

ANGOLA



Seventh Year

UNITA Central Committee

1968

APPEAL TO ALL READERS

We have presented in this booklet the present situation of the Angolan liberation struggle.

Will you help us in our cause?

Whether you represent an organisation or are concerned individually we would ask you to please raise the question of the Angolan struggle amongst your friends, in your community and throughout the country. If your Government is involved directly or indirectly in the colonial war of oppression against the Angolan people, please exert whatever pressure is possible and through protests make clear your condemnation of your Government's stand.

The UNITA (National Union for Total Independence of Angola) programmes in the military, agricultural, health, etc. fields in the liberated areas inside Angola are desperately short of funds, equipment and trained personnel. Despite UNITA's strong belief in the principle of self-reliance, the Angolan liberation struggle needs - and deserves - your political, moral and financial support.

For further information on the Angolan situation, please write to:-

UNITA Representative in Europe,
25 Ospringe Road,
LONDON, N.W.5,
England.

Telephone: 485 - 3075



ANGOLA - SEVENTH YEAR

1968

UNITA Central Committee



ANGOLA - SEVENTH YEAR

CONTENTS

1. Introduction
 2. The Features of the Portuguese Colonialism
 - (a) the resistance of the Angolan people
 - (b) the birth of the Angolan nationalism
 - (c) the immigrants and the forces of tribal society
 3. February the 4th, 1961 and MPLA
 4. March the 15th, 1961 and UPA
 5. The Creation of the OAU and the Angolan Problem
 6. Why UNITA?
 - (a) December 25th, 1966
 - (b) the progress of UNITA
 - (c) the world press and the activities of UNITA
 7. Angola - The Coveted Pearl
 8. The Genuine Unity
 9. To the Students and to the Angolan Intellectuals
 10. Message to the Portuguese People
 11. Our Revolutionary Solidarity with all the Fighting People of the World
 12. To Fight is to Suffer
- End: History will not absolve

ANGOLA - SEVENTH YEAR

INTRODUCTION

This pamphlet is written in the heat of the struggle between the crackling sound of the machine-gun and the philosophic knowledge of the pencil. It does not, however, pretend to be an exhaustive analysis of the Angolan problem. It is merely a homage to our martyrs which, at the same time, serves as a beacon before the harbour.

To the Angolan man of honour and dignity, the situation of our beloved country is unacceptable. Bowed to the ground, unable to fight colonialism, the true Angolans are badly represented by the minorities who are dishonouring and betraying the country and the nation. We call on all genuine Angolans to join us in the struggle to win or to die. Angolans, stand up with arms for your country and for your liberty!

FEATURES OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONISATION

There is a fundamental difference between the Portuguese Colonisation and other forms of colonisation, although all of them are based on the exploitation of man by man. What concerns us here, however, is to emphasise the particular characteristics.

Portugal could not expand herself into Europe due to the presence and hostility of the Spanish Castillian. She could only do so outside the Iberian Peninsula. This task was to be accomplished by a D. Joao who, under the pressure of the then dominant social classes was obliged to set up a fleet aimed at fighting against the non-christian peoples. The two dominant classes of the Portuguese society, then, were the Nobility Possessing the Land and the Commercial Bourgeoisie which controlled the cities and the harbours. The former was not interested in the maritime adventures because it was more attached to the land, whilst the latter foresaw the fabulous profits which these adventures could bring home. Thus the first expedition against the Arabs took place in 1415 against a Moroccan City, Cauta. However, shortly thereafter the Commercial Bourgeoisie diverted this fleet from fighting the non-christian peoples to a merely commercial purposes.

The masquerade of evangelizing the non-christian peoples was then unmasked. Whoever has the opportunity to go through the History of Portugal of this epoch, will find in its pages a clear indication that the major preoccupation of the Portuguese Kings was to discover the shortest way to India, the centre of the European Covets then. All the so-called discoveries that took place in Africa by Portugal were thus fortuitous.

The dominant classes of Portugal of that epoch represented not only the minority, but also they monopolised education and the maritime industry, the one then worthy of mention.

The technical level of the Portuguese, then, was (and continues to be) so low that a D. Deniz had to recruit foreigners to lead the Portuguese fleet. The name of an Italian, Pessagno, excels among other names of this period. Nowadays, Portugal is the only European country with an illiteracy rate of 43%. Those who took part in the maritime adventures were in the majority, illiterate. Today, still the majority of the Portuguese settlers in Angola are illiterate.

Portugal has soldiers in Angola, coming from Minho, Algarve, Estremadura, Trans-os-Montes, (Portuguese Provinces) who are illiterates. During colonisation times, Portugal sent to Angola (and other colonies) not only illiterates but also the poor and the criminals who were undesirable in their own society. Under such conditions, Portugal was unable to export the INTELLIGENTSIA, the TECHNIQUE nor FINANCIAL CAPITAL to those colonies. The main feature of the Portuguese colonisation is that of poor settlers and illiterate soldiers, whilst the English, French and Belgian colonists sent to Africa, for example, were capable administrators settlers with some capital to invest, qualified teachers, architects, etc. These sub-human individuals could only survive by mixing with Africans. That explains the myth of the so-called absence of racism particularly in Angola and in other colonies in general. But the facts speak for themselves; these settlers leave for Portugal enriched at expense of African sweat. Some of these who overcome the conditions of destitution become racists, mentally cruel and permanently vindictive.

The Portuguese settler is essentially ignorant by being incapable of analysing the situation of his economic and social deprivation. Most of these settlers in Angola continue to be oppressed by the commercial bourgeoisie who support the fascist Portuguese regime. The armed struggle gives the opportunity to these settlers to become aware of their oppressed condition, for they are exposed to the dangers of the Angolan nationalism. The big businessmen of the big commercial and industrial firms are in the big cities of Angola protected by the best of the Portuguese army. There is still time for these settlers to make up their minds to help the "growing forces" of the Angolan nationalism.

THE PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE

The Portuguese Government, in vain, tries to convince the world that nationalist activities in Angola are a product of foreigners. Since Diogo Cao came to the mouth of Zaire River in 1482 until 1939, the Angolan people have resisted Portuguese domination. There have been 400 years of a constant struggle; 400 years of massacres and torture. This Angolan period saw its best sons fighting with courage and dying with honour. It constitutes the most eloquent page of consciousness of freedom and liberty of the Angolan people. The name of Queen Nginga, King Ngola, King Mandume, King Ekuikui, King Matuyakevele, King Mwantiava and others, excel. The history of Portugal does not deny the military value of the war of resistance of the Dembos, Cuamato, Bailundo and more particularly that of the Cuanhama people who heroically fought the Portuguese in Angola and the Germans in Namibia (South West Africa). Today our struggle against Portuguese colonialism, once more is but the continuation of the resistance of our people against foreign domination. We feel, therefore, that a struggle brought by foreigners, as the Portuguese claim, cannot respond to the echo of resistance inside the country: also it would not have behind it the force of the Angolan history and that of the tradition. The present generation has a historic mission and duty to carry out to the end, the struggle which the best children of eight generations past gave with their lives. The resistance against the Portuguese colonial domination is not only possible, but it must be carried out:

- 1) the resistance finds in our people, the echo of the history of the past.
- 2) the human exploitation, the forced labour, the endless taxes, the racial discrimination, the prisons, all these constitute the objective conditions for a resistance at the National level.
- 3) Portuguese colonialism is condemned in Africa and in the World.

Our ancestors did not succeed in defeating the enemy, partly because of regionalism of that epoch which prevented them from focusing the struggle in a national dimension. However, it remains a sacred duty for all genuine Angolans to join in the resistance, taking lessons from the past defeats of our Angolan forces.

THE BIRTH OF THE ANGOLAN NATIONALISM

There are many factors which define the national sentiments of a people. Some of these factors are: the spoken language, the professed religion, the family and the communal traditions, the tales of the common past, the racial affinities, etc. Although the Angolan Nationalism presents a great sociological diversity from the above, it approaches itself through a common history, identical past, and through a BANTU culture which is more or less similar to the rest.

The national sentiment of a people is its internal strength to resist in common against any foreign infiltration, either politically, economically, or culturally. Thus, this sentiment in Angola is strongly opposed to colonial assimilation as applied by the Portuguese.

The Portuguese Government has defined the status of the "Indigenatus" as follows:-

"The indigenes are Portuguese subjects under Portuguese protection, although they are not an integral part of the Nation. The Nation as is considered as a cultural community or as a political association of citizens because the indigenes do not have yet any cultural assimilation and citizenship."

It was only in 1961, that a decree was hastily issued in Lisbon transforming the indigenes into citizens. But history repeats itself. The Portuguese themselves have resisted the Castilian assimilation and they found in their common past and in their history the internal force which freed Portugal. Similarly, in this context, the Angolan people have resisted the mental alienation and assimilation because they have also a past prior to the colonization; a past which only identifies itself with Africa. The expression of Angolan Nationalism has gone through critical phases because its evolution has always been unequal. The first nationalist manifestations which were purely of political nature are traced back to 1929, in Luanda, in the formation of the Liga Nacional Africana, Gremio Africano, Associacao Regional dos Naturais de Angola. However, it was only later on that the Associacao Africana do Sul de Angola was founded in the South of Angola. This Association was largely composed of the employees of the Benguela Railway (CFB).

The lack of communication between the South and North caused this very promising embryo to fall into a false barren soil. All these associations were officially of a beneficent and recreational nature, but they had a clandestine objective: to create the conditions for the formation of political consciousness of the Angolan oppressed people. Later, however, the colonial authorities discovered the true intention and infiltrated the associations with their agents to the point of prohibiting their function.

In Luanda, as well as in the Northern part of Angola, the Angolan intellectuals tried to regroup themselves again in 1953 to form clandestine movements in order to fight against Portuguese fascism. From 1953 to 1958 in Luanda, PLUA (Partido de Luta Unida dos Africanos), and MPLA (Movimenta Popular de Libertacao de Angola) were founded.

However, the classic colonial policy of divide and rule made the founders of these Associations appear to the majority of the African people, to be Portuguese collaborators.

All these beneficent groups, and those of a political nature, were organised and formed by mulattoes who were considered by the Angolan masses as instruments of the Portuguese colonial domination. We are not propagators of racism for our advanced political philosophy does not allow us to break the universal principles of the struggle for freedom. We are, however, unable to hide the truth because it is our revolutionary duty to preserve it and transmit it entirely to history. We are quoting here an excerpt from one of Mario Andrade's books:

"The Angolans, who were considered assimilados and who lived in urban centres organised parallelly other types of struggle. These **nuclei** of assimilados who for the most part clerks and employees of commerce, small landowners, artists and workers, went through with a campaign of denouncing the plunder and ravishment of the colonialists."

For anyone who knows the situation in Angola prior to 1961, knows that African clerks, employees in commerce and small landowners were not allowed. As during the times of the Industrial Revolution of the World, similarly in Angola, the clerks and the merchants were

recruited, not from the bulk of the population, but from the privileged classes. This fact was responsible for the slow march towards the expansion of the political ideas in Angola, as a whole. Also this phenomenon is responsible for the political imbalance that the Angolan nationalism is experiencing and suffering today.

It is our responsibility also in this chapter to draw another conclusion parallel to the latter: that the nationalist movement in Angola which began in Luanda was confined to urban areas. The precedent was set by the Russian October Revolution that has always had and is still having a tremendous influence in the way of thinking and acting of the MPLA. The October Revolution, despite its contribution to the World struggle, does not give at the present moment the guiding principles to the struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples where the main forces are peasants. The nationalist ideas can be born at any point of the country. But, their success depends largely on the massive adherency of the rural population, the dominant class of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The MPLA was born with a germ which takes more from the national bourgeoisie than the proletariat either urban or rural. If this urban-bourgeois tendency of MPLA is not overcome by its most militant elements, this movement is bound to fear the rural masses and is condemned to exert repression upon the masses.

It is true, however, that MPLA despite its geographical and social limitations, represented an internal effort for the Liberation of Angola. It associated itself with the main political trend in Africa after World War II.

Finally, it is imperative to draw a general conclusion on the Angolan Nationalism: the Angolan Nationalism was born from the social and regional disparities. These factors today, impede the attempts for unification of the Angolan political groups. But, despite the disparities, this political unification is necessary for the Angolan people to win final victory. The hegemony that MPLA is aspiring to impose over the Angolan Nationalism is merely wishful thinking.

THE EMIGRANTS AND THE FORCE OF TRIBAL SOCIETY

The Angolan emigrants who went to the Congos, South West Africa and Zambia, are also victims of Portuguese colonialism. Their status as emigrants does not in any way affect their Angolan nationality as far as UNITA is concerned. For UNITA, all the Angolan emigrants who consider themselves as such are an integral part of the Angolan nation. However, there are exceptions to point out in this crucial stage of the struggle for independence of Angola:

- 1) The emigrants who consider themselves citizens of neighbouring countries must be treated as such and they must not be compelled to fight for their country of origin.
- 2) The neighbouring countries' policy towards the Angolan emigrants must be respected provided that this will not affect the future relations between the Angolan nation as a sovereign country and the neighbouring countries.
- 3) The emigrants who are considered in the neighbouring countries as Angolans and are permitted to lead or to participate in the political movements of liberation must learn without complex, to be up to the level of the situation inside the country (Angola) to be able to reply to the necessities of the present struggle. The formulae of struggle which liberated the neighbouring countries cannot be applicable to Angola.

In exile, the emigrants were organised into tribal associations to defend, in common, their own interests. Those interests were purely social in nature, such as the medicare of the most incapable; to bury those who died in destitution; looking after the orphans; to help to employ the newly-arrived, etc. Some of these societies became fabulous financial movements.

In Congo (Kinshasa), the UPNA (Uniao das Populacoes de Angola) excelled. It was exclusively formed for and by the Mukongo people, more especially those coming from S. Salvador. The ALLIAZO (Alianca dos Muzombos) which is the PDA (Partido Democratico Angolano) predominantly for the Muzombo people from Maquela do Zombo and finally, we have the Simon Toco's movement which had a rather political trend than beneficent.

In Zambia, then, Northern Rhodesia, the Tchokwes Associations of Congo, of Angola, and Rhodesia (ATCAR), the Associations of Luvales and Lutchazes were formed. Among them the Association of Tchokwes excelled. There was in the same period another movement called ATCAR operating from Congo-Kinshasa but with its influence in Katanga. The ATCAR of Congo was and continues to be a purely political movement and it has got few seats in the Congolese Parliament under the leadership of Ambroise Muhanga, whilst the ATGAR of Rhodesia followed a rather beneficent path in favour of its members under the leadership of Kanjila and later on of Smart CHATA.

The associations were condemned to develop themselves on tribal bases because they started from family solidarity and not from the ideas of freedom. But this factor does not diminish the merit of the associations, when they develop themselves into political organisations such as the UPNA and ALLIAZO. However, the mortgage of a nationalist struggle, embracing all the tribes and regions, emerges when the leaders of the former tribal associations are incapable of going beyond the tribal and regional dimensions. It is only at this moment that the tribal associations constitute a serious danger to the development of the struggle in Angola, since they threaten future unity. We are sure, from our own experience, that all the former members of the tribal associations of the emigrants are more or less ready and prepared to go forward and towards the national concept of the struggle for liberation. But the last word must be and is left to the leaders who often become chronic apostles of tribalism, regionalism, and in certain aspects more dangerous cases of separatism and factionalism.

Tribes exist in Angola as in all the Continent of Africa. Tribalism represents, for Africa (when interpreted as it has been for instance, in Katanga) a latent threat to Unity of Africa. It mortgages the independence of the countries still under colonial domination, since its political interpretation is rather ignorance which colonialism has maintained over the oppressed people. However, we are not apologists of the massacres of the tribal chiefs as a miraculous panacea to tribalism. Those who prefer to massacre entire villages and indiscriminately to eliminate the tribal chiefs as a means of destroying and eliminating tribalism, are proving to be ignorant of African sociology and that of its tribal dynamism. For us, only a political education based on the profound analysis of the inner

organisation of the tribes can solve the problem of tribalism. But this analysis cannot be done by the "expert theoreticians". It will only correspond to the desired solution if it is done by elements who are an integral element of the tribes and who present a high political consciousness. Those who never lived within a tribal society and those who do not constitute an integral part of any of the tribes, due to their social origin, cannot, therefore, find solutions for this problem of great complexity. The traditional chiefs (sobas) in the present Portuguese administrative organisation do not enjoy any more the past colonial prerogatives which were given to them by the colonial administration. Many of them side with the combatants. It is not our object to affirm that in the past the traditional chiefs opposed fierce resistance to colonialism.

Those chiefs who isolate themselves from the people, serving the enemy in the repression of nationalist movements, deserve to be eliminated, but not through prefabricated formulae in the "machambas" of foreign capitals where the leaders receive their political pills, often of excessive dosage. As far as tribes are concerned, Angola has a bright opportunity of avoiding future inter-tribal problems because through the armed struggle, we would, then, proceed to a systematic analysis of the socio-political elements involved in each tribal organisation. Partial inter-tribal solutions would then facilitate the establishment of a table of facts more or less complete for the sociological oscillations of all the tribes. Politics is a science as well as sociology. Revolution is also a science with its own peculiarities that must be respected following the general laws of the people's struggles in order to be effective. To use the general laws of the people's struggle without taking into account the peculiarities of each country or region is empiricism. The apologists for the massacres of the tribal chiefs, however, are not looking for a general Angolan solution but that of the hegemony of their own tribes.

Tribalism must be criticised, but only through a political education of the popular masses in order to unite all the forces susceptible to being united.

THE 4TH OF FEBRUARY, 1961 AND THE MPLA

It is known that the patriotic demonstration of February 4th, 1961 was organised by the MPLA militants. We do not have any doubts whatsoever, that this was so. Some of the militants who are now affiliated to other political groups took part in this action. It does not, therefore, correspond to the reality, nor can we pretend that the armed struggle which started in the Fazenda Primavera on 15th March, 1961 was a continuation of the actions of the MPLA militants. As we said in the preceding chapters, the MPLA has and is having so far a bourgeoisie and urbane vocation. This tendency corresponds to the attacks of Luanda prisons. The revolt of March 15th, 1961 presented a new scenery and new actors who will be examined at a later stage.

Sincere Angolan patriots must bow down in reverence before the Angolan martyrs who fell on 4th February, 1961. Unofficial reports speak of 3,000 Angolans killed on this day. They represent beyond the brutal repression of Portuguese colonialism, the courage and hope of the Angolan people. UNITA recognises the 4th of February as a memorable day of the Angolan history. But beyond sectarian passions there is a permanent homage for all the Angolan patriots towards those who fell before us. Therefore, the 4th of February should not oppose the 15th of March or vice versa for the sake of propaganda. We must all respect these dates, because of their stature. They go far beyond our ambitions and our limitations for they reflect the greatness of a people as a whole.

THE 15TH MARCH, 1961 AND THE UPA

The attacks organised by the UPA in the coffee plantations of Primavera reflect a more advanced step forward in relation to the 4th February.

- 1) The populations who took part in the insurrection were, in the majority, from rural areas.
- 2) The background was the region where the enemy forces were practically non-existent. According to the official Portuguese reports at that time, only one battalion of infantry in the districts of Zaire and Uige was in action. Three out of the four companies which formed the battalion were in the frontier with the Congo. The attacks were launched in the regions a hundred miles apart. The chosen scenery for the type of struggle for Angola was, therefore, appropriate.
- 3) The actors were the forced labourers, from the coffee plantations, who had nothing to lose but the chains which tied up their feet and hands. They are the most revolted of our society.

This memorable date is a contribution to our science of war and it has shown the organisational capacity of people.

However, there are certain gaps which cannot be passed over without mention:

- 1) The insurrection led entirely by emigrants from the Congo, could not analyse correctly the situation of the country as a whole.
- 2) As we have seen, the associations of the emigrants were tribal in nature and, therefore, the leaders of the insurrection lacked the dimension necessary to unite all the oppressed people regardless of their ethnic origin.
- 3) The uprising went beyond the capacity and control of the leaders creating in this way anarchy and inaction.

Out of the insufficiencies of the 15th March, 1961, remains the essence of one of our greater marks in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism. We pay homage to the dead of March 15th, 1961.

We wish that the leaders of UPA will sum up their experiences and failures within a suitable time.



UNITA Emblem and Motto

THE CREATION OF OAU AND THE ANGOLAN PROBLEM

The Organisation of African Unity, created in May 1963, had far greater objectives, that of the total liberation of Africa. This sentiment was expressed in a speech by Ahmed BEN BELLA, then, President of Algeria. The creation of the Liberation Committee formerly constituted by nine members and later on by eleven members, has the objective of co-ordinating the aid from African States to the National Liberation Movements.

African Unity is the major ideal of all the sincere and conscious Africans. To start from the Total Liberation of the Continent is the most practical way to pave the way for the economic and political unity.

The Commission of Five (Algeria, Guinea, Uganda, Nigeria and Congo-Kinshasa) recommended the recognition of GRAE (Governo de Republica de Angola no Exilio) due to the non-existence of a military force of MPLA. We must point out here that the MPLA had suffered a split between the two major leaders of MPLA, Dr. Agostinho Neto and Sr. Viriato da Cruz, a few days before the meeting of the Commission. The recognition of GRAE represented for many Angolans a decisive step in their external struggle against Portuguese colonialism, because Africa had given them quite a powerful diplomatic instrument. But this powerful diplomatic instrument did not prove to be effective, on the contrary, it became a handicap for the unification of the Angolan Nationalist Movements. It is not our concern, here, to evaluate GRAE. However, it is pertinent and just to reaffirm here that GRAE is acting within the dimensions of UPA, inside and outside the country (Angola). Inside the country, it is only the UPA which has armed forces and not the FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola). Outside the country it is only the UPA which has representatives. It is also clear that the recognition of MPLA by the OAU in 1965 questions the representativity of GRAE itself. It is known, on the other hand, that certain African countries are embarrassed for having recognised the GRAE.

For the Angolan problem, the OAU has been applying a policy of the individual member states rather than that of the Organisation which makes it very difficult to foresee how the dilemma of the GRAE will be solved by the OAU. However, it would be more practical to

solve the problem of GRAE by analysing the struggle itself inside the country than to worry about the external institutions. If the OAU went through with a policy of aiding impartially all the Liberation Movements waging an armed struggle against the Portuguese colonialism, the problem concerning GRAE should be merely a problem of conscience for the countries which have recognised it. On the contrary, we are observing with great concern that certain countries attempt to impose hegemony of certain political groups upon the Angolan Nationalism. Today this policy of hegemonies corresponds to the international situation that is becoming more and more fragmented and sectioned. But these attempts are bound to fail in Angola because they do not correspond either to the Angolan philosophy. The Independence of Angola must be conquered within the extreme limits of possible action with heavy sacrifices. Only the Angolan people are masters of the situation and will know how to determine their own destiny. The decisions about Angola from the big capitals of the world only influence the situation if the leaders of Angola sell themselves out and depend more and more on foreign aid and deliberations. For the UNITA only the Angolan people are the decisive factor and will win final victory over Portuguese colonialism, international imperialism and their lackeys.



UNITA forces inside Angola (1968)

WHY UNITA...

The UNITA responds to the vocation of UNITY as a practical formula of the struggle among the outside political groups. UNITA presents a new tendency inside the country, that one of relying on its own forces.

UNITA wages an armed struggle as the main form of struggle, UNITA represents a new step in the struggle of Angola, because for the first time in the history of the struggle for liberation, a political party was born from inside action, instead of being an action initiated from the military camps based in neighbouring countries. Consequently, UNITA has the support of the people inside the country. **UNITA IS THE PEOPLE IN ARMS.** The reasons of its being are, among others:

- 1) The systematic mobilisation and organisation of the peasants inside the country, as a main force of struggle.
- 2) Integration of Intellectuals and military cadres inside and outside Angola in the struggle, side by side with the broad masses.
- 3) Refusal to rely on military camps created in neighbouring countries for the sake of external propaganda.
- 4) Active participation of all the people from both rural and urban areas in the general resistance against foreign domination.
- 5) Refusal to be led by big foreign powers. The big powers are trying today more than ever another YALTA and this time through peaceful competition.
- 6) Faith in UNITY and CO-OPERATION of all the Angolans in this phase of National Liberation.

Since its inception, UNITA has sided with the peasants to educate them politically and to organise them against oppression. UNITA is the teacher of the rural masses who are the majority of our people in Angola. The military cadres are an integral part of the people and they cannot fight successfully without the full participation and co-operation of the people. If the military cadres are not susceptible to integration into the popular masses, they will never be able to win them over. The betterment of the peasants and that of the

oppressed people, is one of the major objectives of UNITA. The rural population will find in its new life an incentive to continue the struggle until the end. Only a resistance gradually organised against the presence of the enemy in the rural areas will allow the participation of the masses to win over small victories. The small victories won by the masses themselves jointly with the small defeats gives us an opportunity to draw up a chart of the people's political consciousness. The difference between UNITA and other political groups is that in the UNITA we do not believe in the value of the small bands infiltrated from outside the country without the support of the people. Often these bands launch armed invasions for the sake of propaganda of the exiled political leaders. Learning from these errors, UNITA does not possess any military camps in the neighbouring countries to train its cadres. However, the enemy does not stop revealing its losses, inflicted by our cadres.



UNITA's Central Committee in Angola
(September, 1968)

THE 25TH OF DECEMBER, 1966

This date is the one more MARK that the people of Angola have erected in Teixeira de Souza with their own blood on the eve of December 25th, 1966. All honour of this positive action is attributed to the people of Angola and to their commander GAMBOA CHIVALA who fell heroically in combat, in the Zone of Lumai in July 1967. The Teixeira de Souza attack corresponded to a strategy of that moment to prevent the Portuguese colonialists in building up two more military bases parallel to Teixeira de Souza towards the border of Congo and Angola.

This attack coveted and claimed by the UPA but despised by the MPLA after claiming it in their numerous famous "war communiques" published by the Latin Press, was described by the Portuguese President, Americo de Deus Tomaz in his New Year's message, as follows:

"There are in our days two memorable dates in our Nation. One is the 15th March, 1961 which we learnt to forget and the other is the 25th December, 1966 which we have just experienced."

For the first time, the Governor-General of Angola, Rebocho Vaz went personally to the place of the attack to calm down the panic-stricken colonists.

For those who are serving the interests of Foreign Powers, this attack was a massacre of unarmed Angolan population induced by the UNITA. But the facts contradict them by showing that these lackeys represent alien interests from those of the Angolan people. We are quoting an article from a newspaper, O Comercio, of the 29th December, 1966 which said:-

"We have to clarify that the number of 494 announced in the correspondence from Nova Lisboa to Luanda must have been derived from an ambiguity. However, the number of terrorists - dead and captured - was given by the approximation, in the communique of the armed forces. The confusion must have been born from the fact that residents of the villages and outskirts came to take refuge in Teixeira de Souza that is what made the precipitated observers suppose that it was concerned with the captured people."

(Translation from Portuguese)

There is no parallel to match the 3,000 Angolans who died in Luanda on the 4th February, 1961 organised by MPLA neither the hundred thousand Angolans who died between the 14th March and 31st March, 1961 from action organised by the UPA. It is not true either that UNITA indiscriminately massacred the civilian population of Teixeira de Souza. An article from the newspaper "Provincia de Angola" of 28th December, 1966 published an interview with Governor-General, Rebocho Vaz on the events of the day, saying:-

"Practically our first victim was the local chief of PIDE (Portuguese Secret Police) who died fighting and sold his life very dearly."

The Chief of PIDE in Teixeira de Souza was indeed responsible for the many massacres of the UNITA militants, during all the period of 1966. He was not an innocent victim, as never will all PIDE agents be!



O Chefe da Provincia esteve em Vila Teixeira de Sousa para se inteirar «in-loco» dos acontecimentos da madrugada de 25. A presença do sr. tenente-corone! Rebocho Vaz, teve alto significado para a população que o rodeou numa manifestação de agradecimento e solidariedade

"The Head of the province came to Vila Teixeira de Sousa to obtain on the spot facts about two events which took place early in the morning of the 25th. The presence of Lt.-Col. Rebocho Vaz greatly moved the townspeople who demonstrated their gratitude and solidarity" 21

TRIBUTE TO OUR FALLEN HEROES

Death frightens the pusillanimous people, but it eternalises the values, for History doesn't speak about cowards.

In this particular chapter, we want to express our most sincere and profound homage to our fallen heroes. No doubt, the Civilising Mission 500 years ago by the Portuguese colonists is nothing but a whole history of bloody massacre and savage slavery of our people. Our martyrs throughout the ages have laid the crimson path with their lives for the Liberation of our Motherland. Their indomitable spirit, determination to resist despite the difficulties teach us to carry on from where they have left. They shed their blood in the struggle for National Independence.

Commandant PAULINO MOISES who died in combat in August 1967 in the Lungue-Bungue Zone, at the age of 21, the only child of a widowed mother. He was a very brilliant and courageous fighter; an unwavering believer in the cause of freedom for our Motherland. He fought with initiative and skilfully led his units to success. He never feared difficulties, he believed that the future was brilliant. During moments of panic or anxiety he often repeated that "all difficulties shall pass". His presence was like the sun that illuminates the darkness. He was liked by all his colleagues.

Sub-Commander, GAMBOA CHIVALA, died heroically in combat in July 1967 in the Zone of Lumai at the age of 25. He leaves a wife with two children. Due to be conscripted to the Portuguese army, he joined the local guerrilla forces, rather than serve the enemy. He was a hard worker, brave and always fulfilled his missions. He planned the successful Teixeira de Souza attack of the 25th December, 1966. He was zealous for freedom and liberty of our Motherland.

On several occasions, his uncle who is a preacher, tried in vain to dissuade him to come back to his family which he was keeping. The uncle explained that the Portuguese soldiers surveyed and questioned the family constantly, demanding to know where he was. But his answer was that there could never be a return, that the best his uncle could do was not to try to please the enemy, for there was no reprieve. He instead advised his uncle to join the local committees, for in any case, the enemy would eventually strike.

SAMAKO at the age of 29 died in Cassamra on 4th December, 1966. A steady and soft-spoken man, he won popularity in his region as Chairman of one of our local committees and leader of the militias of that region. He sometimes served as a liaison officer between his and other Zones. Courageously, he died supporting the action of guerrillas. He was killed by a stray bullet. He leaves a widow and a child.



UNITA Flag

THE PROGRAMME OF UNITA

UNIAO NACIONAL PARA A INDEPENDENCIA TOTAL DE ANGOLA

Art. 1: DENOMINATION:

The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

DEFINITION:

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

Art. 2: STRUCTURE:

The UNITA is organised as follows:

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

Art. 3: THE IMMEDIATE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF UNITA

- 1) To mobilise all the Angolans - mostly those who are more oppressed - to become a solid base for the National Liberation struggle.

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

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

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

Art. 5: MEMBERSHIP:

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

Art. 6: FUTURE OBJECTIVES OF INTERNAL POLICY:

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

THE UNITA STANDS FOR:

- 1) Total National Independence
- 2) Territorial Integrity of Angola

- 3) Promotion and Development of a genuine African Culture
- 4) Emancipation of Angolan women
- 5) Protection of the families and communal welfare
- 6) Equality for Angolans in the face of the law irrespective of sex, tribe or religion
- 7) Planned economy to meet all the needs of our population and to construct an industrialised country
- 8) Abolition of the forced labour system and other forms of exploitation of physical labour in the country
- 9) Creation of the National Army for the Defence of the country.

Art. 7 : ON EXTERNAL POLICY :

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

Art. 8 : FINANCE

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

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



The President of UNITA (Dr. J. Savimbi) in the daily task of politicising the masses inside Angola.
(September, 1968)

THE ACTIVITIES OF UNITA

Since its inception, UNITA has succeeded in shaking the foundations of the colonial system in the provinces of Moxico, Cuando-Cubango, Lunda, Bie and Malanje. UNITA has organised guerrilla groups into military detachments integrated into the activities of the local committees. The guerrillas of UNITA are part of the people. They take orders from the local and regional committees.

The Local Committees have the functions:-

- 1) to organise the literacy campaign and political agitation.
- 2) the direction of mass organisations: womens brigades and youth brigades.
- 3) the co-operation of the masses with the military detachments in actions of sabotage, of gathering and selecting information.

UNITA has under its control approximately 1,500,000 people inside the country. This population is free from paying heavy taxes imposed by the colonial administration, forced labour and other humiliating acts. The Portuguese administration in the controlled areas is adversely affected by the unwillingness of the people. For instance, the heavy taxes imposed by the Portuguese administration upon the Angolan people have recently been reduced in some districts from 250 Escudos per annum (£4) to 50 Escudos, in a desperate effort to continue the exploitation. The population already is organising a new life according to the pattern of the new life.

UNITA has groups of medical aids (male and female) who are not only looking after the sick people but also teaching hygiene and the prevention of diseases. There are schools for children which, though of a provisory nature, give an opportunity to children of the rural areas to learn, because they have never had this opportunity during the 500 years of Portuguese colonisation. The people freed by UNITA are marching forward with gigantic steps towards a better life which can be disturbed by the colonialists. This life has already deep roots in the soul of the Angolan people.

For the UNITA, the most important is the political orientation of the people in our general resistance against foreign domination.

The false and florid style "communiques of war" which are flooding foreign countries, ridicule the struggle of our heroic people. UNITA has excelled in the political orientation and systematic organisation of the people into militias. The FALA (Forças Armadas de Libertacao de Angola) is winning victory upon victory because of the participation of the people as a whole. The enemy cannot hide, nor can he ignore the existence of UNITA. A Reporter of the Diario de Noticias in Lisbon who visited the combat zones in Angola wrote on 7th August, 1967 that:-

"...The death-knell was signed in a paper with five initials, UNITA. The soldier has been a victim of another ambush. There was a fierce combat and the enemy paid dearly his boldness, but the two wounded military men did not survive."

To conclude his reports for the Diario de Noticias, a Pereira da Costa, wrote on 13th August, 1967:-

"...While this situation is changing, MPLA is taking positions which belong to UPA, and other movements (UNITA which operates in the East with relevancy) are disputing the command of subversion, which initially was based in a wave of bloodshed and without ethnic distinction."

Furthermore, a special correspondent to the New York Times in Lisbon on December 31st, 1967 writes:-

"Angolan guerrilla activity which for the last six years has been largely concentrated near the borders, has now spread to the centre of Angola."

The Portuguese armed forces command announced today that rebel camps have been found in the heart of Angola and had been destroyed. Both the nationalists and the Portuguese military forces were reported to have achieved important gains in the area.

"During the week before Christmas, rebel forces were said to have succeeded in kidnapping some 80 natives in the region north-east of Serpa Pinto, about 300 miles west of the Zambian border, where the rebels were believed to be based.

At the same time, Portuguese forces were reputed to have captured 100 members of the Zambian based UNITA (National Union for Total Independence of Angola). This action took place south-east of the important centre of Luso.

There has been Nationalist activity reported in the Luso area in the last few years, but this was the first time that the Portuguese had taken so large a group of prisoners."

The stooges of foreign powers, for lack of argument, accuse UNITA as being a movement of imperialist inspiration. But beyond the lines sold with golden prices in the big capitals of the world, there is an element that history does not look down upon. UNITA today is experiencing the most difficult moments of its existence, but once more, history will tell the truth that only people will decide the success of the struggle. The facts are more eloquent, and facts are the best witness. Only those who have degenerated politically depend on telling lies for a living. UNITA will not side step its Angolans and Africans, because only the truth is revolutionary.



Group of UNITA guerrillas led by the President, resting in a village inside Angola. (1967)



In the villages under UNITA's control, the guerrillas undertake social and medical work. (August, 1968)



UNITA forces in remote jungles of Angola, approximately 300 miles from the Zambian border, working for the first Conference of political and military cadres held from August 31st to September 5th, 1968



The President, Dr. Savimbi, being welcomed in a village inside Angola.

(August, 1968)

ANGOLA - THE COVETED PEARL

Angola is one of the biggest and richest countries in Africa, a feature that attracts colonialism which manifests itself largely in the exploitation of the human and natural resources available. Angola is becoming to an ever-increasing extent a domain of Portuguese and world imperialism as more natural riches are tapped. Foreign investment and capital are openly encouraged and huge profits received through the use of forced labour. The Portuguese government in order to hold these "colonial provinces" against the struggle for freedom of the indigenous people, have delivered themselves into colonial dependence. It is these countries with financial interests in Angola that supply arms and money for repression used against the Angolan people.

Therefore, the hard task for national liberation must thus be consciously viewed in this perspective. This privileged situation was further enhanced by the building up of the only Benguala Railway which serves Congo and Zambia towards the coast of our country.

The transport is controlled by the Tanganyika Concession (Caminho de Ferro de Benguela), Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, Westminster Bank, British South Africa Company, Cooper Brothers amongst others.

A 70 km. long branch railway line in the South of Angola was also build with the help of Krupp; it links Cassinga with the Mocamedes railway, along which the ore reaches the coast. The harbour of Mocamedes is also, with the help of Krupp, to be built up into the biggest ore-shipping harbour in Africa, which calls for further investments of 560 million marks (Handelsblatt, Dusseldorf, 22nd April, 1967.)

The diamond mines in the Lunda Province are explored by the Anglo-American Co-operation of South Africa, Oppenheim, the Beers Corporation, Guggenheim, Guaranty Trust Bank. Angola Diamonds has monopoly rights which permits it to prospect for diamonds almost over 390,000 square miles of Angola, an area almost four times the size of Ghana and Great Britain. About half the African workers for these companies are forced labourers rounded up by the authorities and receiving a monthly wage of around seventy escudos, equivalent to about 16s.

The iron ore centre of Cassinga was built up by the West-German armaments firm of Krupp at the head of an international consortium at a cost of over 500 million marks, and is to export over 5 million tons of high quality ore in 1967. Cassinga reserves are "estimated at over 3 thousand million tons, including at least 80 million tons of high quality ore". The Cassinga mines are owned by the Companhia Mineira do Lobito, a Portuguese Company. The Krupp firm, however, had taken over the financing of long and short-term investments. It delivered equipment for mining plant and attended to the general orientation and carrying out of the project which exceeded the initial conception. (From Agence Nationale e. Lusitania, 9th November, 1965).

Krupp is further involved with the opening of the considerable gold deposits especially of oil which has been discovered in the huge concession of the Companhia Mineira do Lobito. Meanwhile the oil rights have been relinquished to "Petrangol" a daughter company of the Belgian "Petrofina" in which the Deutsche Bank has a share. Krupp himself is a prominent member of the consortium which is financing the opening up of mines in the Lobito area.

Fishing is a flourishing business also. Fish meal is exported to Italy and Japan amongst others, through Porto Alexandra.

In Cabinda, Oil is at stake. The Gulf Oil Company, an American owned company, had invested 21 million dollars in Cabinda for a period of 10 years (1957-1967) on oil prospection. The Gulf Oil Company made public that at the beginning of 1968 the Company will be supplying 5.000 tons of crude oil a day. The Company has invested 106 million dollars which will increase the production to 7,500,000 tons a year by 1970 (150 thousand barrels a day).

We could prolong the list of economic and financial involvement in Angola. We are not doing so, because many other names are mere variations of the same sources. Undoubtedly the big financial involvement in Angola is an efficient smoke-screen to colonial domination in our country.

THE TRUE UNITY

The efforts of the OAU and those of its Liberation Committee, that of the Commission of Three, in fact, now known as the Commission of Five, have been working in vain for the unification of UPA and MPLA. Meanwhile hundreds, if not thousands, of Angolans have already met with death because of the division between these two political movements. Both of them are apologists of the fratricide war. They are selfishly looking for the hegemony over the Angolan Nationalism. At this very moment we are writing these lines the clamours of the innocent Angolans go to the "indifferent heaven". These innocents are victims of the fratricide war existing in all fronts of combat. It is not true to ascribe this fratricide struggle exclusively and purely to UPA, because the MPLA now practices the same policy in the Eastern Front to cover up its faults in the organisation of the masses. This hopeless policy was always practiced in the history by small and useless groups on the brink of vanishing. But the UNITA never will abandon its members to the mercy of those who do not have any interest other than to serve their foreign masters. UNITA will take upon itself the historical responsibility. MPLA stated publicly in its June 1967 publication "Vitoria ou Morte" that its arms will be used against the Angolans as well as against the Portuguese. It is known that the military equipment kindly given by the African states for the liberation of Angola is being used mostly against other Angolans.

MPLA pretends to have opened a front in the eastern part of Angola. It is not our concern here to try to dispute the struggle of our people. We simply quote the enemy press whose attitude is to scorn our struggle. The enemy sometimes is forced by the facts and by evidence to tell the truth. A Mr. Pereira da Costa, special correspondent of Diario de Noticias has made quite a few reports in Angola and wrote on 7th August, 1967 that on the Eastern Front "... the terrorist movement which really challenges the Portuguese sovereignty in the Eastern part of Angola, is UNITA which started to manifest itself at the end of 1966..."

The events which have bereaved our people are the full responsibility of the MPLA and UNITA will make public at an appropriate time a white paper on them. UNITA so far does not get a single bullet, arm, pistol from any foreign country whatsoever. So it is a mere illusion for MPLA to try to dominate the UNITA's zones through great bloodshed. UNITA

has succeeded in deterring an avalanche of 15,000 Portuguese soldiers in a triangle, Henrique de Carvalho, Luso and Santa Clara do Cuando for a year, because of the power of political organisation of its militants and adherents. The provocative people who try to invade our zones will definitely learn a good lesson either patriotically or militarily. Likewise, because of the ambition of a group of people representing the bourgeoisie and national minorities, we deplore and mourn the death of MATIAS MIGUEIS who died in the prisons of MPLA in Congo-Brazaville. MATIAS MIGUEIS did not know UNITA, nor was he a friend of the leaders of UNITA. He was a true patriot and militant of the first degree against colonialism and imperialism. We evoke here his memory, not because we want to breed controversies, but we render homage to one of our most vehement militants and pioneers of the independence of Angola. Matias Migueis was a victim of disunity between MPLA and UPA. How many of his calibre will not experience the same fate of a cold death and without history?

When we evoke the anti-patriotic acts committed by the MPLA, it is not our intention to try to clean up UPA from the grave accusations weighing upon it. Our duty is not to gloat over in silence the equal crimes and those of greater seriousness committed by the champions and apostles of Unity. This situation of disunity and the fratricide war has discouraged a great deal of Angolans who could give their full contribution to the struggle for liberation of Angola. The lack of unity is a blame that must be put solely on the Angolan leaders. The African states must also share the blame, in that some of them try to create or impose political hegemony of certain political groups of Angola who are at the mercy of these same African states.

In July and August 1966, UNITA agreed to meet with the representative of MPLA in Lusaka in an attempt to co-ordinate efforts against Portuguese colonialism. Unfortunately, these contacts did not bear fruit. It turned out that the MPLA leaders were not interested at all in unity, but in having the UNITA leaders expelled from Zambia. They went to the extent of proposing unity talks to take place not in Lusaka but in Dar es Salaam. The MPLA efforts were crowned with success when the UNITA President was sent out of Zambia. But the question of unity is still worrying true and genuine Angolans.

In April 1967, during the Conference of Five African countries in Cairo, the President of UNITA was ready to meet the President of MPLA to have talks leading towards a co-operation. The initiative itself to hold such talks came from the government of the United Arab Republic (UAR). But once more the proposal was squarely rejected by Agostinho Nato, president of MPLA.

In September 1966 Holden Roberto, President of UPA was in Lusaka, Zambia, where he met the President of UNITA, Jonas Savimbi, for a possible unification of the two political movements. The conditions offered by Holden Roberto, President of UPA were:-

- 1) Dissolution of UNITA inside and outside the country and the integration of the UNITA militants and adherents into the framework of UPA membership.
- 2) Jonas Savimbi, President of UNITA, must write a letter of apology for his declaration of resignation from UPA in 1964 and he must solicit his possible readmission to his former post of Secretary-General of UPA.
- 3) Jonas Savimbi must issue a communique condemning his Cairo declaration of 1964 through which he resigned from his post of Secretary-General of UPA and Foreign Minister of GRAE.

Despite the complete inacceptability of all these conditions from all the UNITA members and leaders, Holden Roberto was asked to return to Kinshasa and to make a report of his talks. Once there, he should consult his colleagues on the new situation of the armed struggle waged by UNITA which he himself observed reported events about the Eastern Front. It was decided at this meeting that Holden Roberto would, then, return to Zambia after a month, but he never appeared again. However, UNITA is still ready and prepared to resume the talks with the leaders of Angolan political parties at any moment. If we are evoking here the UPA and not other political groups associated to UPA, it is because the President of UPA, Holden Roberto, when he came to Zambia, spoke exclusively on behalf of UPA and he advanced his proposals not on behalf of any political associates.

For a true unity, we should proceed in the following manner:

1. Acceptance of the indisputable Angolan political reality by all the Angolans and African states. The existence of the three political movements fighting with arms on the Angolan soil, UPA, MPLA, UNITA.
2. Confrontation between the leaders of the three Angolan political movements on the possibilities and difficulties of an eventual co-operation.
 - a) The three leaders of the three political movements must be accompanied by their most influential collaborators, because it would be useless to transmit such a delicate problem, such as UNITY, to the leaders of less influence who are susceptible to be easily denounced by the most influential leaders.
 - b) This confrontation must be organised under the auspices of the OAU or other member states after transmitting the initiative to the Secretary-General of the OAU.
 - c) The discussions must be conducted freely by Angolans. The presence of the representatives of the OAU must only be that of testifying the positions taken by the Angolans and not to influence or to lead the discussions.
3. If this confrontation takes place, no matter how poor the progress might seem, another meeting must be encouraged and determined, that is, to thaw the tense relations existing presently among the Angolan leaders.

It is our opinion that without a de-congested political atmosphere, it is more or less impossible to reach political results of any kind.

4. The confrontation must take place in an African state which will guarantee the personal security of the participants. Preferably in Ethiopia, the head-quarters of the OAU or Tanzania, the head-quarters of the Liberation Committee.

5. The Angolan leaders should start to discuss from easy problems to the difficult ones.
 - a) Signed commitments to cease completely and not to repeat armed actions against other Angolan groups.
 - b) Immediate cessation of all the propaganda against other Angolan political groups.
 - c) Formation of an Angolan politico-military Commission charged to verify the two principles mentioned above. This Commission must be guaranteed the possibility of transit and temporary stay in all the countries neighbouring Angola. The same Commission should verify the total and unconditional release of all the Angolans who die in UPA's Kinkusu and MPLA's Dolosie prisons.
 - d) African countries, neighbouring Angola should help the Angolan Commission and the Organs of the OAU to verify in cases of infiltration of Portuguese informers to avoid arbitrary prisons.
 - e) The Angolan Commission should, in turn, issue a condensed and periodical report to the OAU on its tasks. The OAU would then transmit a copy of that report to the Angolan Movements and to the Angolan neighbouring countries.
6. The Commission, in the process of its functions would explore the opinions and possibilities of a greater co-operation with the political parties. The Angolan students of various political tendencies should also be consulted. The Angolan syndicates who are more or less independent of political parties should be associated to this effort.
7. After a suitable formula to a greater co-operation politically and militarily has been found, the Angolan leaders must meet again to re-examine the proposals of the Angolan Commission.
NB.. Our persistence in an Angolan Commission comes from:

- a) to prove the political maturity of the Angolan leaders also that it is the only guarantee of a stable united Angola in the future.
- b) to avoid pressure from the African states which have already taken irreducible positions as far as Angola is concerned because of the pressure from the big and foreign powers.

8. If the three Angolan political movements cannot meet simultaneously, then it should proceed by twos. UNITA is prepared to meet at any moment with any of the two other groups. That should be (UPA/UNITA) or (MPLA/UNITA). In this connection UNITA would refuse to form a single bloc with any of the two political movements to destroy the third one. But if one of the two Angolan political parties recognises UNITA and the other is obstinate to accept the reality, then, UNITA would not have other viable alternatives than to unite with the one which accepts UNITA's co-operation.

However, one must understand without ambiguity that the movement which would accept unity with UNITA would increase its political and military capacity inside Angola.

UNITY is difficult to achieve, but it is imperative for victory against Portuguese colonialism and against international imperialism.



New members, formerly with MPLA join UNITA's ranks. The Chief of Staff and Secretary General of the party take part in the oath ceremony (August, 1968)

TO ALL THE ANGOLAN STUDENTS AND INTELLECTUALS

At this crucial moment of our beloved country, the correct place of the Angolan intellectual is with the popular masses and in bringing to their enthusiasm the objectivity of his analysis.

The intellectual is not necessarily a future leader. The intellectual is a leader when he is attached to the workers and peasants who are the determining force of victory against Portuguese colonialism.

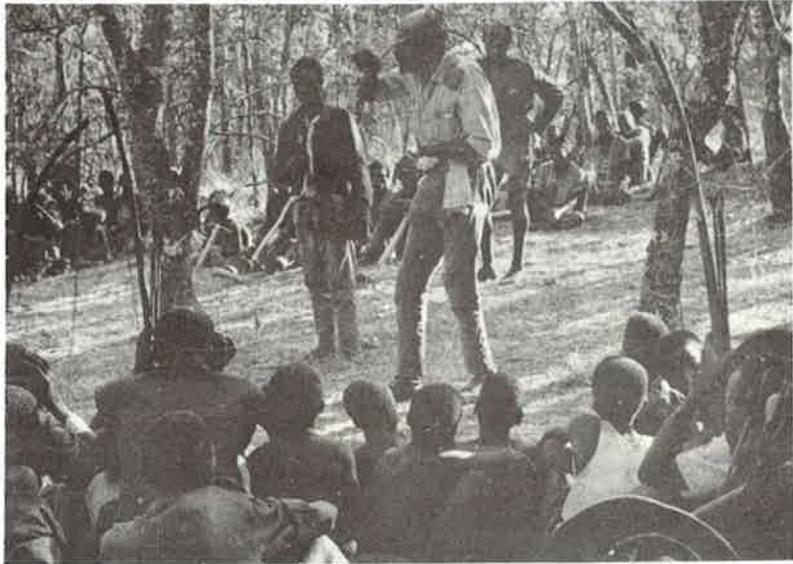
The Angolan student has a two-fold responsibility, that of finishing his academic career, if possible, in order to serve best the people and the country in the future; also that of struggling for a country which gave forth his being, a country still under colonial yoke. UNITA understands and is aware of the dilemma of disunity of the Angolan Nationalism which is impeding the complete integration of the Angolan cadres into the Angolan struggle. But this division does not, however, forgive the desertion from the struggle and this division does not dismiss the vital question of the Angolan Liberation to an inferior position. Neither justifies the opportunistic attitude of the "wait and see" preached by a handful of permanent theoreticians. For a country, either one wins or dies. It was in this way that the very countries where some of the Angolan students are now studying and living "peacefully", were freed and built and, therefore, progressed. From Belgium to France, from Switzerland to Germany, from Great Britain to the Scandinavian countries, from Eastern European countries to Asia, from the African states to the Americas; the history of these countries is full of living examples of courage and abnegation.

Those who have decided to terminate their studies must do so promptly and at reasonable time because in so doing, they honour the bright traditions of the Angolans in the world. They should always have in mind the struggle for freedom that the Angolan people are waging in the mountains, and in the valleys of Angola. The never-ending student or the professional scholarship holders are bad Angolans, and bad patriots.

In the process of their studies, the Angolans must be as much militants as their studies allow them, in order to be integrated into the Angolan reality. It is only by swimming that one loses fear of water. The revolution never offered opportunities, but they must be sought.

For the Angolan intellectuals spread all over the four corners of the world, we call upon their responsibility. Their place is with the masses to contribute for their unity and their liberty. Those who, at this crucial and critical moment, are looking for employment in the independent African countries or where they are studying, are deserters and they must be considered as such.

All the Angolan students must integrate themselves in the existing political movements to offer the best of their youth; the best of their health; the best of their intellectual capacity for national struggle. The Angolan brain is today more than ever necessary for final victory.



Dr. Sovimbi addressing the people on the goals of the revolution inside Angola
(August, 1968)

MESSAGE TO THE PORTUGUESE

The war which UNITA is waging with courage and faith is not a racial war, nor a war against the Portuguese people. Most of UNITA's leaders and militants sat down on the same school benches with the Portuguese. We have heard the same lectures and lessons of Portuguese patriotism which have created in us a deep meaning of being Angolans and the right to revolt. We heard with dismay and revulsion of our ancestors being treated as "bandits" while those who usurped our country and our rights being referred to as "heroes". From all that, a sentiment of grief and revolt remained in us. Today all these are turning into the war for national Independence. All those who with us attended the same classes in High Schools, Secondary Schools, Colleges, Lycées and Universities know very well how much we have been humiliated just because we happen to be "blacks".

But also there are those Portuguese who considered Africans with respect as human beings. It is to these Portuguese that we are addressing this message, to co-ordinate our efforts in the struggle against Salazar dictatorship (now led by Marcelo Caetano) and fascism in the colonies and Portugal itself. We are also aware that the regime is oppressing Portuguese people who are poor, the working class and the peasants. The poor settler who is isolated in the Angolan jungles does not have any protection against Angolan Nationalism which is today shaking the colonial regime in its very foundations. His protection will be his courage to co-operate with the forces of liberation. His protection is his lucidity to understand the historical reasons of the Angolan struggle. His protection is his capacity to analyse the economic conditions which are putting him into permanent danger while the big capitalists are well protected in the cities by the best of the Portuguese army.

We appeal to all the Portuguese fighting against dictatorship to co-operate, synchronise and co-ordinate their efforts with the Liberation Movements of Angola. This is the only and unique way to achieve quick victory and to create conditions for a future co-operation and understanding.

OUR REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY

At this crucial moment for Africa, UNITA expresses its unconditional solidarity with all the African countries such as Zambia and Congo (Kinshasa) that are subjected to political and economic pressures. It is our conviction that all these pressures will vanish if our efforts are united against Portuguese colonialism, which is the channel through which these pressures are exerted. We pay tribute to the leaders of those countries who are determined to pursue with courage the task of economic reconstruction whilst granting valuable help to the Angolan Liberation Movements.

UNITA calls upon all the Liberation Movements of Southern Africa to co-ordinate their efforts to fight against the regimes of Salazar, Ian Smith and Vorster. The Liberation Movements should do their best to become more independent of the big powers which are giving their material help as elements of political pressure. We must have more confidence in our own African countries because we have everything in common with them.

UNITA repeats, once more, in this pamphlet its solidarity towards the Arab peoples in their struggle for territorial integrity and for justice to the people of Palestine.

UNITA recalls here its message of July 7th, 1967 on the occasion of the 13th anniversary of the Geneva Agreements, as a modest homage to the heroic people of Vietnam.

"On the occasion of the 13th Anniversary of the Geneva Agreement the Central Committee of UNITA reaffirms:

- 1...its unconditional support to the struggle of the Vietnamese people.
- 2...its inflexible support to the Four Points of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to the Five Points of the National Liberation Front of Vietnam.

"The Central Committee of UNITA on behalf of the Angolan people condemns strongly the American bombing on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and calls upon all the peace loving peoples of the world to support totally the heroic Vietnamese people.

We wish that the revolutionary friendship between our two people will grow more and more.

Long Live the Popular War
Long Live President Ho Chi Minh

Lusaka, July 7th, 1967

(signed) CENTRAL COMMITTEE "

Our unconditional solidarity goes also to all our blood brothers, the black people in the Americas who are fighting with courage and determination against racial discrimination and for their human rights on the USA soil. Our struggle against colonists in Angola is at one with that of the black people in the Americas who are containing American imperialists which are Portugal's suppliers of money and military equipment to destroy the black people in Angola.

We reaffirm that we are conscious of the profound value and scope of the struggle of all the black brothers in the Americas. We must combine our struggles.

Finally, our solidarity with the struggle of the people of Latin-America who are aspiring towards a true political and economic independence.

UNITED WE SHALL WIN

TO FIGHT IS TO SUFFER

The revolution is the struggle against injustice for justice. This injustice which is characterized by political, economic and social oppression, can be fought in many ways. But we believe that the only correct way to fight against those injustices, in order to restore justice, is the ARMED STRUGGLE, waged by the whole oppressed people, conscious of their historical mission and full of patriotic sentiment. It is only an armed struggle that destroys the old society with its tolls (Administration, Police, Army, Prisons, Laws and Cultural System) in order to restore a New Social Order based on a New Man freed from physical oppression and freed from psychological oppression and depression.

The oppressed man has only the consciousness of Freedom and realises the Dimension of his struggle through the injustice he has suffered during centuries. It is why the African people of Angola took arms to organise a revolutionary violence against the reactionary and colonial violence. The aim MUST BE the total destruction of the old social order set up by the Portuguese colonists. The problem of the New African Man in Angola cannot be solved by adopting tools that are bearers of death germs. It is only an effective armed struggle spearheaded by the oppressed African masses that can give a full chance to the African masses in Angola to conquer completely their political, economic and social rights. In any compromise with the enemy the African people of Angola will never get anything but the perpetuation of their slavery by then controlled by Portuguese agents who are nothing else but the tools of the old society. The armed struggle which revolutionarises completely the mentality of the oppressed Man, requires much more sacrifices and sufferings than colonialism itself. This struggle organised and waged in the mountains, valleys, in forests and in villages or in the cities, calls for greater sacrifices and for indomitable courage. This is the only way left to the oppressed people to conquer real independence and therefore exercise fully their political as well as economic power.

It is the stoical acceptance of all these sacrifices which the real armed struggle requires that will facilitate the African oppressed man of Angola to free himself from all inferiority complexes, enable him to create his own social order and impose his political control.

The African, who is today carrying alone all the heavy burden of colonial oppression, MUST FIGHT NOW to conquer his rights of tomorrow. No other social class will offer the African a place to fight from because no other social class will be prepared to give him any place in an independent Angola. Today he must take by force his sacred duty to free himself. In the present international context this material obligation to fight for independence has to be seized from history in a titanic struggle between his life and death. Those who have followed the history of Portuguese colonialism and its "Decolonisation" in Brazil know that the final result of this "decolonisation" gave the community of African origin the only role that of "playing football" and "dancing the Samba". Who does control the political power? Who does control the economic power?

We believe that the respect of the rights of the majority cannot just be offered to that majority by imperialist and colonist through such negotiations based on Altruism. The rights of the majority, therefore, have to be seized from history in a life and death struggle. Only the majority of the Angolan people know the enemy from whom they have endured through the five centuries of slavery. Only this majority has adequate words to mobilise the whole nation against Portuguese colonialism in this struggle for Total Independence. It is only the majority of African people of Angola that can call successfully for NATIONAL UNITY to rally all the minorities to the cause of National Independence.

It is at this difficult juncture that the African in Angola has to accept greater sacrifices, to conquer his place in the struggle for Liberation, to preserve his genuine voice in Africa and to have real representation in the world of tomorrow. The national leadership in this struggle cannot be shared, it has to be controlled by the majority.

The true struggle that frees the Man from physical and mental oppression proceeds from Weakness to Strength; from defeat to victory and follows the unchallengeable articulation of History which says:

To each victory corresponds a defeat and
to each defeat corresponds a victory likewise
until final victory.

The final victory belongs to the majority of our people ...
The majority should never fear sacrifices or sufferings ...
Forward with the Liberation struggle ...

History will not forgive the present generation because
it has the victory within its reach

Central Committee of UNITA