mercenaries being involved in UNITA but there were South African regiments fighting along the...

Answer: Well, this is exactly what the Western press unitedly say. They have been saying recently that South Africans were involved along side with UNITA and the FNLA. And, later on we discovered it was a very intelligent plot to help the Russians. In fact, the liberals in Western countries have been the best lobbies of the Russians and the Cubans. There is no question about that.

Question: Must have been pretty artistically done, because we have seen films of the South African troops fighting in grounds near UNITA.

Answer: Well, I submit to you myself being in Zambia, I was the only organiser of western journalists going in UNITA areas. I wonder, whether one day we will really organise a trip, whether for you or other men, to go to UNITA areas and to film UNITA fighting with the South Africans. As far as I remember, I don't recollect any incident like that. But let us analyse the problem of South Africa. It is not just the question of reporting, because reporters can report anything for the market in order to sell their newspapers better. Because, the issue of South Africa, in the past three months, was very exciting to sell newspapers. Is South Africa a superpower? South Africa is not a superpower. So, who could effectively fight the Russians in Angola? It is not South Africa! South Africa alone cannot effectively fight the Soviet Union. It cannot! So, really it was a false issue. Secondly, when did South Africa come to Angola? Reporters have been saying that it was UNITA and FNLA who called South Africans to Angola. This is false! It is against history! South Africa came to Angola in 1969, under a contract between the Portuguese colonialists and South Africans, when South Africans started to build up the Cuene Dam in Angola. The Cuene Dam is a counterpart of the Cabora Bassa. In 1969, South Africa put troops in the southern part of Angola. Now, when we formed the transition government, we had the three armies of MPLA, UNITA and FNLA facing the South Africans five kilometers apart from each other. Not a single shot was fired against South Africa at the time. Mind you, it was immediately after we came from Portugal in January. Now the civil war started in March 1975, and the issue of South Africa started to appear in the press around June, July, August, September. Why, only in that period did people discover South Africans were in Angola, if South Africans have been in Angola since 1969! We come to the conclusion that the South African issue was the only emotional issue, which could unite the liberals outside, because they could appeal to something, to help the "niggers" in some way in Africa, and that was the only issue that could unite all the African countries, and Third World countries despite their contradictions. And I think the Soviet Union succeeded in having a diplomatic victory for MPLA around the issue of South Africa. But mind you, this is only a temporary diplomatic victory, because the situation will be reversed.

Question: So you are telling me that UNITA and South African troops never fought side-by-side, never supported each other in the war against MPLA?

Answer: This is exactly what I am saying.

Question: So, where does the UNITA support come from?

Answer: From 1966-74, UNITA never received a single penny from the OAU, because UNITA was not recognised by the OAU until January 1975. In other words, OAU ignored UNITA for nine years. Finally, people said how come these people have been surviving inside Angola without OAU support, without Cuban support, without American support, without outside support? The story is very simple. We relied mainly on our people. In terms of weapons we captured a lot of weapons from the Portuguese, and we also did a lot of underground work buying weapons and bringing them into the country. This was in the first stage of the struggle. As far as the second stage of the struggle, we have met a lot of friends recently, in the Western world and in Africa who gave us support and they are going to continue to give us financial, diplomatic and military support.

Question: What is the status of the FNLA at the moment? Are you associated with them, or do you consider them a dead cause?

Answer: No, we don't consider them a dead cause. They are still in Kinshasa, and still have some forces inside Angola. But they are facing a lot of difficulties. They had problems in the northern part of Angola after the collapse of Negage, their headquarters. Later on they had further problems with the mercenaries. But I think that FNLA is not a dead issue yet. The alliance of FNLA with UNITA was within the spirit of the formation of the government of national union. We thought that later on they might join us, but they have refused to join us. Also, we have to clarify here that the issue of FNLA was also used against UNITA by people who do not know anything about Angola, but parade around as experts on Angolan affairs. They have forgotten that in 1972, MPLA made an alliance with FNLA. Everyone following the whole development remembers that. There was an agreement signed in Kinshasa, whereby FNLA and MPLA would form a political and a military commission. Dota Gushinet was elected leader of the military commission and Holden Roberto the leader of the political commission. Of course, at that time, the alliance was a "progressive" alliance, because it was made by MPLA. Three years later, the same alliance made between UNITA and FNLA was a "reactionary" alliance.

Secondly, we have already had an alliance between the three movements, through the Mombasa Agreement, through the Alvor Agreement and through the Nakuru Agreement last year. And finally, we had a tripartite alliance between the three Angolan liberation movements during the transitional government, whereby the liberation movements would share a similar or same number of portfolios for the administration of the country. Of course, at that time people thought the alliance was progressive, but when the MPLA left the alliance, people then said the alliance was reactionary.

Question: Reports we have received here indicate that the war is all but over. Is that the situation?

Answer: No! I think that what people are trying to do by saying that the war is over is to discourage UNITA from fighting and to discourage people from giving support to UNITA. The war is not really over. In fact, it is the beginning of a very serious confrontation. It is no longer against our MPLA brothers. It is now against an army of occupation, 15,000 Cubans, 1,500 Russians, Czechs and East Germans. Today in Angola, the Cubans are settling in Angola, occupying the most fertile lands, the area of Sela for example, and bringing their families to settle. Apparently in April, next month, citizenship will be extended to them.

Question: How do you fight a power which seems to be much larger than Angola?

Answer: Like the Soviet Union? Well, the United States lost in Viet Nam and I think that is another superpower. But I will explain to you how we are going to fight and how we are going to succeed. First, we have the people.

Question: How many people?

Answer: Over four million people. This is exactly the number. Over four million people.

Question: Is that based on a tribal basis or what?

Answer: No. In Angola, among the four million people you will find more than forty different tribes. It is not tribal support.

So (back to the original question) the people are the most essential thing. We don't claim to have support from the whole of Angola, this would not be true; mainly from the 11th parallel. If you go to a map of Angola, it is exactly between Porto Amboim and the Novo Redondo (UNITA's support base). People there are giving political support to UNITA.

Secondly, we are better armed than we were against the Portuguese colonialists. In other words, the civil war, the short-lived

civil war, allowed UNITA to get weapons and to be better armed, better equipped and better trained. Our army is also much more politicised than before. We had much more time to politicise the army. From the other side, when we fought against the Portuguese, the Portuguese had 600,000 colonialists in Angola. Some of them were born in Angola, but most of them came from Portugal. These people controlled the economy of the country, the commerce and the industry. So this meant that local people, for their very survival depended on the local Portuguese shop. Thus they were automatically subservient to the Portuguese as such. Secondly, the Portuguese had a sophisticated police state, called PIDE, of the Gestapo type. The PIDE had tentacles not only in the towns but even in the villages. What does this mean? It means that when a guerrilla, during colonial times, arrived at the village, you were not sure whether your father, your mother, your cousin or your brother was not a member of the Portuguese Secret Police.

Now during the civil war, we discovered that the country was divided in three. People who gave political support to FNLA were in the northern part of Angola. People who gave support to MPLA were around the Luanda-Malange corridor. And people who gave support to UNITA started from the 11th parallel.

We don't think that the Soviets and the Cubans, for the next twenty years will succeed in building up a police state and an infrastructure like that the Portuguese built over five centuries. This is why we think that the objective conditions for our success against the Russians and Cubans are much more appropriate. Furthermore, the Cubans don't speak the language. They speak Spanish — smoke a big cigar! Also they don't know the terrain. It is really a foreign terrain. The Cubans are only in the towns. They are not occupying the simple village and they are not in the countryside. So what this means is that our target and our objective is much more precise and much more limited than it was when we fought against the Portuguese colonialists. So, we don't see why we are not going to succeed.

Question: What proof do you have that citizenship is going to be extended to the Cubans?

Answer: This was the declaration made in Congo-Brazzaville by Dr. Neto.

Question: When was the declaration made?

Answer: About three weeks ago.

Question: Could you tell us the purpose of your visit to Canada?

Answer: To visit our comrades in Canada, the United States and

all over Western Europe to brief them about the new stage of the second liberation struggle we have undertaken and what is going to be the next strategy and tactics to adopt against Soviet social-imperialism.

Question: This will be to raise funds for your campaign?

Answer: Not this time.

Question: Will you be visiting the United States?

Answer: I have already been in the United States and I am going back home next Tuesday.

Question: And you have already been to Europe as well?

Answer: We have a representative in Europe. He is my brother here, Tony Fernandes. He is based in Europe, so his job is to brief people in Europe about what is taking place in Angola.

Question: How much longer do you expect Zambia to provide support?

Answer: Zambia never supported us militarily.

Question: Offices?

Answer: Even officers. And we will never accept Zambian officers coming to our land to fight for us. This we will never do. Offices or officers? — (the question was of offices) We don't really have offices as such. At the moment that UNITA ceased to be a liberation movement on the 11th of November 1975, when Angola became independent, UNITA, FNLA and MPLA all ceased to be liberation movements. Therefore, they would not have offices like SWAPO and CAPAC and so forth. Really, we are there as individuals operating in their house.

Question: What will happen if Dr. Kuanda withdraws his support from UNITA?

Answer: I said that Dr. Kuanda never gave military support. Dr. Kuanda only gave us political support. And I think that in Africa he has been one of the most consistent men, the men of principle. You may have heard about his press statement; he said, "That, Angola today is a land under occupation of Russians and Cubans". So he does not see why Zambia should recognise an occupation, an occupied country. Zambia has consistently been supporting the idea of stopping the war and putting all the foreigners out of Angola, from South Africans to the Soviet Union and the Cubans. He has supported the formation of a government of national union and wants Angolans to settle their own affairs. Up to today he has been consistent; I don't know if it is going to change tomorrow.

Question: The U.S. also supported the recognition of MPLA, did

it not?

Answer: I don't know about that. But whether the U.S. recognises the MPLA or not does not change anything.

Question: Can you comment on UNITA's relationship with Zaire?

Answer: Well, our relationship with Zaire is exactly the same as the relationship we have with Zambia, with Kenya, with Gabon, with Ivory Coast, with Senegal, with Cameroon, or with any African state. Of course with Zaire we have a special relationship in the sense that Zaire is our neighbour. Zaire shares with Angola more than 200 kilometres of frontier. In Zaire, there are more than one million Angolan refugees. During the armed struggle with the Portuguese, and now during the civil war, Angolans are still running away to Zaire. Therefore it is only normal not only to have a political relationship, but to have a special relationship with Zaire.

Question: There have been reports here that Zaire asked UNITA, and FNLA, to leave the country. Now, would you want to comment on that, in view of what you just said?

Answer: Yes, such a thing may have affected the FNLA, but not UNITA because UNITA does not have an official office in Zaire, UNITA does not have a single military camp in Zaire — has never had one in the past and will never have one in the future. UNITA does not have a single military camp outside Angola. So, when an African state will say, well, UNITA and FNLA, close down your houses, will this change the situation inside the country? It will not change it. What I am saying is that the reports you are giving are being a little bit dramatised. UNITA does not have offices officially in Zaire, it does not have headquarters in Zaire. So therefore, when they said that Mobutu asked UNITA to leave Zaire, this doesn't really give you any news at all. Possibly it affects FNLA, because FNLA has a big office headquarters in Kinshasa, but not UNITA. Our headquarters is inside Angola.

Question: But if the MPLA is the government of Angola, officially recognised by Zaire, how could you have a special relationship with President Mobutu's government?

Answer: Well. Are you saying that Zaire diplomatically recognised MPLA? Well....

Question: Last week!

Answer: Last week! When they met in Brazzaville?

Question: Yes.

Answer: No! Your information is wrong. Zaire met Dr. Neto in

Brazzaville and the two parties decided to normalise their relations. That was the exact text of the communique. An equal number of representatives of each side are going to form a committee to study other problems, which is then going to lead to full diplomatic relations. This is exactly what the communique says. But UNITA is an Angolan liberation movement. So I don't see why MPLA is to have a monopoly on having a special relationship with Zaire. Both UNITA and FNLA being Angolan movements have to have relationships with Zaire. **We** have to.

Question: But wouldn't the MPLA, as part of the negotiations, insist that it be the sole recognised governing party in Angola; wouldn't it insist that Zaire not have any special relationship with any other group in Angola?

Answer: Yes, they may, they may. MPLA is definitely asking that. But there are 1,000,000 refugees in Zaire, members of FNLA. It is a problem. Of course, for us it is not. They are members of FNLA: how are these refugees going to go back to MPLA and MPLA control? This is not our problem. But since the controversy in Angola is not over yet, we think that UNITA has to maintain good relations with the neighbouring countries, Zaire and Zambia, no matter who forms the regime in Luanda.

Question: How do you justify the statement that the controversy in Angola is not over when the OAU has recognised the MPLA government, and countries from East and West have also recognised the MPLA?

Answer: You see the recognition which counts in Angola is the recognition from the Angolan people. The question is, did our own people recognize MPLA? I think that you yourself know that the answer is "No". How do we measure that the Angolan people recognise MPLA? Because of Soviet guns? The answer is no! Diplomatic recognition — what does it mean? How many countries recognised Chiang Kai-shek for the past thirty or forty years? What happened. Where is Chiang Kai-shek now? So you see, this is the problem. That as long as the Angolan people do not recognise a particular liberation movement, it does not matter how many recognitions you have in the world. It cannot succeed. Our people have said that the Cubans and the Russians have to leave Angola. This struggle is legitimate and they should continue the resistance. And if we succeed, OAU will change. And you know already how often they change their mind.

Question: Have you made any approaches to the Canadian government for recognition?

Answer: No.

Question: Do you intend to ?

Answer: I don't have time for any meeting now after this press conference. But the Canadian government is the government of a sovereign country and state and it can take any position it likes on Angola. I think for the people who did not take this position in the past, for political reasons, possibly it's too late. Because now nobody is going to convince us that we should not resist any more. So, if the Canadian government thinks we should resist, their assistance will be welcome. But if they want to recognise MPLA, good luck to them.

Question: On the question of guerrilla warfare — how many people would you actually have fighting for your cause? You mentioned the people of Angola, but how many people have you actually got?

Answer: During the civil war, we had over 22,000 fighters. When we decided to have guerrilla activities, we decided to make a force of 15,000 soldiers—a hard core, compact force of 15,000 young men that were going to be distributed in all provinces of Angola where UNITA had political support. We are not claiming to be engaged in guerrilla warfare on a national scale. There are areas where we do not have political support. And a guerrilla without the support of the local population is no longer a guerrilla. He is a vagabond. Unless you form a Sierra Maestra and from there you organise a base area. But in Angola we don't have a Sierra Maestra. The guerrillas have to rely on the people, and then they are going to succeed.

Question: You mentioned you were better off now than you were during the war earlier on. Can you tell us where you acquired your arms from?

Answer: Well, I deal with foreign affairs. These answers the General Command of UNITA can give you. Some of the weapons we are getting — I haven't any idea where they are coming from.

Question: Let me put it another way. Have you been receiving any financial support to buy these arms with?

Answer: From abroad? Yes, from African states and from other friendly countries. And don't forget — Angola is very rich in material resources. We don't have any reluctance to use our gold or our diamonds to get finances and then to buy weapons.

Question: Can you tell me which African countries have given you...?

Answer: No. I don't think that would be proper. The list is too

long. I don't think you are going to publish all of them.

Question: How many countries? Can you put a figure on the countries?

Answer: You remember when we went to the OAU, for that extraordinary meeting on Angola. We had 22 countries in favour of a government of national union. Remember? In other words the UNITA line. And 22 countries in favour of the Soviet line. I think there are 22 countries. This is why I said the list is too long. Will you publish the 22 countries in your newspaper?

Question: If they were split, you know, 50-50, how come the OAU accords recognition to the MPLA?

Answer: It is a simple majority. At the moment it is not 50-50. There are 22 countries. There are 46 African states. If MPLA gets 23 countries, it is a simple majority, period.

Question: How much money do you need to continue your campaign?

Answer: How much money? I do not really know how much money. It would be a lot of money. It depends on our needs and also on future developments. And also, don't forget, we are going to capture a lot of weapons from the Cubans, and this has already begun to happen. We are not going to depend mainly on outside assistance. We have always said right from the beginning that UNITA is essentially a self-reliant organisation. Because we know that outside assistance sometimes is very opportunistic and uncertain; that, at the moment you need or expect to have external assistance, it is exactly that moment the external assistance does not come. The moment we said: "To Hell with external assistance!" we found that a lot of friends were willing to give us things that we needed. So, you have to rely first and foremost on your own human and material resources, and then the outside assistance will be only a complement to the things that you really don't have inside the country. So, we don't expect very much from outside.

Question: You said earlier that you were forming a group of 50,000 or 15,000?

Answer: 15,000.

Question: Have you any long-range ideas on how long it will take to win your struggle?

Answer: No. This depends very much on the development of objective conditions. We see only two possibilities that can come from this type of war. First, since we are now going to hit hard at the Cubans inside Angola, the Russians might convince Dr. Neto to make a political compromise to solve the crisis. UNITA will go

along with any political compromise, as long as the Russians and Cubans are out of Angola. The second alternative is that if the Soviet Union should insist that MPLA should keep the Cubans and Russians, then the country will be divided for some time into two parts, most likely along the eleventh parallel. And such a thing would be most unfortunate. This would be the situation until the time comes that the country is re-unified again, either by political or military means. We don't see any alternatives besides these two. But we think that the best solution would be a political solution. But this political solution is only possible if foreigners do not interfere in Angolan internal affairs. And we already have a lot of experience on this question. The reason that UNITA, MPLA and FNLA were able for the first time in our history to reach agreements in Mombasa, Alvor and Nakuru, was that we did not have a single Cuban, Russian or any foreigner advising the liberation movements. We sat down in a room like this one for five days, quarrelling with each other, insulting each other without a foreign representative — not even an African leader present. The meetings took place in Kenya, for instance, Nakuru and Mombasa. Kenyatta was not in the room. Kenyatta attended the first session in which the session was opened, and the last one for signing the documents. But not a single Kenyan or OAU delegation was allowed to be in the room during the actual discussions. This is why we reached an agreement. So, I assure you, if Russians, Cubans and all other foreigners leave Angola, we are going to see that in less than five months, Angola is going to find a political solution. But as long as these people are there — we are not going to find any solution.

Question: You mentioned the possibility of a divided country. Are you suggesting that the country should be partitioned or do you mean divided politically?

Answer: No, I am not saying that. You see the map of Angola up here. (points to map) This one is a map divided in two. It was not divided by us. It was divided by the Portuguese. This is the northern part of Angola - Cabinda in the north. You see Luanda there, then the other half. The eleventh parallel is this line here.

Question: Do you have your support in the south?

Answer: Exactly. From Novo Redondo to Pareira there is, let us say, more than half of the country. The people of this area politically support UNITA. Without exaggerating, you can see from the spots on the map there that it is the most populated area, an area of the most dense population in Angola. Here is exactly

[why MPLA fears an election and the Russians fear an election. Three-quarters of 600,000 Portuguese settlers in Angola, mainly the little businessmen, were supporting UNITA. This is why they created conditions of civil war in order to force all the Portuguese to leave Angola. And they succeeded in sabotaging the election. Now, if MPLA is really the vanguard of the people, as some people have been saying, or if it is a progressive movement, why does MPLA fear people? And if UNITA is a "reactionary" movement, as the Soviets and Cubans are saying, how is it that UNITA has popular support? This is a contradiction in terms. People do not follow reactionary things. This is exactly what I mean. I am not advocating the partition of Angola. I am describing the possible alternatives. The first alternative is a political solution.

why?

Question: Which you consider the best one, right?

Answer: Yes, the best one. If the Cubans and the Russians leave, we will reach that compromise. But if the Cubans and Russians remain in Angola, forcing us to solve the problem militarily, then the second alternative will be the partition of Angola into two parts until we are able to reunify Angola either politically or militarily.

Question: Will this coalition be between all the factions, or will you be selective in that?

Answer: It will be between all the factions. Because UNITA is not for excluding other people. These people who are against FNLA don't know what they are talking about. These so-called experts on Angolan affairs, know nothing about Angola. FNLA, despite the contradictions we have with them, made a historical contribution to the liberation of Angola. Who started the armed struggle in 1961? It was not MPLA. It was FNLA. Only in 1963 did FNLA start to go astray. But FNLA made a historic contribution to the liberation of our country. Therefore, Angolans should give respect to them.

Question: MPLA as well?

Answer: Exactly. All three liberation movements made historical contributions. This is why UNITA is in favour of a coalition of all Angolan liberation movements and all patriotic forces or individuals. They should form a government of national union. But the Soviet Union said no.

Question: Are you disappointed that the U.S. Congress would not allow U.S. aid to come to Angola?

Answer: Well, I am not disappointed. Why should I be disappointed? Did the U.S.A., I mean, imperialism, help us during the

Angolan liberation struggle? What type of assistance did we get from that government? We got nothing. In fact, the U.S. was helping the Portuguese. And you know this story. So there's no reason why I should be disappointed. I should be disappointed only if in the past the U.S. gave us assistance against the Portuguese, and in the end changed their minds, and told us, "No, we cannot support you against the Russians". But I am not disappointed. But also, we should not rule out the possibility of superpower hegemony tactics. Possibly there is a deal somewhere between the two superpowers over the question of Angola. I am not going to elaborate more. This is really just food for thought.

Question: You think there is a deal?

Answer: We don't exclude this possibility.

Question: Could you speak up sir?

Answer: You heard properly.

Question: No, I didn't honestly.

Answer: I said that we should not exclude the possibility of a deal between the United States and the Soviet Union over the question of Angola. In fact, just read the statement from Mr. Kissinger. What do you think Mr. Kissinger is saying? That the U.S. will never **again** tolerate another Angolan situation. Isn't that what Mr. Kissinger is saying? He said that the U.S. would never tolerate **again** another Cuban and Russian invasion like the invasion of Angola. So what this means is that the adventure in Angola was tolerated.

Question: Do you think this sort of deal would be a kind of compromise in which all powers would stay out of Angola?

Answer: I do not know. But it smells like a deal.

Question: Good or bad?

Answer: Very good! (laughter)

(Comrade Jorge Sangumba is referring to the exposure of the two superpowers. The press used this last comment of his out of context to suggest that Comrade Sangumba was relying on superpower deals.)

Chairman: We'll take one more question.

There were no more questions, and the press conference was concluded.

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