

# IKWEZI

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## **SOUTHERN AFRICAN EXPLOSION:**

**The Chickens Come  
Home To Roost**

**But Southern Africa  
Must Liberate Itself**

**Angola Special**

**25p**

# THE END IS NEAR

**The hour of doom for white settler oppression in Southern Africa, one of the last outposts of direct colonial conquest, now draws to an end. The dramatic events of the past weeks have opened up tremendous revolutionary potentialities in the area. Angola accelerated a process well in the process of development. We can say with certainty that the next few years – maybe even less – will see the total liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia. The last plum to fall will be South Africa itself and with that Africa would have rid itself of the scourge of white racism that has so much blighted the history of the African people.**

**On the potentiality of revolutionary changes in Southern Africa Imperialism itself acknowledged with its special Kissinger report on Southern Africa; and South Africa too with its detente policies. Fascist South Africa sees clearly that the noose is around its neck. Totally isolated in the world community even its imperialist backers will not come readily to its help as the recent Angolan events have shown. South Africa must draw into the larger of its own territory and wait as the song of freedom goes marching to its own doorstep.**

**The Angolan events has thrust Southern Africa into the centre of the international arena. The hasty withdrawal of South African troops as it intervened there has been one of the more positive things in the whole situation.**

**The Southern Africa events are taking place at a time when Imperialism is embattled all over the world and its definitely on the wane. American Imperialism in a deep spiritual and moral crisis following the post Vietnam-Watergate events is without a policy and looks on hopelessly as Southern Africa explodes.**

**IKWEZI has always believed that it would be the Southern African situation that would open up revolutionary potentialities over the whole of Africa. And that is precisely what is happening.**

**For Southern African revolutionaries the situation affords enormous opportunities. But unfortunately at the moment the national movements are led by petit-bourgeois elements. For this reason for the time being Imperialism has little to fear because its investments and interests will not be directly endangered. But the national democratic revolution will not stop here. It must spill over to make deep inroads into the social and economic structures of imperialism. In this context either the petit-bourgeois will become increasingly radical or make such compromises with imperialism that it will sharpen the class struggles in its own countries.**

**As has been shown in the rest of neo-colonial Africa the future well being of the oppressed workers and peasants will not be assured with the assumption of formal political democracy in these states. That only brings to power a new Black elite and ruling class that merely takes over from where the white man left off.**

**In Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa the polarities between rich and poor between white and Black is so great that independence means little if deep inroads are not made into the privileges of the white ruling castes. Nay it even demands the total destruction of the structures on which this power is based. Otherwise the glaring inequalities between rich and poor, between white and black still remains. In this sense the national democratic revolution must become increasingly socialist and the future of the class struggle against capitalist development is assured.**

**Will Black Africa also accept a situation where the whites in South Africa still maintain their power with the Blacks. Will it accept the economic domination of white South Africa which its policies of detente are meant to achieve. Definitely no. For countries like Mozambique where a social revolution based on class lines becomes increasingly radical it is merely a question of biding time with white South Africa until the revolutionary process unfolds there. One of the very encouraging elements in the recent upsurges of the Black peoples in South Africa has been the deep proletarian colour of the Black working class strikes**

**IKWEZI believes unequivocally in communist revolutions in Southern Africa that will sweep away totally all class exploitation. We stand for the total destruction of imperialism, for the setting up of a workers and peasants Peoples Republic that will initiate the socialist revolutionary to bring to an end the exploitation of man by man based on class privileges. We want social ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. We want a**

socialist revolution of the type occurring in Peoples China where all the structures of society are transformed in the interests of the working class and labouring people.

This is today not a dream. The new situation in Southern Africa opens up tremendous possibilities. Imperialism is increasingly on the retreat. But the problem in Southern Africa is that these questions are not put on the agenda of the revolution. The masses and its leadership is still preoccupied with formal bourgeois-democratic rights that will give it equality with the white man – encompassed in the slogan “majority rule” and “one man one vote.” There are no Marxist-Leninist Parties anchored in the masses that can give the revolutionary process unfolding before our eyes a deep proletarian hue. The handful of Marxist-Leninist as in Z.A.N.U. have to work with petit bourgeois elements in the same national movement. This is not the way in which a proletarian led revolution is made. The workers and peasants who are the majority of the population must be organised independently from the petit bourgeois in their own movements. Only then will they be able to exercise hegemony in the national democratic revolution.

Imperialism of course wishes to arrest this trend whereby the leadership does fall into the hands of its most revolutionary elements. For this reason it seeks a neo-colonial solution, and this explains its indignation and impatience with Ian Smith of Rhodesia at the moment. Smith by his intransigence is endangering the whole future of imperialism in the area. He is making it difficult for a neo-colonialist solution in the person of Nkomo.

For us in South Africa we must grasp the strategic importance of South Africa for world imperialism. South Africa after all is not only a rich and advanced industrial state but is also the greatest producer of gold without which the whole Western imperialist economy will collapse. A proletarian revolution in South Africa can bring about almost the total collapse of imperialism. Certainly British Imperialism which is the biggest investor in South Africa will have to come to its knees immediately. The South African revolution is as strategic to imperialism as the question of oil.

In this sense the South African proletariat has a great contribution to make to the world socialist revolution.

But it is for this reason also that imperialism will not let South Africa go so easily. Such a proletarian revolution in South Africa will swallow up the whole of Southern Africa and change drastically the course of the rest of Africa.

In this situation we must beware of Soviet revisionism that is now so opportunistically intervening in Southern Africa. It suddenly has been seized with a fierce desire to come and liberate us all. (Elsewhere we comment on the nature of its intervention in Angola and the harm it has done there.) But we are not deceived by this outburst of unbelievable philanthropy from the Soviet Union. The Soviet revisionists who have dismantled the apparatus of socialist construction in its own country cannot bring liberation elsewhere in the world. Modern revisionism, armed with state power has now become social-imperialist. What the Soviet Union is merely doing is that in its rivalry for world hegemony with American imperialism it is taking advantage of the latter's weakness. While it is lulling the West with its concept of detente it is grabbing what it can where it can.

It was not the Soviet Union which brought liberation to Angola. That was undertaken equally by the three liberation movements who sacrificed and died for it. All that the Soviet Union did was to take advantage of the rivalry amongst the three liberation movements to install one of them as the government in power in an effort to enhance its own position in a very strategic area of central and southern Africa. Sure it did give assistance to one of the liberation movements during the course of the anti-Portuguese struggle but that was peanuts to the arms and troops it poured after liberation had been won and the Portuguese were forced to hand over power to the Angolan people.

## **FRELIMO WARNS SOVIET UNION**

Sometime ago in New York Mozambique's Premier Joachim Chissano thanked the Soviet Union for supporting progressive forces throughout Africa but added that he hoped it would not try to pressure the Angolan movement in the way it had his government. That is something we must bear in mind.

Our tactics from now onwards should be to struggle against the dying and decadent imperialism of the West, particularly American imperialism, but also to beware of the vigorous but new imperialism of the Soviet Union. It is only by becoming self-reliant, by seeing to it that our liberation struggle is not led by elements which are linked to the interests of foreign powers be it America or the Soviet Union that we will avoid this path.

For this reason it is incumbent upon us in South Africa to take a firm stand against the A.N.C.-C.P. which is totally subservient to the world interests of the Soviet Union.

South Africa is a plum that the Soviet Union would very much like to bring within its embrace.

# ANGOLA

## STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, NATIONAL UNITY AND SUPER POWER CONTENTION.

The recent dramatic events in Angola have highlighted the whole Southern African situation. The events in Angola itself gives us sharp lessons on the ongoing struggles in the rest of Southern Africa. Most important of all we have to draw correct conclusions about the nature of the Soviet military intervention in Southern Africa, the first time since the October Revolution it has intervened in this heavy handed way.

When the Portuguese colonialists were forced to withdraw from Angola after 500 years of domination in the country it was a glorious day for the peoples of Africa as a whole. Many of us realised that the independence of Angola would signify the end of oppression in other parts of Southern Africa, knowing its geopolitical importance. It was a sign too that imperialism had drawn the proper conclusions, that it could not defeat a Peoples War, and withdrew. The transfer of power to the Angolan peoples would be the beginning of the tasks of national construction so that the Angolan people – and mainly its workers and peasants – could lead lives of dignity. Much greater tasks in terms of economic and social reconstruction lay ahead.

The Portuguese colonialists withdrew recognising the legitimacy of the three liberation organisations – the F.N.L.A., U.N.I.T.A. and M.P.L.A. – and their contributions to the struggle for national independence. Three agreements – one in Lusaka, Zambia; another in Nakurri in Kenya; and a third in Alvor in Portugal recognised that the three organisations should get together to form a transitional government. The tasks of bringing the three organisations together was not a very easy one since they had engaged in intense rivalry in the past, particularly F.N.L.A. and M.P.L.A. But we believe that through the efforts of the O.A.U. unity would have been forged and out of this probably a mass Angolan party would have emerged that would be more representative of the peoples of Angola. Out of this fusion too the wheat would be separated from the chaff.

But foreign intervention scuttled all this; consequently the transitional government was broken up and the country was plunged into a civil war in which thousands of Angolans lost their lives. The guns that were so successfully used against the Portuguese colonialists and their Western imperialist N.A.T.O. backers were now turned against one another as the rivalry for power mainly between the F.N.L.A. and M.P.L.A. was fanned and nurtured by their different backers. The main interventionists were the South Africans and the Soviet Union and of the two we have no hesitation in saying that the Soviet Union was the real mischief maker. Using the cover of the South African intervention and its leper status in the world community and particularly among African states it intervened massively on behalf of the M.P.L.A. and brought it to power. In other words the Soviet Union decided who was going to rule Angola and not the Angolan people.

There is no reason why the South African government under the terms of its own detente policies could not live with a M.P.L.A. Government. The M.P.L.A. did not in any way threaten it. South Africa after all is quite ready – and even pushing hard – for majority rule in Zimbabwe and has accepted the presence of FRELIMO on its borders. We believe that South Africa, which is a sub-imperialist power in itself and a firm ally of Western imperialism in the area is quite prepared to live with Black governments in the Southern Africa area. All that it is concerned about is that the capitalist status quo should not be upset. In this sense its policies coincide with that of imperialism. Imperialism and South Africa are quite prepared for changes in the area but it wants the pace of changes to be such that the apple cart of its own capitalist and imperialist security is not upset. It does not want the revolutionary dynamism of the situation to be unleashing forces that it cannot contain, and that will sweep away its own privileges. It wishes to be in firm control of the changes that have to be made and which they are quite ready to concede. We believe too that when the chips are down South Africa will be quite prepared to make revolutionary adjustments in its own country.

So why then did South Africa intervene?

The answer is to be found in the Super power contention between the Soviet Union and American Imperialism for world domination and hegemony. The Soviet Union must have known (after all the K.G.B. is not in any way unequal to the C.I.A.) that if it did intervene the Americans would ask the South Africans to intervene. This would play into the Russians

hands for it would give them the perfect cover to support M.P.L.A. militarily and to bring to power a government that would give it a strategic influence in the area. The Americans themselves would not be able to intervene for the simple reason that in the post-Vietnam situation the American people will not tolerate any such physical intervention. The Russians were crafty enough to understand that the South African intervention would cast them in the role of "liberators".

The Soviet Union, of course, would be killing many other birds with this one stone. The own nature of its intervention would force the other organisations even more into the hands of Western countries and the dichotomy of organisations supported by Western imperialist states and another supported by a socialist state and friend of the national liberation movements would be complete. And that is how it did happen. The Soviet propaganda machine and that of its revisionist allies throughout the world worked full time to present the situation in this light.

The Soviet Union was not only concerned about the growing influence of China in the area – after all China had very good relationships with Tanzania, Mozambique and Zambia, countries which have a very great influence on the question of Southern African liberation but by coming in as a Power ready to militarily engage the fascist South African regime it could cock a snook at the Chinese and try to regain its influence in the Third World.

But even more importantly Angola is of such strategic influence in the geopolitics of Southern African liberation that it was a prize worth taking the risks for. Not only is it enormously rich in resources but if the Soviet Union can control Lobito and Luanda and other naval and air bases in Angolathen it can threaten from the east and the south the sea passage of the United States and West European countries for oil shipment and thus dominate the Southern Atlantic. Furthermore they can also make Angola a springboard for expansion in central and southern Africa and grab the regions strategic resources. This will serve their long term interests in their contention for hegemony with United States imperialism.

Already the Soviet Union is making noises about helping the Zimbabwean struggle, etc. etc. (But by attempting to pose as the champion of the peoples of the Third World the Soviet Union is acting opportunistically. It is China more than any other so-called socialist country that has pointed out the importance of the struggles of the peoples of the Third World to the struggle against imperialism and to the consummation of the world socialist revolution. It is China that has united the Third World countries in their struggles for the control of their own raw materials and resources, (a struggle in which the Soviet Union has collaborated with imperialism) and which has created a major crisis for imperialism.)

It was with these rich prizes at stake that the Soviet Union intervened in Angola.

It is unfortunate that important sections of the left have been taken in by the world-wide revisionist propaganda. For the simple fact is that the M.P.L.A. did not come into power on the basis of the organised strength of the mass of the Angolan peoples, of the mass of the Angolan workers and peasants. It came to power on the basis of 6,000 Katangese mercenaries that were employed originally by Salazar to suppress the Angolan liberation movements, on the basis of 15,000 Cuban troops that were armed to the teeth with all the modern armoury of an Imperialist Super Power. The Soviet Union has the military capacity to run over the whole of Western Europe in a matter of days. how much does it need to run over liberation movements like U.N.I.T.A. and F.N.L.A. If anything the M.P.L.A. never had a base amongst the peasants of Angola. Even more it was the minority organisation in Angola.

We say these things not because we are opposed to the M.P.L.A.; because we are not. We have always recognised it as one of the legitimate liberation movements in the country that played its part in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism. But when it comes to power on the basis of external military support we must ask just what sort of Marxist organisation is this. Marxist movements gain their strength on the basis of the organised power of the mass of workers and peasants. That is the sole bastion and fortress of revolutionary success against the class enemy. That is also the democratic foundations of the revolutionary movement.

The Vietnamese took on 500,000 American troops and all the imperialist firepower that it could muster and defeated it militarily on the battlefield, precisely because it was a mass based movement.

Sections of the left have presented M.P.L.A. as a Marxist based movement that should be defended against the C.I.A. controlled U.N.I.T.A. and F.N.L.A.

This is not true either. The M.P.L.A. is not a Marxist movement bent upon creating a worker-peasant peoples democratic distatorship. Certainly there are Marxist elements in it as there are in the other liberation movements. The M.P.L.A. is basically a radical nationalist movement with a petit bourgeois leadership. At best it can be likened to the F.L.N. of Algeria. In terms of its programme there is little to choose between the M.P.L.A. and U.N.I.T.A. Both advocated a form of populist socialism. Neto long ago expelled the Marxist-Leninist hard core from the M.P.L.A. when he got rid off Viriato da Cruz and seven others.

To speak of U.N.I.T.A. as a creature of imperialism or puppet of the South African fascist regime is quite ridiculous. U.N.I.T.A. for a long time collaborated with S.W.A.P.O., the Namibian revolutionary movement. S.W.A.P.O. guerillas were trained in U.N.I.T.A. camps and often when the South African army raided S.W.A.P.O. camps they killed U.N.I.T.A. guerillas. U.N.I.T.A. during the course of its struggle gained most of its arms from the Portuguese which is how guerilla movements arm themselves. There seems to have been some co-operation between U.N.I.T.A. and South African troops at one stage. But it appears to us that U.N.I.T.A. was put into a very difficult situation in the face of Cuban and Russian troops and armaments. Organisations that faced Portuguese colonialism on the battlefield and have fought and died for African freedom cannot suddenly become puppets of the South African fascist regime until they are put in a difficult position.

It is significant that at the time of the transfer of power to the transitional government comprising the three liberation movements the Soviet Union was the only power that did not recognise the other two movements and gave exclusive recognition to the Peoples Republic of Angola set up by M.P.L.A. It even went out of its way to coerce African governments to recognise exclusively the M.P.L.A. This was the arm-twisting that Kaunda referred to.

If on the contrary the Soviet Union had thrown its weight behind the transitional government instead of exclusively supporting one movement the civil war that followed would not have taken place.

The Soviet intervention in Angola has only intensified super Power rivalry in Southern Africa. Instead of allowing countries to settle their national affairs amongst themselves it aids opportunist elements who having no mass base amongst its own people are only too willing to come to power on the basis of external help. We see the Soviet Union playing this role in connection with Zimbabwe where it purports to assist Nkomo against Z.A.N.U., the majority movement in the country. And does the Soviet Union mind that Nkomo is the arch conservative in the country fully behind a neo-colonialist solution for Zimbabwe, and who even asks Vorster to apply pressure upon Smith to negotiate. No question here of foul intervention from fascist South Africa.

No, the Soviet intervention in Angola can in no way be justified. It is sheer arrogance for it to tell Angolan liberation movements that they have no right to participate in a national government of unity because they are allegedly reactionary. Let the Angolan people decide that. The Soviet Union eventually did admit that the affairs of Angola should be decided by the Angolan people, yet it acted contrary to its own words. It also said that it was not opposed to a political settlement in Angola, to a unity amongst the patriotic forces and to the transitional government, yet it went against its own words.

The question of national unity based on a political settlement is a key element of the Angolan struggle for national independence. As we show in a review of John Marcum's book on the Angolan Revolution elsewhere here, three very distinct elements constituted the totality of Angolan nationalism and it was necessary to take these factors into account before being able to overcome them. The fact that three liberation movements arose in Angola based on three ethnic divisions was a reflection of the social reality in Angola, itself the legacy of Portuguese colonial domination.

The settlement of this question of national unity is basically a political question and cannot really be resolved by military means. We are inclined to feel that the M.P.L.A. can only rule Angola by coercion in those areas where the other two liberation movements were based, which means in effect almost three quarters of Angola.

Despite Neto's talk about non alignment we feel that he has given the Soviet Union, a social-imperialist power, an important foothold in a very strategic area of Africa. Whether he can shake loose the Soviet Union is a matter of speculation at the moment, but of the sinister motives of the Soviet Union we have no doubts whatsoever. A country that has abandoned socialism cannot bring liberation to others.

The M.P.L.A. is now the government of Angola. Let it be magnanimous enough to still be able to sit down with the other liberation movements and form a government of national unity, to remove all foreign troops from Angola; to chase the South Africans completely out of Angola and give S.W.A.P.O. bases to carry on the revolutionary war against South African fascism and liberate Namibia.

If the M.P.L.A. can also abandon the sense of rivalry of the past and bring within its embrace all those progressive socialist elements that can help in forging in Angola a genuinely socialist society based on a worker-peasant government dedicated to putting an end to the exploitation of man by man then it will deserve the support of progressives all over the world and it will be making a mighty contribution to the struggles of the oppressed peoples of the world. Now having gained state power let it wield it to abolish all the imperialist structures in the country including South African investments which are quite large.

That is what we hope will happen.

# **The Angolan Revolution: Nationalism Mainspring**

John Marcum's, "The Angolan Revolution" (Volume 1), *The Anatomy of an Explosion*, is perhaps the best book on the formative years of the Angolan Revolution and its relationship to Angolan nationalism as its Mainspring. A pity that it only goes up to 1960. A must these days when Angola is the centre of international politics. The book gives an unbiased account of developments, and yet is definitely partisan to the struggles of the Angolan peoples. It is refreshing to read about Angola in these terms without being hounded by clichés about C.I.A. agents, imperialist lackeys, etc. that the infantile left is so adept at. Anybody must take a soberer look at the three liberation movements and their contributions to the Angolan struggle after having read this book.

Marcum states that it was Angola that may lay claim to have given rise to sentiments of modern African nationalism in the Portuguese territories. This took diverse forms: religious movements; movements to restore indigenous kingdoms, ethnic, cultural and mutual-aid societies, and literary, cultural religious and youth organisations. A polarity that showed itself very early, — and one that probably lay at the root of the suspicions between M.P.L.A. and F.N.L.A. and U.N.I.T.A. was the dichotomy between the nationalists from the small multiracial class of educated and semi-educated urban elements and the rural largely uneducated black peasantry that constituted the bulk of the population. "At the same time", Marcum says, "Angolans also clustered together politically on the basis of strictly precolonial ethnic and regional origins. Taken together, the influence of class and ethnicity resulted in a tripolarity, as reflected in what ultimately developed as the major streams of Angolan nationalism: (1) Luanda-Mbundu, with a predominantly urban, elite leadership, and (2) Bakongo and (3) Ovimbundu plus Chokwe, (2) and (3) with rural, peasant orientations.

This is the key to current divisions in Angola. As Marcum says: "... each of these streams ultimately gave birth to a major nationalist movement with sufficient following outside its own regional base to claim an all-inclusive all-Angolan nationalism. Gradually these same mainstream movements became locked into positions of bitter antagonism as partisan competition, personal ambitions, and cold-war diplomacy reinforced and added to their communal differences." Herein lay the tragedy of the present foreign inspired civil war.

In the early 1940's and 50's a small number of anti-Salazarists Marxists began organising in Luanda. They promoted both white and non-white class and political consciousness. Luanda also had a sizeable mulatto community that outnumbered the whites. In more recent years the numerical expansion of the mulatto population emerged as the conscious aim of Portuguese policy, a policy designed to de-Africanise and assimilate. Portugal attempted to save its position in Angola through an expanded and assimilated mulatto population. From early beginnings Portuguese colonial policy used mulattoes against the Africans and thus bred suspicion between them that has endured up to this day. The mulattoes were given a privileged position above the Africans and they generally regarded themselves as superior to the Africans.

But it was precisely the dilemma of the racial identity of the mulatto that made the concept of class as opposed to race attracted to Marxism and it was he together with the white intellectual that brought socialist thinking into nationalist politics.

The assimiladoes — Africans given the privilege of education — were affected by the same class consciousness and elitism that permeated European and mulatto society. The mulattoes and assimiladoes often got together in political protests, and after World War II they gave the African proletariat some leadership.

One of the forms of protest during this period was through journalism and poetry, mainly through the literary review, "Mensagem", edited by Viriato da Cruz, a mulatto. It protested against African forced labour and urged Angolans to "discover your human dignity." It meant to make the African aware of himself, his suffering, and the inhuman condition of slavery in which he was kept by whites.

There was also another form of poetry — the poetry of the *mucques*, the poor African quarters of Luanda — which described the clash between traditional customs and the urban conditions. It criticised "Mulattoes and assimiladoes who enjoyed bourgeois comfort for ignoring the masses, for slavishly imitating the European and for betraying their race."

During this period the Angolan Communist Party was born in 1955. It was originally formed by Portuguese white intellectuals but came to include mulatto intellectuals. It was the young marxists of this Communist Party that would form the M.P.L.A. in 1956. The Communist Party came under the influence of Angolan nationalists and could no longer exercise control over the nationalist movements. The M.P.L.A., though, officially maintains that it was the product of the amalgamation of a number of nationalist movements formed in 1953.

In its Manifesto the M.P.L.A. called for the broadest front to oppose Portuguese colonialism as it had always done. Another student organisation, (F.U.J.A.) existed, but it had no contacts with the M.P.L.A.

Events in neighbouring Congo, triggered by the African nationalists of the Abako Party, reverberated in Angola. There were mass arrests and harassment by P.I.D.E., the Portuguese secret police. The repression was so severe that it effectively broke up M.P.L.A. and other organisations. Viriato da Cruz, the party's first secretary-general said that the arrests so devastated the M.P.L.A. (which he identified with the urban proletariat) that it was rendered incapable of transcending its urban origins. According to him it was unable "to lead effectively the armed peasant movement", that ultimately developed as the main challenge to Portuguese rule. M.P.L.A. consequently went into exile. Its exile leadership came mainly from the student elite, themselves from the relatively privileged assimilado or mulatto families. Amongst them was Dr. Agostinho Neto, a Mbundu, and one of the few Africans to have received a secondary education.

Abroad the M.P.L.A. engaged in intensive lobbying among Afro-Asian organisations the United Nations, etc. In 1960 during the 2nd All African Peoples Conference held in Tunis they made an initial attempt to persuade Holden Roberto, leader of the rival U.P.A. to join their common front because as the M.P.L.A. itself said: "the U.P.A. had an undeniable following among the forced labourers in the northern regions and among Angolan emigres in the Congo."

In 1960 M.P.L.A. set up its headquarters in Conakry, Guinea from where it made another attempt to unite all exiled Angolan nationalists for the "conquest of Angolan independence."

In August 1960 an M.P.L.A. delegation visited China and Radio Peking began featuring statements by Viriato da Cruz in its broadcasts to Africa. The Chinese were attracted by da Cruz's "Marxist stress on the international capitalist conspiracy" led by the U.S.

While the Luandans around M.P.L.A. was carrying on their activities another current was developing amongst the Mbundus. Inspired by his contacts with U.P.A. in the Congo he set up a new prophet-protest movement known as "Maria", a sort of nationalist evangelism and praise for Lumumba. Events led to a stage where the Mbundu proletariat was heading for an explosion.

## **BAKONGO SOURCES OF NATIONALISM**

The second mainstream in Angolan nationalism has rural, peasant forces, separate from that organised by the educated Luanda-Mbundu town-dwellers. The Bakongo were less influenced by Portuguese culture and politics as nationalism became a powerful force within the Bakongo community. The Bakongo community spilled over into the Congo, one of the reasons why the U.P.A. which organised amongst them had its headquarters there. The Bakongo was a royal clan and its very early struggles was concerned with the recognition of the ancient Bakongo kingdom.

Not being allowed to have the king they wanted the Bakongo royalists turned in frustration to organising some sort of political movement, centred mainly in Leopoldville. There were petitions to the U.S. and appeals to the U.S. to recognise the Bakongo kingdom. Roberto Holden was then already a leader amongst his people. Following a mass meeting in Leopoldville a petition was sent to the U.N. condemning forced labour as well as educational and health conditions in the territory and asked for an on-the-spot investigation to bring the facts to light.

Subsequently U.P.N.A. was formed. U.P.N.A. eventually sent a mission to Ghana led by Roberto Holden.

Roberto has said that it was during a three week visit to Angola in 1951 when he saw an helpless old man brutally treated by a Portuguese chefe de posto that shocked him into political activity. Consequently Roberto wrote a number of letters to U.N. Secretary-General, Trygve Lie, and to others. Though the replies were sympathetic Roberto said that he came to the conclusion that Africans would have to count mainly on themselves if they were to succeed in their struggle for liberation.

At Ghana Roberto met Patrice Lumumba, Franz Fanon, Nkhrumah, etc. and he was persuaded to drop his Bakongo nationalism for an all inclusive Angolan nationalism. Thus by the time the Ghana All-African Peoples Conference opened he circulated a manifesto on behalf of U.P.A. which states that U.P.A. was a "political organisation formed for all Africans



originally from Angola, without discrimination as to sex, age, ethnic origin or domicile," and aimed at installing a "democratic regime for peasants and workers" within an independent Angola.

In Ghana he wrote many articles for Ghanaian papers. The articles were militant: "The people of Africa did not invite any nation or any government to come and civilise them." Roberto stayed on after the Conference and worked as a translator at the Ghanaian Bureau of African Affairs under George Padmore. He became a close friend and admirer of Franz Fanon. In Fanon style he would write: "without bloodshed liberation is not possible."

In mid-1959 he visited Conakry and arranged to be attached to the Guinean delegation at the U.N. Roberto would go to the 2nd All-African Peoples Conference at Tunis. He would meet Lumumba again who invited him to return after independence and mount his Angolan campaign from the Congo. Then he would attend a Positive Action Conference to promote a programme of boycotts and sanctions against the apartheid regime in South Africa.

But Roberto's Angolan nationalism would be threatened by the events in the Congo where the Bakongo community rose up and began to revive the idea of a Bakongo Kingdom. The Abako ethnocentrists in the Congo viewed U.P.A. as traitors for having moved away from Kongo-centredness towards a more inclusive Angolan and distinctly non-Congolese nationalism.

In the Congo another nationalist current was operating amongst the Bazombo tribe. Its leader was Simao Toco. Young Marxists like Variato da Cruz contacted them but found them unprepared to project their religious heresy into organised political protest. Besides Toco and his disciples spoke Kikongo, little Portuguese, they spoke the language of a rural peasantry not that of a politically sophisticated urban intelligentsia. Tocoistas predicted a bit of divine rearranging: all whites would become black, all blacks would become white, foreign rule would end, exploitation of the African would cease, and the African would finally rule his own land. Tocoism offered an outlet for the frustrations of the peasantry expropriated by the European coffee planters.

But Tocoism also reinforced already existing tendencies towards self-reliance. Toco preached communal solidarity and advocated the learning of skills. Thus an impressive number moved up to become journalists, skilled workers, tailors, etc. They took up mail-order courses offered by the Rosicrucian cult and from other correspondence schools in France.

At the time U.P.A. was biding the independence of the Congo before launching out on a huge political campaign covering the whole of Angola. And when independence did come the U.P.A. opened up an office in Leopoldville producing a mine of tracts in Portuguese, French and other vernacular languages. And indicative of the party's resolve to transcend its ethnic origin, the person chosen to run the Leopoldville office was Rosario Neto, a Mbundu, whose first contact with the U.P.A. had been in Luanda.

Roberto Holden engaged in another flurry of international activity before returning to Angolan politics. He made another visit to Tunis where he appealed to Portugal to heed nationalist demands, and warned that his party was determined to fight for an end to colonial oppression and for the free development of the "Angolan personality." When he returned to Leopoldville "he was welcomed like a victorious general". A dinner was given in his honour into a united movement under his leadership. But Roberto was more interested in creating

U.P.A. grew considerably during this period. Patrice Lumumba allowed Roberto weekly broadcasts over Radio Leopoldville. He also distinguished between those Portuguese who supported Salazar and those who supported the nationalist cause. He also stressed the dangers of ethnic disunity among Angolans. There where he said, "no inferior or superior tribes." Small ethnic parties only "dispersed nationalist forces to the great pleasure of the enemy." Angola was not "a composite of tribes" but "one nation". Many of the writings were published in the Lumumbist daily, the Congo. Then Roberto launched his own bi-monthly daily "Voice of the Angolan Nation".

Roberto flew to the U.N. again. He put out a pamphlet calling upon "all international organisations and bodies . . . to bring pressure on Portugal so that the regime of exploitation and genocide in Angola shall cease, and that the territory shall recover its independence."

The Bazomba set up its own party called A.L.I.A.Z.O. The party leadership declared a preference for local Bazombo autonomy within a federated but not partitioned Angola.

The third Congo based Party was the Ngwizako, which based itself on Bakongo ethnicity that Holden had broken away from. This party still thought in terms of setting up the Bakongo kingdom. It gained the support of Kasavubux, a Bakongo himself. As a result the U.P.A. was harassed by local Bakongo officials of the A.B.A.K.O., the Bakongo party in the Congo. The A.B.A.K.O. also tried to create an Angolan Party of its own, called Nto-Bako Angola. The M.P.L.A. which had its headquarters in distant Conakry tried to open a base nearer home in the Congo. In the same way that U.P.A. tried to build a broader national image by getting a Mbundu into the party leadership so the M.P.L.A. got one of Roberto's former

associate to head its Congo committee. The M.P.L.A. also welcomed unity with A.L.I.A.Z.O. The M.P.L.A. leadership seasoned in Luanda, Lisbon and Paris also tried to get an interview with the American democratic candidate, Averill Harriman.

Roberto did meet da Cruz and others at Tunis. He parried their efforts to get him to join a united front and thereby compromised the support he got from Nkhrumah and Guinea.

When Lumumba fell Roberto had to leave Congo in a hurry because of his association with Lumumba. He went to Ghana to learn that Nkhrumah would not support him "because you are in the pay of America."

The unity that M.P.L.A., U.P.A. and A.L.I.A.Z.O. and A.R.E.C. (a small Cabindan movement – had forged while Roberto was in the United Nations was challenged by Roberto. He pulled U.P.A. out of it, and the U.P.A. moderates left the organisation. But even the M.P.L.A. Alliance with the other parties broke down. U.P.A. like the M.P.L.A. now believed that independence could only be achieved through military means.

## OVIMBUNDU NATIONALISM

The Ovimbundu people constituted the third stream of Angolan nationalism. Its activities did not enjoy communication with the outside world through centres like Luanda or Leopoldville. Few had the opportunity to study in Europe. The lack of sizable grouping of political activists, students and emigres distinguished the nationalism of southern Angola. But before they emerged on their own they tended to identify themselves with the peasant nationalists of the northern Bakongo stream.

The Ovimbundu constitute the largest ethnic group equalling in size the Mbundu and Bakongos combined. They therefore constitute the most important political force in Angola.

The modern seeds of revolt in southern Angola was sown by a group of senior African students attending Christ the Seminary at Nova Lisboa. Some of the rebellious students belonged to a collaborationist organisation, the A.A.S.A. This was dominated by a mulatto elite which was resented by the Africans. Tensions increased between them and eventually the Africans withdrew because as one explained the "mulattoes of south Angola are more racist than the Europeans.

But these elements set up the Young Christians of Angola. They made contact with other earlier J.C.A. members working in Luanda, and they set up a new group of conspirators. They tried to make contact with other secret groups. They came in contact with the U.P.A. and were impressed by it.

Students enrolled in Protestant mission schools also contributed to the growth of nationalism among central and southern Angolans. Congolese independence had a deep impact upon the people in the south and Lumumba was a hero. The Group Avante was organised by one Cacunda. There was now a determined young nationalist movement. An external nationalist leadership was also in the process of formation. In 1958 Ovimbundu students from peasant families were sent to Portugal for advanced studies. Exposed to a broadening educational experience, and augmented by other patriots these young students constituted an exile political leadership that gravitated into a political movement led by Jonas Savimbi.

In Bandeira where a number of selected Africans were given schooling (Savimbi amongst them) U.N.A.T.A. was formed. They demanded political reforms.

But amongst the Cuanhama the nationalist stimuli came from the Ovambos, who launched the Ovambo Peoples Organisation (O.P.O.) which later became the multi-ethnic S.W.A.P.O. From the early beginnings S.W.A.P.O. established contacts with the southern nationalists led by Savimbi.

By 1960 Angola was sitting on a time bomb and in 1961 rioting and strikes broke out in the cotton producing district of Kasanje where the peasants were bitterly exploited. In Luanda the prison was stormed in an effort to release political prisoners. Although a number of groups participated in this, the M.P.L.A. was generally credited with it. At the international level M.P.L.A. benefitted from the wide publicity given to the explosion.

But it was in March 1961 that the big revolt took place when an U.P.A. army invaded from the Congo.

U.P.A. now turned to violent protest abandoning peaceful protest. Franz Fanon had convinced Holden of the need for armed struggle. Roberto tried to organise among soldiers in Luanda and Nova Lisboa. In addition to laying the foundation of a future military force Holden also tried to build a broader political and diplomatic base. Not only had he brought in Rosario Neto, the Mbundu as vice-president, but he also brought in Alexander Taty as second vice-president and representative for Cabinda. The prominent Luandan mulatto Anibal de Melo became the party's directeur politique. Holden also contacted Savimbi who had fled Portugal to escape harassment from P.I.D.F. and enrolled at a Switzerland University. Savimbi was also contacted by M.P.L.A.

Roberto made a third visit to Tunis and in Rome met Humberto Delegado who was trying to topple Salazar. But nothing came of this meeting. U.P.A. refused to co-operate until Delegado

stood unequivocally for Angolan self-determination!

The March 15 U.P.A. uprising was well organised and made to co-incide with the U.N. Meeting on Angola. Although U.P.A. instructions were to attack property and not persons popular discontent was very great. Holden regretted the murder of women and children and said that unless the Portuguese did away with forced labour there would be more violence. He identified himself as a revolutionary because a Christian who remains silent before a crime becomes a partner in the crime.

The urgency of a tougher military set up became evident to Roberto, and he set up the E.L.N.A., Angolan National Liberation Army. He began receiving political and military counsel from the Algerian F.L.N.

In the Congo U.P.A. had a strategic jumping off place. M.P.L.A. wanted this badly. Responding to the northern events the M.P.L.A. called for a united front of all Angolan movements. It launched a campaign to win greater international support and to use this to persuade U.P.A. to a common front that would give it access to the Congo.

But Roberto would not budge, even when Fulbert Youlou of the Congo-Brazzaville tried to persuade him. Andrade expressed the hope that U.P.A. and M.P.L.A. would get together so that all Angolan patriots might fight under a "unified command". To this end he invited independent African states to intervene in favour of Angolan unity.

Holden now began to develop another front – that of a labor union. He hoped that by organizing Angolan emigre workers he could dramatise workers rights inside Angola. An Angolan labour organisation in exile did exist, U.N.T.A., which had ties with W.F.T.U. and M.P.L.A. Thus L.G.T.A. was launched, it got some assistance from I.C.F.T.U. in Brussels.

There was a danger that Roberto would be expelled from the Congo as Kasavubu and Mobutu feared Portuguese retaliation. But with the emergence of Adoula as Premier things changed and Holden left with him for the first Non-Aligned Conference in Belgrade

Throughout the struggle against colonialism there was a struggle for revolutionary leadership between the F.N.L.A. and M.P.L.A.

In an effort to place itself in the revolutionary picture M.P.L.A. moved its headquarters from Guinea to Leopoldville. Andrade, the M.P.L.A. leader whom N.E.T.O. later expelled, tried to muster external support. A message was sent to Khrushchev. In France Andrade was able to launch support through Le Monde. A Committee to support the Angolan people struggle against Portuguese Colonialism was functioning in co-operation with the M.P.L.A., and similar groups were formed in Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, the Scandinavian countries, East and West Germany, in both of which M.P.L.A. was able to place some students. The M.P.L.A. did not care about establishing support in the U.S. because it suspected the U.S. motives in Angola and deprecated the fact that N.A.T.O. supported Portugal. The M.P.L.A. also helped in setting up a Council for Freedom in Portuguese Colonies in Britain. Andrade also solicited support from Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Egypt and Senegal. In Dakar Andrade put out a pamphlet setting out the party's minimum and maximum programmes. Its minimum programme focussed on the need for a common front in the fight for independence. The maximum programme pledged to install a democratic government and economic justice, to nationalise "land belonging to the enemy of the nationalist movement", to carry out educational reforms including the prohibition of "colonial and imperialistic culture and education" and to bar foreign military bases – but also to protect private enterprise and "foreign economic activities" which were useful to the society.

Despite all the international support that the M.P.L.A. was gaining itself the fact remained that it was partly shut out on the home front, and it tried to remedy this by a series of moves.

M.P.L.A. tried to reform the broad front. But as its most willing partner, Aliazo found the M.P.L.A. wanted to use them for further aims of their own. It feared that the M.P.L.A. would drop them when it became necessary. In a press statement Holden asked other political parties to join the only party that conducted a struggle inside the country. Holden feared alliance with a party led by doctors, poets, and theorists that might take over from his less polished directorate.

The M.P.L.A. then tried to form a youth front but this did not work out also, particularly with the withdrawal of the U.P.A. section. When M.P.L.A. tried to form a refugee medical service U.P.A. saw it as an attempt at political penetration.

But the M.P.L.A. made its biggest coup when it persuaded the Congolese Govt. to turn over the radio broadcasts to it during the absence of Holden.

The M.P.L.A. launched a publicity offensive. It said it was proud to attract intellectuals, after all throughout history intellectuals had put themselves in the avant garde of national liberation movements. Furthermore, replying obliquely to charges that the M.P.L.A. was dominated by a mulatto leadership, he said that they were fully Angolans and the result of the appropriation of African women by the Portuguese. Any reservations about a political role for them he regarded as racism. And while the U.P.A. regarded all Portuguese opposition

to Salazar as liberal colonialists, the M.P.L.A. welcomed it.

Throughout the struggle against Portuguese colonialism U.P.A. and M.P.L.A. would make claims and counter claims to revolutionary leadership and exclusivity. There would be military clashes between them, charges and countercharges of tribalism, etc.

In 1961 during the 16th General Assembly of the U.N. Andrade said in Rabat that M.P.L.A. stood for a united front and warned that only political-military co-ordination could save Angola from a fratricidal war.

Like Fanon Holden found some compensatory values in the continuation of the war. If it had made Angolans suffer it had also unified them. Some countries had weakly allowed selfish tribal and regional interests to prevail over "the needs of the masses." If it had not been for the catharsis of war sectional and ethnic divisions might have played a disturbing influence for a long time. "This is what produces nationhood, and our future tasks will be easier with our people so aware of the necessity of sticking together.

On U.P.A.'s program Holden emphasised four things: education, land reform, economic development and diplomatic nonalignment. While Holden advocated non-alignment he also said all Angolans "know that the napalm which has burnt our villages and the bullets which have murdered and wounded our fighting men – as well as a helpless civilian population – have been supplied to Portugal through N.A.T.O. in order to let her participate in the defense of the so-called Free World." He appealed to the U.S. to halt further military shipments to Portugal.

The Aliazo has now changed its name to P.D.A. Whilst they regarded the M.P.L.A. as being elitist they felt that they would come under the domination of mullatoes under a one man, one vote system.

The guerilla forces in northern Angola under the U.P.A. was pretty well established. They controlled an area roughly 150 miles wide and 200 miles long. The Portuguese bombed with political leaflets as well as napalm. They asked the villagers to leave U.P.A., and promised them jobs, etc.

The nationalists had established a rudimentary system of government in areas under their control. Morale was high and it was felt that only Portuguese air power compensated for a dispirited army, and that sooner or later international pressure would force Portugal to come to terms with Angolan nationalism.

One of the U.P.A. leaders, Batista, went around urging people to rise above tribal divisions and face the future united as Angolans and to view independence not as an end of their labours but the beginning of a new era of hard work through which a new society would be created. The U.P.A. also faced opposition from the Bakongo monarchists and the local Congolese officials of the Abako party.

Then Batista died on the battlefield and dissident elements in the U.P.A. together with the M.P.L.A. contrived to get rid of Roberto but failed. The dissidents, Kassanga and Kassinda travelled all over Africa trying to get African governments not to support Holden. The incident shook U.P.A. whose multiethnic leadership and primarily Bakongo following had yet to transcend regional loyalties or fully to transform personal ambitions into collective teamwork.

U.N.T.A. at this stage tried to form an Angolan Patriotic Front but Holden rejected it, stating "national unity would be built on the battlefield not in Leopoldville".

## **HOLDEN FORMS GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE**

But Holden himself was making a move to form his own Front. He set up a Government in exile (G.R.A.E.). In this Holden was helped by being able to get Jonas Savimbi as an Ovibundu leader to join him as secretary-general. Savimbi had little contact with M.P.L.A. and while he was in Portugal he was forced to leave it because P.I.D.E. tried to force him to become an informer. U.P.A. approached P.D.A. and together they formed F.N.L.A. The new front stood for an independent Angola under a democratic system based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, agrarian reform, a planned economy, industrialisation and non-alignment.

The formation of G.R.A.E. was also an attempt to undercut M.P.L.A.'s activities among Angolan emigres and refugees upon which P.D.A.'s support was built. G.R.A.E. was making claim to exclusive representation of the Angolan peoples.

The M.P.L.A. reacted swiftly to the united front for which it had worked and from which it was now excluded. It described Holden as an ambitious opportunist who had never lived and knew nothing about Angola, a tribalist and religious sectarian who sought support from the world Protestant movement, divided Angolans along religious lines and ordered measures designed "to impose the Protestant faith in the regions of Angola inhabited by the Africans he had misled. The M.P.L.A. statement also accused Holden of falsely branding other nationalist organisations as Communist in order to attract Western sympathy, receiving money from Portuguese planters in northern Angola displaying vanity by refusing to make public mention

of the "great patriot and fighter Dr. Agostinho Neto" and carrying out a programme of racial genocide against mulattoes. Roberto's first lieutenant, Rosario Neto, was described as a former thief who had served a prison sentence in Angola, etc. The M.P.L.A. statement appealed for unity and the creation of an Angolan Liberation Front. M.P.L.A. also attempted to break the front created between U.P.A. and P.D.A. and its principal effort to discredit the F.N.L.A. took the form of an 18-page memorandum sent to all independent African countries denouncing it.

One reason for the inability of the M.P.L.A.-elite to rally other nationalists to their common-front projects was a suspicion by some that Andrade, da Cruz, and others were concealing extra ideological and political commitments. The president of the party's local Leopoldville committee resigned after quarrelling with Andrade about the latter's refusal to disclose the source of party funds. Antonio de Figueiredo, Portuguese journalist said of the M.P.L.A.: "The M.P.L.A. can be said to be an essentially Portuguese socialist-minded movement." Radio Lisbon once commented: "The most important thing is that the M.P.L.A. is controlled by European brains and is not a purely African organisation."

Ten days after this broadcast Pravda praised M.P.L.A. and chided U.P.A. for refusing to unite with M.P.L.A.

Twice in May the Congolese Minister of Interior, Kamitatu called meetings of the different nationalist groups in an effort to bring them together. M.P.L.A. supported this and also suggested that as a modest beginning all defamatory propaganda be halted. But, F.N.L.A. refused such unity. But it invited M.P.L.A. to join the front.

At about this time da Cruz was removed as secretary-general of M.P.L.A. Da Cruz's removal was followed by an attempt by M.P.L.A. to avoid entanglement in the East-West cold war and to avoid "the complications of international intrigues." in the Angola of tomorrow.

G.R.A.E. got its support mainly from the more conservative Monrovia bloc. M.P.L.A. had sewn up support from the Casablanca states. Holden stalked all over seeking help and would have got it from Nkrumah if he were prepared to remove G.R.A.E.'s headquarters to Ghana and agree to a united front with M.P.L.A. Nkrumah deplored disunity among nationalist groups. But M.P.L.A. and F.N.L.A. did sign an agreement to place their armed forces under a single unified military command. The failure to produce unity was the result of peasant based movements led by little educated or self-educated men, often restrictively ethnic in origin to trust mergers with organisations led by an elite, better educated and ideologically more sophisticated and disciplined movement. They suspected that the common front would only prove to be a vehicle by which university-educated mulattoes and African Marxists might pluck power from their less experienced hands.

In 1962 Neto, the present President of Angola, escaped from forced residence in Portugal and many looked upon him to unite the different nationalist groups. Talks between M.P.L.A. and F.N.L.A. were initiated. There would be, Neto suggested, fusion by stages into a single movement and a joint military command. While hopes for such a unity were being dashed Neto wrote to Roberto implicitly making earlier accusations about racism, sectarianisms, tribalism. F.N.L.A. broke off the discussions.

Neto by now identified himself exclusively with M.P.L.A. and in a Cuban paper, Revolution attacked U.P.A. for alleged dependency upon American assistance and its willingness to co-operate with American "imperialist manoeuvres."

By 1962 U.P.A. was a household word throughout Angola. It had managed to rise above tribalism and there were Mbundu, Ovimbundu affiliation with it. U.P.A.'s influence even extended amongst the Chokwe in N. Rhodesia.

To put its own house in order after the expulsion of Da Cruz and others the M.P.L.A. held its First National Conference in Leopoldville. Neto gave the principal address and said: that the M.P.L.A. should overcome its intellectual image and expand its appeal to the peasant class. Neto got an executive committee of his choice but the M.P.L.A. preponderance of mulatto and Mbundu leadership had not changed nor an intellectual orientation that stressed party doctrine. But the M.P.L.A. began to develop a Peoples Liberation Army.

The pressures for unity came from all quarters, even the World Assembly of Youth. But Holden in a speech to African students in New York warned against being "seduced by the rank verbiage of a kind of anticolonialist in lounging robes, the kind who makes his appearance in a capital often far from his native land and puts forward beautiful anticolonialist theories inspired by ideas which are completely un-African, the kind who calls himself progressive and proclaims himself the great revolutionary, but never takes off his lounging slippers." "Real unity", he said, "can come only as the guerilla army creates unity within itself around the most urgent military tasks."

By providing a sanctuary and channel through which the revolutionaries could nourish their revolutionary sentiments Congo-Leopoldville became the one indispensable source of external aid. But the Congo also had its own prejudices, it favoured G.R.A.E. against M.P.L.A.

and thus gave the former an advantage over the latter.

Angolan revolutionaries tended to overestimate their own capacities and to overrate themselves for example U.P.A.'s assertion that ethnically diverse Angolans were achieving political unity on the battlefield. The Angolan revolution continued but it remained subject to ethnic divisions and was confined to the north.

John Marcum in his concluding notes says, and here we quote him extensively: Following the outbreak of fighting (in N. Angola) Angolan nationalism developed in a number of forms within the three major groups. This in turn resulted in two major exile movements that competed for revolutionary leadership. The G.R.A.E. was strengthened by nationalists from other regions joining it. At the leadership level though not at the base the political process of national unity seemed to have begun. The creation of a host of auxiliary organs, an army (E.L.N.A.), health-refugee service (S.A.R.A.), student union (U.N.E.A.) and labour organisation (L.G.T.A.) presented the image of a revolution concerned not only with the winning of power but also improving the health, education and welfare of its people. The G.R.A.E. seemed to present itself as an alternative to the colonial administration.

Most of the important decisions though were made personally by Holden. But G.R.A.E. still lacked a structure for complex and efficient action. It also clashed militarily with M.P.L.A., its main rival. The M.P.L.A., product of the urban, multi-racial Luanda-Mbundu stream of Angolan nationalism sought to displace G.R.A.E. Its leadership, well-educated, mulatto and Marxist also developed an army. (E.P.L.A.), health-refugee service (C.V.A.A.R.), student union (U.G.E.A.G.) and a loosely related labour organisation (U.N.T.A.) but despite all the efforts of its leaders it failed to identify with the Angolan peasants.

By late 1962 both G.R.A.E. and M.P.L.A. accepted the inevitability of protracted war, the differences were a matter of "ethnicity, history, ideology, personality and style.

But despite this the battle line against Portuguese colonialism was drawn . . . .

## **CHOU-EN-LAI-SERVANT OF THIRD WORLD AND THE WORKING CLASS**

The death of Chou-en-Lai robbed the world of one of its most illustrious proletarian fighters and communist revolutionaries.

Chou-en-Lai will be especially remembered by Africa for his historic statement during his visit to the continent: "Africa is ripe for revolution". Already then he had seen the revolutionary potentialities of the African situation now so dynamically unfolding before our eyes in the context of the Southern African situation.

It was a statement that nobody would dare to have made at the time when Africa seemed superficially to be asleep under neo-colonialist and imperialist domination.

Chou-en-Lai was also a tireless servant of the peoples of the Third World that long ago the Chinese Communist Party had seen as the mainspring of the world revolution and over which they engaged in a principled polemic with the Soviet Union. As a champion of the Third World Chou-en-Lai first made his mark at the historic Bandung Conference when he emerged as its most distinguished spokesman, and thereby transferred to an international scale the role he played so brilliantly in the course of the Chinese Revolution.

It was also during his time that the Tan-Zam Railway was built. This was a major contribution to the struggle of the Southern African peoples to free themselves from the white racist yoke. The imperialists and revisionists had refused to build this vital railway line on the lame grounds that it would be too costly. Not only did the Chinese build it – their technicians and workers in Tanzania living on the same standards as the African people with whom they worked – but they gave such financial terms that Tanzania could easily meet. The imperialists and social-imperialists never in their entire history of so-called "aid" offered such terms to any Third World nation.

It was Chou-en-Lai also who enunciated the famous eight points of aid to Third World countries, the main principle of which was that such aid should benefit the peoples of the Third World and not be another form of exploitation.

It was during his time also that the Southern African liberation movements received so much disinterested aid from China in their struggles against colonialism and imperialism, notably Frelimo and Zanu amongst others. It was Kaunda who said at the recent OAU Conference that no country gave so much disinterested aid to liberation movements without twisting their arms than China.

It is significant that all three leaders of the Angolan liberation movements paid him a tribute. Roberto Holden of the FNLA praised his contribution to the struggles of the third world people. Jonas Savimbi praised his contribution to the struggles of the oppressed peoples of Angola.

Lucio Lara, Secretary of M.P.L.A. said: "On behalf of the Central Committee of the M.P.L.A. I extend . . . our deep condolences on the death of Comrade Premier Chou-en-Lai, the great friend of the people of Angola."

# **FNLA Speaks**

**What was the F.N.L.A's political programme? Here is an extract from the speech of Johnny Eduardo, Member of the Presidential Council of the Transitional Government of Angola, made at the time of the signing of the Alvor Agreement. This is followed by the political programme of the F.N.L.A. We give this more fully because next to nothing is known about the F.N.L.A., except rumours about Holden's character:**

**At the political level, the National Defence Commission must be formed as soon as possible in order to deal with the secession attempts being made by certain people having links with European countries already implicated in this effort which have been the mentors of several secessionists, as in the sad case of Biafra.**

**Just as we are gratified by the patriotic decision of certain political groups formed since 25 April to wind up their activities and join the liberation movements of their choice, we regret the unexpected emergence of political groupings and other institutions which, under the label of cultural activities, have started and are carrying out political activities.**

**The Transitional Government will therefore still face difficulties of various kinds as long as these groupings continue to lead our long-suffering population astray. In view of these facts, the Transitional Government, in co-operation with the High Commissioner, will have no alternative but to prohibit their activities altogether, since stability and co-existence among the entire Angolan people will depend on it.**

**It was also concluded that the means of production, whose action is decisive for the economic life of the country and consequently for the life of our people, should not be exclusive property of a handful of individuals.**

**We shall propose to our workers and to our entire people that they themselves should be the builders of the social and economic reforms which we are going to institute. In a few brief words, I believe I am expressing the general feeling of my fellow-members of the Transitional Government in declaring that we do not intend to replace the exploitation to which our people were subjected in the past by another, of whatever kind.**

**We want simply to provide freedom for the initiative of the people in the economic context of the country by giving the economic management of our country a new and just form.**

**Our society will never be able to call itself just if the rich become richer and the poor poorer.**

**. . . "But we are going to carry out this noble task of giving Angola its first sovereign institutions at the same time as another priority task, which is to take a series of urgent social measures concerning, for example, the improvement of working conditions, workers' safety, social welfare, and the readjustment of wages, taking into account both the profits of the employer and just compensation for the labour-capital of the workers. All must be balanced by a just policy of rehabilitating the country's economy, with due regard to the private sector, but without allowing that sector to continue exploiting the people and openly ignoring the rights of those who produce.**

**The spirit of non-discrimination which we intend to institute in Angola is not concerned solely with the rights and privileges which may arise from what may be called Angolan nationality, but also, and more importantly, with the just and equitable distribution of the wealth of this country, which is immense, among all the people of Angola.**

**When we say "Angolan people", we sincerely mean it to include all the people of this country, without any racial discrimination whatsoever, since this sentiment expresses the profound conviction of the three liberation movements.**

## **PROGRAMME OF THE FNLA**

- 1. Nationalization of the soil and subsoil.**
- 2. Elimination of all forms of pre-capitalist production.**
- 3. Elimination of the capitalist concentration of land by nationalization of concession enterprises.**
- 4. Distribution of land to landless peasants or peasants who do not have enough land, preference being given to the agricultural collectives to be set up under the auspices of the State.**
- 5. Organization of the peasants in collectives and encouragement of the collectivist and co-operative spirit which is traditional in the Angolan community. The agricultural sector must**

be one of the fundamental factors in a genuinely revolutionary agrarian reform.

6. Allowing in economic planning for freedom of action for small – and medium – scale producers, while at the same time helping them to understand the advantages of the co-operative system.
7. Exploitation by the State of unproductive lands.
8. The State shall promote the diversification and mechanization of agricultural production by the use of modern technology. Credit shall be extended to the peasants and they shall be helped to increase agricultural output by scientific means.
9. The State shall promote the marketing of agricultural output through a marketing and selling co-operatives services.
10. The State shall increase the amount of arable land in the territory by applying a vigorous irrigation policy, principally in certain areas in southern Angola which are considered un-productive.

### *Industrial and Financial Sector*

1. Control by the State of all the large industrial enterprises and nationalization of all energy resources.
2. Control or broad participation by the State in all mining enterprises.
3. Control of all banks and insurance companies.
4. Nationalization of all means of transport and improvement of the highway infrastructure.
5. Economic planning of all branches of production.
6. Development of light consumer industries and establishment of heavy industry.
7. Establishment of a national currency, an issuing bank and a credit organization.

### *Political and Social Problems*

1. Establishment of a sovereign secular Republic based on a democratic and social constitution. Protection of the territorial integrity of Angola in its present geographical administrative form.
2. Complete reform of the administrative structure.
3. Active measures to combat unemployment.
4. Demobilization of the Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola (FNLA) fighters and their integration into the economic life of the country.
5. Urban reform and the right of all workers to have decent living accommodations.
6. Establishment of national institutions for the protection of public health.
7. Application of a positive social insurance policy.
8. Abolition of any racist and discriminatory laws which deprive the masses of all freedoms and of justice for the benefit of any privileged category.
9. Protection of fauna and environment.

### *Culture*

1. Reform of education with a view to adapting it to national realities and needs and eliminating the cultural monopoly imposed by colonialism.
2. Free primary and secondary education.
3. Intensive literacy campaign among the masses and introduction of the principal national languages into education.
4. Development of scientific and technical education. Establishment of polytechnic schools, State universities and scientific research institutes.
5. Development and protection of free artistic and literacy creation.
6. Intensive diffusion of agricultural instruction and revolutionary education among the peasants and the working class.

### *Foreign Policy*

1. Complete solidarity with all peoples fighting for justice, freedom and their rights.
2. Co-operation with all countries of the world, based on mutual respect for sovereignty and independence in all cases.
3. Adherence to the principles set forth in the Charters of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.).

Only a revolutionary vanguard which has its roots in the masses, only an organized party of the people (the F.N.L.A., whose armed forces are constituted by the E.L.N.A.), is capable of achieving these national objectives, which, in addition to national independence, include the transformation of the anachronistic colonial structures and the establishment in Angola of a new order based on the triumph of independence and freedom, African values and the building of a democracy inspired by a new humanism reflecting the spirit of our century.



# UNITA Speaks

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## **BACKGROUND OF THE CURRENT WAR**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## TANZANIA'S VACILLATION AND HYPOCRISY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## **SOUTH AFRICA'S INVOLVEMENT**

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

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

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

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

## **MPLA Speaks**

*Following are portions of the independence day speech delivered Nov. 11 in Luanda by President Agostinho Neto of the People's Republic of Angola. But according to a statement by Angola's Foreign Minister, M.P.L.A. is not a "Marxist organisation."*

Our struggle is not over. Our goal is to achieve our country's complete independence and build a just society and a new man. The fight we are still waging against the lackeys of imperialism, who shall go unnamed in order not to sully this unique moment in our history, is aimed at expelling the foreign invaders, those people who want to establish neocolonialism in our country. The complete liberation of our country and all our people from foreign oppression is thus the new state's fundamental concern.

Carrying into effect the aspirations of the broad popular masses, the People's Republic of Angola will, under the guidance of the M.P.L.A., gradually advance towards a people's democratic state, with the alliance between workers and peasants as its nucleus . . . The organs of state of the People's Republic of Angola will be under the supreme guidance of the M.P.L.A. and the primacy of the movement's structures over those of the state will be ensured . . .

With the proclamation of the People's Republic of Angola, the Popular Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (F.A.P.L.A.) are institutionalized as the national army. The

**F.A.P.L.A., the people's armed hand, under the M.P.L.A.'s firm leadership, are a people's army whose goal is to serve the interests of the most exploited sections of our people. Steeled in the hard struggle of national liberation against Portuguese colonialism and armed with the revolutionary theory, they remain a fundamental instrument of the anti-imperialist struggle. As the liberating force of the People's Republic of Angola, the F.A.P.L.A. will have the task of defending the country's territorial integrity, and, as a people's army, will participate in the great tasks of national reconstruction. . .**

**On putting an end to colonialism and determinedly barring the way to neocolonialism, the M.P.L.A. declares on this solemn occasion its firm resolve radically to change the present economic infrastructures and defines from this moment that the goal of economic reconstruction is the satisfaction of the people's needs . . .**

**The People's Republic of Angola will launch increasingly into the industrialization of our own raw materials and even into heavy industry enterprises. However, bearing in mind that most of the Angolan population live off the land, the M.P.L.A. has decided to regard agriculture as the basis, and industry as the determining factor, of our progress . . . [Passage omitted on plans for cooperatives and state enterprises.]**

**As for private enterprises, even foreign-owned ones, provided that they are useful to the national economy and the interests of the people, they will, on the latter's behalf, be protected and encouraged as laid down in our movement's broader programme. In its economic relations the People's Republic of Angola will be open to the entire world . . . The M.P.L.A. . . . will never betray the sacred principle of national independence. Our international relations will always be in line with the principle of mutual advantage.**

**The forces of imperialism do not lay down their arms. Now that we have defeated colonialism, they are intent on imposing on us a new regime of oppression and exploitation through their internal lackeys . . . Our people's revolutionary determination to fight man's exploitation by man, and the differences which separate us from the enemy, demand of us a new war of liberation which will take the form of widespread popular resistance and will have to continue until the final victory. In this context, the productive sector becomes predominant as a battlefield and a basic and vital factor in the advancement of our resistance . . . In order effectively to ensure the support of the glorious F.A.P.L.A., the People's Republic of Angola will adopt the measures required to deal with the situation resulting from the invasion of our country. The People's Republic of Angola solemnly reiterates its determination to fight for Angola's territorial integrity, opposing any attempts at dismembering the country.**

**The People's Republic of Angola sees as a priority and a vital and inalienable task the expulsion from our country of the army made up of South African and Zairean troops, Portuguese fascists, Angolan puppets and [words indistinct] mercenaries who represent the combined forces of imperialist aggression against our country . . . The People's Republic of Angola proposes to activate and support the establishment of people's power on a national scale. The working masses will thus exercise power on all levels . . .**

**Another overriding concern of our state will be the abolition of all forms of discrimination based on sex, age, ethnic or racial origin, or religion, and the strict observance of the just principle of equal pay for equal work . . . [Passage omitted on women's emancipation.]**

**The People's Republic of Angola, aware of its importance and responsibilities in the southern African and world contexts, reiterates its solidarity with all the world's oppressed peoples, especially the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia struggling against racist domination . . .**

**The sovereign People's Republic of Angola will maintain diplomatic relations with all the world countries based on the principles of mutual respect, national sovereignty, non-interference, respect for territorial integrity, nonaggression, equality, reciprocity of benefits and peaceful co-existence . . .**

**The foreign policy of the People's Republic of Angola, based on the principle of total independence observed by the M.P.L.A. from the outset, will be one of nonalignment.**

## **The Soviet Viewpoint**

**This is an extract from "Soviet News", published by the Press Dept. of the Soviet Embassy in London, of how the Soviet Union saw the Angolan situation. Its consistent line was that Angola was invaded by the South African racialists and that U.N.I.T.A. and F.N.L.A. were splittist organisations collaborating with South Africa and agents of the C.I.A. Whilst giving immediate recognition to the M.P.L.A. Government it never even faintly acknowledged the role played by U.N.I.T.A. and F.N.L.A. in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism. Yet paradoxically the Soviet Union also supported a political settlement of the unity of the "patriotic forces" only after its massive intervention drastically changed the respective**

**strength of the different liberation movements. And who precisely were the patriotic forces to be united?: An even greater paradox was that the Soviet Union did not regard its own presence as interventionist:**

The western press is seeking to present matters as if, in Angola, a civil war was being fought. Actually there can be no talk whatsoever of civil war in Angola: foreign military intervention is being carried out against the lawful government of the young republic, with a section of deluded Angolans who are under the influence of splitter groups, being used as a cover. The obvious aim of this intervention is to overthrow the lawful government of the People's Republic of Angola.

### *Conspiracy*

Who are then taking part in the intervention against the young African state.

The intervention is a result of an extensive imperialist conspiracy directed not only against Angola, but also against the independence of all African countries. One of its main motive forces is the racist regime of the Republic of South Africa, which has sent to Angola regular armed forces which are waging open war against the people and lawful government of the People's Republic of Angola.

The attempts of the western press to vindicate the South African racials by referring to some "communist danger" to Africa, to a "threat to the civilised world" that has allegedly arisen as a result of the revolutionary-democratic forces coming to power in Angola, are ridiculous. The outrages being committed by the racist troops in Angola are described as aggression in a special statement released by the secretariat of the Organisation of African Unity. According to the U.N. Definition of Aggression, no considerations can serve as justification for aggression, and a war of aggression is a crime against international peace.

All the greater is the indignation caused by the fact of the complicity of the F.N.L.A. and Unita leaders in the racials' criminal aggressive actions.

### *Role of CIA*

The U.S. reactionary circles differ but little from the South African aggressors. In the conspiracy of internal and external reaction against the independence of Angola an active part is being played by some U.S. departments and, in the first place, by the ill-famed C.I.A.

*The Christian Science Monitor* has said that 300 mercenaries from the U.S.A. are already taking part in the intervention in Angola and that another 300 have completed their training under C.I.A. guidance. In a number of states there are centres recruiting American military specialists in order to send them to Angola.

There is information to the effect that by January 1, 1976, the United States had secretly supplied to Angola 32 million dollars' worth of weapons. All those U.S. activities are clearly at variance with the principles of the U.N. Charter and the above-mentioned declarations of the U.N. General Assembly – a fact which naturally alarms the American public.

It is also a fact that Peking, which is supplying weapons to the F.N.L.A. grouping of splitters and is training its units in military camps, is also assisting in the criminal intervention in Angola. The link-up of Maoist China with the imperialist and racist forces in Africa is no accident. While hypocritically paying lip-service to the cause of the liberation of the African peoples, Peking is actually pursuing a policy of interference in their internal affairs and of violating the generally recognised principles of international law; African countries have had numerous examples of this practice of Peking.

Under the leadership of the M.P.L.A. (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) the Angolan people are courageously repelling the aggression and intervention of the imperialist forces. All the forces of peace and progress, as well as contemporary international law, are on the side of their just cause. The legitimate government of the People's Republic of Angola has every right to support and assistance from other countries and international organisations in its just struggle against the aggression and imperialist interference from outside.

### **SOVIET UNION'S CALL FOR POLITICAL SETTLEMENT (SIC).**

The Soviet Union comes out for peace in Angola. It has never come out against a search for a political settlement in Angola. It is an open secret that the Soviet Union once welcomed the creation of a transitional government in that country with the participation of representatives of various movements. It is F.N.L.A. and Unita splitters who are to blame for its collapse, for they committed an act of national betrayal by launching, together with imperialists and racials, an armed struggle against Angola's legitimate government, against those forces of the liberation movement which for many years have been fighting for their people's right to decide its own destiny. Now, too, the Soviet Union welcomes such a course of action as would contribute to the consolidation in Angola of all the patriotic forces working for genuine independence and the free development of their country.

# SACP Slanders China

The pro-Soviet South African Communist Party which has dared to give its views on the issues raised by the Sino-Soviet dispute, never misses an opportunity to slander the Peoples Republic of China. In the latest issue of its publication, the "African Communist", it says:

**"the disreputable alliance against the M.P.L.A. has now been openly joined by China which earlier in the year showed where it stood by feting Mobutu and the F.N.L.A. leader, Roberto Holden, in Peking. It is so notorious a fact that the F.N.L.A. forces are being trained by Chinese instructors and that its arsenal of American supplied weaponry is now being generously supplemented by the Chinese Government."**

**(Incidentally Rumania and North Korea also trained F.N.L.A.)**

In reply we wish to quote what Lucio L. :a, a member of the Political Bureau of the M.P.L.A. said on June 7, 1975 in an interview with the Algerian Journal *El Moujahid*, in calling for unity amongst the three liberation movements:

**" . . . we just came back from China. We talked with Chinese authorities at many levels on the Angolan problem. That is normal; China is one of the first countries that gave assistance to the struggle for liberation, originally through M.P.L.A. Our relations with China did not start a year ago, nor a few years ago, but from the beginning of the armed struggle . . . In fact China helped us materially from all points of view . . . We have been glad to learn that China is very interested to see a united action between the three liberation movements . . . Since China maintains relations of co-operation with the three liberation movements, we think the attitude is positive . . ."**

He added: They try to use the aid that China gives to F.N.L.A. as it does to M.P.L.A. and U.N.I.T.A. They try to use that aid as an exclusivity first in order to cloud certain aspects where F.N.L.A. has the image of convict . . . I think this is not very honest . . . They pretend to prove something, they try to gain from the narrow presentation of the Chinese government's attitude, which is not the intentions of the Chinese government, I am sure."

But here is the Chinese view itself of its position on Angola as made in a speech by Chiao Kuan-hua at the United Nations criticising the two super powers and South Africa for their role there:

## *1. The Question of Opposing Colonialism*

The past year was a year in which the African people continued to win important victories in their struggle for national independence and liberation. With the collapse of the Portuguese colonial system and the glorious birth of a number of newly independent states, the African national liberation movement has advanced to a new stage, and the last strongholds of colonialism in southern Africa are assailed from all sides by the multitude of African people and countries persisting in struggle.

But even before old-line colonialism dies out, the two superpowers have already stepped in. The United States has long supported colonial rule in Africa, and southern Africa in particular. The Soviet Union, flaunting the banner of "socialism", has infiltrated into the African national liberation movement to sow discord and stir up trouble in an attempt to bring the movement within its social-imperialist orbit.

All revolutionary people of the world are saddened by the civil war in Angola. Differences within a national liberation movement are something normal. The correct attitude is to encourage unity in their common struggle to combat the enemy and drive out the colonialists. That is why the Organization of African Unity has recognized and supported all the three liberation organizations in Angola engaged in armed struggle and has made tireless efforts to promote unity in the Angolan national liberation movement. But the Soviet leadership, which considers itself as the patron of the national liberation movement, disregards the agreement reached among the three Angolan organizations on unity against the enemy and has, through its propaganda media, identified one organization as revolutionary and censured another as reactionary in a deliberate attempt to create division. Furthermore, it has sent large quantities

of arms, including heavy arms, to one of the Angolan organizations. That was how the civil war was provoked in Angola. The other superpower, on its part, has not lagged behind. The situation in Angola is becoming ever more complicated.

From the very beginning China has given her support to the national liberation movement in Angola. We gave military aid to all three Angolan liberation organizations to help them fight Portuguese colonialism. Being aware of their differences, we have all along urged them to unite against the enemy. After the agreement on independence was reached between the Angolan national liberation movement and Portugal, we stopped giving new military aid to the three Angolan organizations. Such are the facts, and facts are more eloquent than words. The Soviet slanders against China can in no way cover up the truth; instead, they serve to lay bare the true features of the Soviet Union.

The civil war in Angola instigated by the Soviet Union is a bad thing, but a good thing too. It is good precisely because it serves as teaching material by negative example. All revolutionary movements are bound to go through twists and turns. We believe that the broad masses of the Angolan people, after experiencing setbacks and detours, will certainly uphold unity, persist in struggle, frustrate the super-power and particularly social-imperialist schemes and achieve their independence and liberation. Their temporary difficulties and sacrifices will not only greatly enhance their own political awareness, but provide a profound lesson for the liberation movements of the oppressed nations throughout the world.

An excellent situation prevails in Africa. It was because the racists in southern Africa were driven into a corner that Vorster of South Africa proposed "dialogue" between the minority white regime of Southern Rhodesia and the Zimbabwe national liberation organizations. This signifies only the weakness of the racists and not at all their strength. Through such tactics they intend to disintegrate the national liberation movement and to preserve the reactionary white rule. The recent Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity penetratingly stated that "Vorster's detente manoeuvres on Rhodesia are a transparent trick to frustrate majority rule and to disarm the freedom-fighters". The conference stressed the necessity of armed struggle, called on the Zimbabwe people to immediately intensify their armed struggle and expressed the determination to fight by every means possible the white regimes until their complete elimination. We warmly support this correct stand. We have always advocated the use of revolutionary dual tactics against the reactionaries' counter-revolutionary dual tactics. Armed struggle is fundamental; the people's armed forces must be strengthened and not weakened, negotiations or no negotiations. Deviations and detours may sometimes occur in the complicated struggle against counter-revolutionary dual tactics. But the people will sum up their experience, overcome difficulties and continue to advance. Through long and tortuous struggles the people of southern Africa will eventually win the complete liberation of the African continent.

## **Black Womens Federation**

At a Black women's Federation held in Durban recently, white women were not allowed to speak at the meeting. The Federation also rejected affiliation with white women's organisations.

Mrs. Fatima Meer who was elected president of the Federation said that the Federation's objective was a totally integrated South Africa, but "Black women fear that if they don't withdraw and strengthen themselves they will continue to rely on those who have had more opportunities."

"We want to become independent and self-reliant so that we can come together as complete equals."

The Federation said that it was dedicated to free themselves and their sisters from sex and race discrimination in a male dominated society.

According to reports the standard of debate and deliberations were very high especially from African women as June Chabuku, Deborah Mabilitsa, Constance Khoza and Ellen Kuzwayo.

"African Communist" No.63 says in an article on women how white women can help in liberating black women. But that is the old bullshit politics of the Congress Alliance dominated by the white communists. Blacks in all walks of life are standing up for themselves including women and there is nothing that whites can do to help them except hold them back. The total rejection of white in the Black liberation movement in South Africa is an excellent development. No white person in South Africa is free from racism of one sort or another however communist he might even be. The London Branch of the ANC where whites dominate and run the show cannot exist inside South Africa itself. It is an anachronism in the politics of South Africa today.



# **ANC (S.A.) Splits**

## **WHITE-LED S.A.C.P. DISTORTS NATIONAL QUESTION, CREATES DIVISION**

**We produce documents relating to the troubles in the External Mission of the A.N.C. (African National Congress of South Africa) which culminated last December in the expulsion of 8 of its leading members. They are T. Bonga, A.M. Makiwane, J.D. Matlou, G.M. Mbele, A.K. Mqota, P. Ngakane, T.X. Makiwane and O.K. Setlhapelo. All have been long standing members of the A.N.C. All have sacrificed their lives for the liberation of their people and some spent many years in Vorster's prisons and Robben Island.**

**The expulsions which has split the A.N.C. in two and created its gravest political crisis has been condemned both in and out of South Africa by its rank and file members. It could never have occurred were Nelson Mandela not in Robben Island. Nor is it believed could it have received the sanction of Moses Kotane, Secretary-General of the C.P. itself and an Executive member of the A.N.C. — who now lay seriously ill in Moscow. Kotane always opposed C.P. interference in the A.N.C. as he did when it tried to interfere in Umkonto We Sizwe, the defunct military wing of the C.P.**

**Reasons for the expulsions: the 8 opposed the C.P. control of the A.N.C. This is a repeat of the P.A.C. situation. The P.A.C. broke away for precisely the same reasons. (When will the white-dominated C.P. ever learn). For this the 8 were branded as nationalists and condemned as racialists. Only in South Africa is nationalism condemned as racialism by whites. Elsewhere Elsewhere in the Third World nationalism has been a dynamic force and has tended to become increasingly radical in the context of the ongoing struggles. The struggles in Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Angola have had their roots in African nationalism. But fortunately for the African revolutionaries there there were no Slovos, Buntings, Hodgsons to derail them. One of the reasons probably why the South African liberation movement has not been able to take off as in other parts of Southern Africa is because of this constant sabotage from the white communists.**

**Africans have been deprived of their birthright, their country, their culture, their dignity. And according to the white communists they cannot even have a national organisation of their own to protest against their inhuman oppression. For after all the African National Congress is a national organisation of the African people responding to their struggle for national liberation. Africans of all points of view belong to it, united by a common attitude to the struggle against apartheid.**

**Instead of living like a vampire off the A.N.C. the C.P. should attempt to create its own mass base and only then will it qualify to play a vanguard role in the South African struggle. But it reveals the real nature of the white dominated C.P. that after fifty years of existence it cannot do so and must work Mafia-like in the A.N.C. and attempt to hi-jack it. By their counter-revolutionary style of work they discredit communism before the masses of African workers and peasants. As Marxist-Leninists we condemn this.**

**It is sad too that a handful of Indians and Coloureds — still stale with the old Congress Alliance politics — should allow themselves to be duped. They should learn from the example of S.A.S.O. Or is it that too many trips to the G.D.R. and World Youth Festivals have muddled their brains. While they are safe in their London homes by their irresponsible attitudes they endanger the future of the Indian and Coloured masses. In every single one of their documents the A.N.C. (African Nationalists) have mentioned the disrespect that non-Africans have shown for African feelings.**

**The A.N.C.-C.P.'s letter of expulsion which we produce merely reveals the barrenness of the charges about the 8 being agents of imperialism, engaging in a conspiracy, etc. Until the mass meeting called by them on December 27 to reply to the letter of expulsion the 8 had never met before. At the time the so-called conspiracies were supposed to have been hatched one of them was in gaol and another was still in South Africa.**

**Sadly too the late Robert Resha's name is invoked when the C.P. literally tried to starve him. In his last days he was penniless.**

But the matter does not rest here. The 8 took a decision at the December 27 meeting to re-constitute the A.N.C. They aim to call a Conference of A.N.C. rank and file to clear the stagnation and rot from its ranks. They already call themselves the A.N.C. (African Nationalists); in this way distinguishing themselves from the A.N.C.-C.P. Thus it is no exaggeration to say that two A.N.C.s exist. At the recent Addis Ababa O.A.U. Conference the A.N.C.-C.P. failed to prevent the latter's participation.

We have no illusions that the C.P.s attempt to take over the A.N.C. (the National Executive Committee of the A.N.C.-C.P. has a majority of revisionist-communists on it) is linked to the current situation in Southern Africa and to the Soviet Union's grand strategy in the area. (The S.A.C.P. after all is only kept alive through Moscow support and funds and is completely subservient to it.)

It is very important to grasp that the C.P.'s attempt to take over the A.N.C. completely is directly linked to Soviet plans in Southern Africa. It is a long range plan worked out by the Kremlin masters. The current events in Angola are directly inter-connected. Therefore the C.P.s attempt to control the A.N.C. is a life and death matter for them and they will cling to it desperately. Without the A.N.C. the C.P. has absolutely no base whatsoever. This is the root of all their Mafia-like intrigues, manipulation and manoeuvres. That is why they degenerated into a bunch of crooks and opportunists. In a power struggle of this sort there are no holds barred. It becomes a question of more than moralising and producing political documents. One must *organise* with equal viciousness.

The 8's letter of reply to their expulsion is a mature and dignified statement. Every word of it is pregnant with meaning to the South African struggle. It throws light on a number of issues: the rot in the A.N.C. today; the opportunism and corruption of the A.N.C. leaders; the quality of Oliver Tambo's leadership; the defunct Congress Alliance; the significance of the white control of the South African Communist Party; how the C.P. abused the Morogoro Consultative Conference to take over the A.N.C., etc. On all these issues and more we do not wish to comment except to say that they are simply and explicitly explained in the document. Only on one matter we wish to comment further.

The document points out that the A.N.C. has unreasonably been drawn into the Sino-Soviet dispute on the side of the latter. The Black masses in South Africa have never given such a mandate. On the contrary their real feelings are with the Peoples Republic of China, as the struggles and history of the latter reflect the aspirations of the oppressed African masses themselves. So much Chief Luthuli (and even Robert Sobukwe) has stated. In the rank and file of the A.N.C. there is now a revolt against this pro-Sovietism. Sometime ago the A.N.C.-C.P. even went to the extent of banning Peking Review and the works of Mao-Tse-Tung from its ranks.

The A.N.C.-C.P. will now intensify their slander campaign against the African nationalists — calling them racialists, tribalists, anti-communists, etc. Also knowing their gimmicky style of work they will engage in a number of adventures (or misadventures) in an attempt to show they are the real A.N.C. But already their Breyten Bretenbach affair has fallen flat. Their main card at the moment is Oliver Tambo whom they have completely in their clutches. But unfortunately for Tambo his reputation is more international than among Black revolutionaries in South Africa, who regard him as a weakling and coward. The A.N.C.-C.P. can still con the international public and here they have built up significant contacts amongst churchmen liberals revisionists, social-democrats etc. for whom anti-apartheid is a peg upon which everyone can safely hang his conscience.

For all these reasons the 8 must be resolute in their determination to re-instate the A.N.C. on its proper footing. But there is also the need to go further and unite the South African black revolutionary forces. For it must now be clear to all that the source of the divisions and splits in the ranks of the South African liberation movement is the C.P. If the 8 can help in this process they will be doing the liberation struggle a great service.

Continued from page 27-28

to magnify it as a welcome split in the African National Congress. We wish to repeat that there is no such split and the N.E.C. calls upon all members to be vigilant towards all action of such factions, now and in the future.

Alfred Nzo  
Secretary-General.

## TEXT OF A.N.C. EXPULSION LETTER

**Text of expulsion letter from the A.N.C. Secretary General Alfred Nzo, A member of the S.A.C.P. Suffice for us to say it is a load of Baloney. No specific charges are made. Only vague general accusations about being agents of imperialism so typical of the language of social imperialism. The eight who were supposed to have formed a faction had never met for years. If only one accusation could be verified amidst the welter of charges then the letter would be a honourable one.**

Dear Friend,

The National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa has carefully examined and traced the activities of a treacherous faction and conspiracy by a group which is referred to and refers to itself as the African group in the United Kingdom and as part of the African National Congress.

The N.E.C. takes particular note of the fact that this criminal conspiracy against our people, our struggle and their organisation, the African National Congress of South Africa was deliberately and publicly launched to try to confuse and divide our people at the most critical stage in the history of the Southern African revolution. A time when the struggle in our country, South Africa and by our people is facing the most vicious and calculated onslaught from the racists and fascists within the country, supported by the imperialist and N.A.T.O. forces from without. This treacherous act also occurs amidst the most unprecedented growth of the national liberation struggle in general and the struggle of our own people in particular. New and important opportunities are making themselves available for the complete destruction of colonialism, racism and fascism. The counter reaction against the advance of the people's struggle from the reactionary forces has been intensified to try and stem the tide of revolution and change. It is in these circumstances that this faction has decided to emerge in public.

The organisation has been aware of the activities of this faction for a long time, since 1969 to the present. Throughout this period efforts have been made to leading individuals of this faction to reform and to pool their efforts in the struggle for the return of the birthright of our people. Instead it appears that leaders of this faction have mistaken the good intentions and patience of the organisation for weakness on the part of the organisation, and they have taken every advantage to try to mobilise more people into their anti-African National Congress activities. They have stopped at nothing, however false and corrupt in the common objective to undermine and discredit the A.N.C.'s policies and its leaders.

Having failed to obtain support for these treacherous activities over the past decade, even when they were working feverishly, clandestinely, the leaders of this faction embarked on uniting themselves with some of the most discredited former members and non-members well known for their anti-A.N.C. activities.

The N.E.C. would like to emphasise quite clearly and forcefully that Robert Resha's name and the unveiling of his tombstone, the publication of his obituary was deliberately used by this faction in pursuance of their activities in a manner in which Robert Resha's memory was desecrated as if he was supporting something to which he was opposed to throughout his whole life and service to his people, his country and his organisation. This they did deliberately because they thought that Robert Resha was silent, but he is not . . .

In their obituary this faction also used the name of John Gaetsewe and James Phillips, leading members of the movement. This was a fraudulent act which they committed without any consultation with the people concerned and who have since denounced that vicious attack on the African National Congress. All this was part of the stock in trade of the lies and fabrications which the faction resorted to in order to create an image of big and great support. The faction is well aware that it has no popular support within the organisation.

Under the cloak of the slogan of loyalty to the African National Congress principles, this faction, like previous ones has as its true objective the defiance and disloyalty to the principles, policies and leadership of the African National Congress. Far from aiming at the unity of the African people, as the faction claims, it has as its true common purpose the dis-unity of the African National Congress, the spear and shield of the African people of South Africa. Its main target in this treacherous campaign is against the African National Congress and not against the main enemies of the people. It even deliberately seeks to isolate the African National internal division of the African National Congress of South Africa and its isolation from its international allies constitutes the cornerstone of the treacherous activities of subversion and disruption against the South African revolution.

Apart from this, the faction had as its common purpose:-

- (a) The organisation of clandestine, and unauthorised gatherings in which a campaign was consistently carried out to slander the A.N.C. of South Africa in methods and styles and words, no different from those used by Vorster and his allies;
- (b) the campaign against the policies of the organisation were carried out at first clandestinely and subsequently publicly through the press and mass media. The normal channels of the organisation were avoided as much as possible. Publications were compiled, reproduced and distributed.
- (c) to achieve its common objective the faction resorted to unbridled lies, fabrications and distortions of the policies and decisions of the African National Congress and its army, Umkhonto We Sizwe.
- (d) the faction's disruptive and divisive methods which were used were a combination of tribalism, racialism, and anti-communism which are all contrary to the traditions and policies of the A.N.C. of South Africa.
- (e) In an attempt to encourage defection and defiance from the A.N.C., the ring leaders of this faction have over a period, consistently and persistently refused to carry out the decisions of the organisation.
- (f) the conspirators finally made public, a constitution of an organisation which was contrary to the policy and practice of the A.N.C. of South Africa, in which they proclaim they would adhere to irrespective of the views of the national executive. Indeed the faction had been existing in an organised form, completely unauthorised by the organisation.

In furtherance of these objective, some members of this faction were assigned various trips to solicit support and to spread their factional activities.

Different members of this faction, at different times and different places participate in this treacherous conspiracy by carrying out tasks assigned to them by common consent and in pursuance of their common objectives and they are therefore, individually and collectively responsible for the factional activities of the group.

The culmination of all these activities was staged and timed to take place at a solemn ceremony of the unveiling of Robert Mabilwane Resha's tombstone in a church and by his graveside, by what claimed to be a Robert Resha Memorial Committee, which consisted of John Gaetsewe, James Phillips, A. Kgokong Mqota, V.K. Scrape Ntshona, Joe Matlou as Chairman and Thami Bonga as Secretary. This committee purports to be responsible for an obituary, written by Alfred Kgokong Mqota, about the late Robert Resha, which in fact has very little, in fact about "Robby" and many of the things it says about him are sheer blatant falsehoods and lies.

Both John Gaetsewe and James Phillips, whose names were used as co-publishers have since denounced both the pamphlet and the manner in which the late Resha's unveiling ceremony was used to 'unveil' an anti-A.N.C. faction.

The bulk of this treacherous pamphlet which has been widely distributed by the faction, as indeed the main address made by Ambrose Makiwane, was the most unprecedented and scurrilous attack on the African National Congress.

The hostility to the A.N.C. was further demonstrated by the fact that a special representative of the N.E.C. sent from Lusaka by the National Executive to pay tributes to the late Resha, on behalf of the A.N.C. and its membership was deliberately denied an opportunity to do so. Although several cables were read, a special cable from the Acting President Oliver Tambo, was also deliberately ignored. The long and fruitless efforts to dissuade the leading members of this faction to return to the fold and the revolution seem to have failed, instead they have continued to intensify their subversion and treacherous activities. In the name of our people in the interest of our revolution, and indeed for the maximum strengthening of the spear and shield of the nation the A.N.C. and its natural allies at home and abroad, the time has come to deal unequivocally and drastically with the enemies of our people within our midst, wherever they may be. And to defend our organisation against treachery and subversion.

The National Executive of the African National Congress wishes to announce that this treacherous conspiracy has as its ring-leaders, Alfred Kgokong Mqota, Ambrose Mzimkhulu Makiwane, Jonas Matlou, T.X. Makiwane, George Mbele, Pascal Ngakane, O.K. Setlhapelo and Thami Bonga *who will stand expelled, unless each one, individually and unequivocally denounces the activities of this faction and submits that denunciation to the Secretary-General of the African National Congress of South Africa within three weeks of date hereof.*

The National Executive notes that it is no accident that this faction and its ideas have received the most favourable and widespread publicity in the imperialist press which sought

## **Statement on the Expulsion from the A.N.C. of South Africa of: T. Bonga, A.M. Makiwane, J.D. Matlou, G.M. Mbele, A.K. Mqota, P. Ngakane, T.X. Makiwane and O.K. Setlhapelo**

**— issued by the expelled eight members**

By now it should be clear even to those who have a cursory acquaintance with the affairs of the African National Congress of South Africa that all is not well within that organization. Chaotic conditions and anti-revolutionary tendencies have arisen within the external mission of the organization. These have manifested themselves in various ways, namely:

what is called the executive is, in fact, a self-appointed body which has steadily developed into a self-perpetuating bureaucracy which meets at its own sweet pleasure and exercises an unlimited tenure of office. It is accountable to no one and is a power unto itself;

over the years, this executive has acted in an arbitrary manner in numerous matters involving long standing members of the A.N.C. and its acts of omission, default, perjury, malice and vindictiveness have led to the isolation of many talented people who could be an asset to the organization;

there has been conduct amounting to criminal neglect of dedicated cadres, who have received training. Some of these comrades fell into enemy hands in Zimbabwe and South Africa and they were forgotten the minute they were sentenced. In this category also comes up the affair of Flag Boshielo (Mogomane), a member of the Executive, who together with three military cadres was ambushed by the South African troops in 1970 whilst crossing the Zambezi. Whilst there were reports that his three colleagues were killed outright, there has been no specific information about him and no further investigation by the A.N.C. or international campaign for his release, if he has fallen into enemy hands;

criticism of official A.N.C. policy and practice has come to be regarded within the leadership circles as nothing less than treason. Democratic discussion and the constitutional process have been substituted by arbitrary punitive measures. There has been a series of expulsions;

A.N.C. policy is made in the interests of rank opportunism, military adventurism and political expediency such as:

- (a) the arbitrary decisions on the 1967 Zimbabwe campaigns without prior discussion in the A.N.C. national executive or authorisation by it;
- (b) the failure later to explain whether the A.N.C./Z.A.P.U. (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union), alliance under whose auspices these campaigns were launched was still in force, and, in effect to date;
- (c) the continued reluctance of the executive to abandon military adventurism that is always anti-revolutionary and has already resulted in the reckless sacrifice of many patriots including Patrick Molaoa, the last President-General of the A.N.C. Youth League;
- (d) the opening of A.N.C. membership to whites, Indians and Coloureds at the 1969 Morogoro Consultative Conference of the A.N.C. in complete disregard and violation of established A.N.C. policy and constitutional procedure;
- (e) the adoption by the said conference of a document entitled "Strategy and Tactics" which was never discussed in the conference itself at all.

The upshot of this deplorable state of affairs has been the inevitable paralysis of the democratic decision making process in the A.N.C. today. And, indeed the A.N.C., abroad, once regarded as a serious organization, has today lost its creditability.

It has lost its sense of purpose and direction and has become co-opted by forces to whom the national liberation of the African people and other oppressed national minorities is not a priority and to whom revolution is a plaything.

Far from trying to arrest further deterioration of the situation the complied and co-opted section of the A.N.C. section of the A.N.C. leadership has dashed headlong from one folly to a other. The latest madness has been the expulsion of eight leading members of the A.N.C. without even laying charges against them and calling upon them to make a defence. Some of the expelled have made many sacrifices in the course of the struggle, stood trial and have even served long terms of imprisonment on the notorious Robben Island.

The manner of the expulsions itself is scandalous. Three of the expelled, first heard about them through the mass media and second hand sources. And five of them who reside in the United Kingdom heard of their expulsion at a multi-racial meeting of South Africans and non-South Africans convened by the London A.N.C. office in October, 5 1975. There they listened to an irresponsible tirade delivered by Duma Nokwe accusing them of being 'imperialist agents', 'anti-communists' 'racialists', and even 'tribalists'.

After carefully considering the grave issues that lie beneath these so called expulsions, the cloak and dagger tactics into which the organization sunk, we deemed it necessary to make a statement dealing with the problem within the A.N.C. as we see it.

First, we declare with utmost firmness, that not only do we reject with utter contempt, the illegal and unconstitutional expulsions but secondly, we pledge our determination to do all in our power to rescue the organization from the morass into which it has been plunged by a clique of desperate men and traitors and indeed we consider no sacrifice too great for the implementation of the major tasks that lie ahead, particularly, the mobilization of our people for a decisive battle for freedom.

## **A GRAVE POLITICAL CRISIS**

At the root of all the accusations, protracted in-fighting, suspensions and expulsions that have taken place in the A.N.C., lies a serious political crisis that has been festering for the past six years. One of the fundamental causes of this crisis is the departure of the leadership from well tried and established democratic practices of the organization as well as the abandonment of elective procedures, the accountability and renewal of the leadership. Consequently, not only did the executive committee become distant from the membership but it invoked 'security' as a means of withholding genuinely sought-after information and as a means of camouflaging inefficiency and failure. Needless to say that that very 'security' has been flouted and thrown to the winds for no other reason than love for cheap publicity.

Having secured and consolidated careers for its members through these activities, the executive has thrived in the misrepresentation of the fundamental tasks of the organization and substituting irrelevant diversions for a revolutionary programme.

The source of the internal political crisis in the A.N.C. (which has now erupted into the open) is a deliberate, misguided and opportunistic definition of:

- (a) the nature and content of the South African freedom struggle and projecting it as if it were merely a struggle for the elimination of race discrimination in a country where all races had an equal claim to its ownership;
- (b) the presentation, internationally, of the character and image of our national organization the African National Congress as if it were an organization for all anti-apartheid resisters regardless of their national or social background, whereas, in fact it is an organization of the Africans;
- (c) the incorrect portrayal of the role of the national minorities in South Africa as that of parity between them and the African majority;
- (d) the role of the South African Communist Party (S.A.C.P.) which seeks for itself, by definition, a vanguard role in the South African national liberation struggle in spite of the fact that in the realities of the South African situation that party leads a parasitic political existence.

## **DISTORTION OF THE NATURE AND CONTENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STRUGGLE**

The main content of the South African freedom struggle is the liberation of the oppressed and exploited African majority and the establishment of a democratic order in South Africa that would extend fundamental human rights to all citizens.

Its nature is, therefore, no different from the post world war II, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggles that have been waged and are being waged by our brothers on the African continent as well as similar struggles in Asia and Latin America.

The fact that white colonialism seized occupation of our country by force over 300 years ago does not entitle that colonialism to title deeds over that land without the voluntary will of its legitimate owners – the African people.

But, of late, and particularly since the erroneous decision of the 1969 Morogoro Consultative conference of the A.N.C., admitting non-Africans into the organization, there have been strenuous efforts to distort the main content of the struggle in South Africa.

A certain self-seeking and ambitious clique of non-Africans, rather than spend time organizing their own people, has sought to impose its hegemony over the liberation struggle and to manipulate the A.N.C. under the theme that the main forces in conflict in South Africa are the 'progressives' on the one hand and the 'reactionaries' on the other hand.

This formulation, in fact, is nothing more than a thinly disguised sectarian attempt to substitute a class approach for the national approach to our struggle. Its most dangerous implication being to narrow down the broadly based African resistance and seeking to highlight only a workers' and peasants' conflict against capital.

To this clique, the national oppression, the racial discrimination and exploitation of the African over and above everybody else, is a matter of academic interest and the fact that the Africans are in the majority is to them something that is purely incidental.

And the failure of this clique to 'humble themselves' and submit themselves to the African cause has been glaring.

## **WHAT IS THE A.N.C.**

We, the indigenous people of South Africa, today, find ourselves in the throes of a grave political crisis in which the White oppressors of South Africa have robbed us of our country, our birth right, our organization, the A.N.C. – the very instrument our fathers created in 1912 to fight for the recovery of our land and our national birth rights – which has now fallen under the complete domination of a small clique loyal to the white-led South African Communist Party.

The A.N.C. is a nationalist organization which is committed to the liberation of the African people of South Africa from White domination and the complete destruction of the political system upon which national oppression and economic exploitation in South Africa is based. The A.N.C. is not a political party committed to any political ideology.

## **OPPRESSED NATIONAL MINORITIES**

The Indian and Coloured people of South Africa are oppressed national minorities who form an integral part of the national struggle for emancipation from white supremacy and exploitation. We continue to appeal to them to fully identify themselves with the African cause.

## **CO-OPERATION WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS**

The A.N.C. has a long tradition of working for a united opposition against the South African racist regime. It has worked with such bodies as the Industrial and Commercial Union which was led by Clement Kadalie, and participated in the All African Convention which was a united front of Africans set up to oppose the 1936 Hertzog Bills which removed the Cape Africans from the common voters roll. In the post war period the A.N.C. has collaborated with the South African Indian Congress as a result of a pact that was entered into by the then A.N.C. president Dr. A.B. Xuma and the Indian leader Dr. G.M. Naicker. There was also the defunct Congress Alliance, and the All-in Maritzburg Conference of 1961 to which everybody including the recently split Pan-Africanist Congress was invited.

All this clearly shows that there has never been an isolationist outlook in the A.N.C. At all moments of national crisis the organization worked for a united African front and with the other racial groups it insisted on collaboration on an organization to organization basis.

It is therefore a felony now to suggest that those of us who are struggling to re-assert the independence of the A.N.C., for the return to its authentic political line, for African unity are seeking to isolate the organization from other revolutionary groups as our detractors would claim.

But in its dealings with other organizations the A.N.C. must conduct itself, as it did in the past, as a sovereign organization in full control of its decisions, policies and programmes – and must resolutely reject manipulation from what ever quarter.

## **THE DEFUNCT CONGRESS ALLIANCE**

During the mid-fifties an alliance developed within South Africa between the A.N.C., the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured Peoples' Congress, the Congress of Democrats (a white body) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions – this was what came to be known as the Congress Alliance. The Alliance was dissolved in 1960 for two important reasons:

- (1) two of its component parts, the A.N.C. and the Congress of Democrats were outlawed in that year. The A.N.C. decided to go underground and continue the struggle. The Congress of Democrats decided to disband;
- (2) the A.N.C. decided to embark on an armed struggle. But some of the constituents of the alliance, the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured Peoples Congress, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions did not adopt the policy of armed struggle.

But outside South Africa, the non-African section of the defunct Congress Alliance – that is that section which did not adopt armed struggle and continued to function legally within South Africa. albeit under pressure of bans, house arrests, detentions without trial etc., pressed hard for a re-alignment of forces which would in fact effectively revive the defunct Congress Alliance in exile.

In 1966, this matter came up for review and the A.N.C. leadership invited the representatives of these non-Africans who were living in Britain to discussions in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

The main controversy revolved around two issues, namely the formation of a council of war in terms of a document that the non-African contingent had prepared. The war council would include people from all races as was the case in the Congress Alliance before it was disbanded. The A.N.C. strongly and unanimously rejected this attempt to revive the multi-racial Congress Alliance machinery in which the principle of racial parity operated irrespective of the organizations (and their social weight) represented by the individual delegates. Such racial parity had the odious by-product of putting the African voice in the minority!

But the main basis of the A.N.C.'s rejection was on the ground that the non-African contingent in their organizations had to consider the repercussions for all involved in a situation wherein some organizations had adopted a policy of armed struggle whilst others had not.

How very immoral indeed are some people to speak of a council of war before they have even taken a decision to wage war!

However, the A.N.C. did set up a commission, based in London to act as liaison between itself and revolutionaries from other racial groups.

But even that arrangement did not suit those forces who were hell bent upon manipulating the A.N.C. and thus it happened that in 1969, the South African Communist Party (S.A.C.P.) taking advantage of some serious inner-organizational problems that had arisen within the A.N.C., saw its chance and pushing a call for 'integration of all revolutionaries' hijacked the A.N.C.

From then on the non-African section of this conspiracy made it its business to impose its control over the A.N.C. whilst abandoning all efforts to mobilise their own people. Little wonder today that some voices are heard among South African Indian community declaring that they prefer the present order of white minority rule to black power.

## **THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY (S.A.C.P.)**

The S.A.C.P. was formed in 1921 as a white organization. It remained as such for a full decade and when, during the thirties, it decided to recruit Africans into its ranks, it was to pursue a consistently incorrect policy on the national question. For instance it resisted the slogan of the Communist International calling for the setting up of a black republic in South Africa, and it opposed all moves aimed at consolidating African Trade Unionism, insisting on a multi-racial set up despite the fact that the white working class had shown its determination to carve for itself a position of privilege and was to support the industrial colour bar and job reservation.

Moreover, the S.A.C.P. was to develop a pathological hatred for any independent minded African members who it denounced, at the slightest pretext, as 'bourgeois nationalist'. For example, the following admission appears in an article entitled '50 years of the Communist Party' published in the magazine, African Communist (3rd quarter 1971):

"M. Kotane, who continued to call for a united front policy in the national liberation struggle, was denounced as a 'bourgeois nationalist' with others who upheld his views. He was removed from the editorship of the party journal Umsebenzi, and later expressed the opinion that had he not left the party headquarters at Johannesburg for Cape Town at that time, he also might have suffered exclusion from the party."

On the other hand the concept of African nationalism has always been the propelling unifying force of all sections of the African people in South Africa on the basis of their dispossession, and their denial of political and economic rights by white colonialism and on the basis of their struggle for basic human rights.

But the S.A.C.P. persists up to this point of seeking to identify two strands in this situation – a so-called bourgeois nationalism and a so-called revolutionary nationalism whilst not even bothering to demonstrate the existence, among the Africans in South Africa, of a bourgeois class, that owns landed estates and industrial means of production.

Such dogmatic infusion of Marxist terminology into a situation with special characteristics of its own only serves the forces of confusion and division.

But the major anomaly of the S.A.C.P. is the fact that it has no grass-root base – neither among the black workers nor the white workers. Its white leadership is drawn from middle class, South African white backgrounds, where the norm is to give instruction and patronising tutelage to the African – these people have found it impossible to divest themselves of this background even though they claim to be communists hence their arrogant attempts to impose their hegemony on the national liberation movement in South Africa.

This lack of grass-root support on the part of the S.A.C.P. was eloquently demonstrated when it was faced with a banning order from the Pretoria regime. The Party could think of nothing else but to disband – to run away in fact.



The S.A.C.P. whose leadership has remained in the hands of the same handful of white families, was dormant for a whole decade until 1960. In that year the A.N.C. faced the same threat of proscription but refused to dissolve itself and decided to continue the struggle, unlike the S.A.C.P.'s decision to commit suicide in similar circumstances.

In 1960, the S.A.C.P. decided to re-emerge, but typical of that Party, it could not muster sufficient manpower of its own to distribute the leaflets announcing its resurrection and had to rely on some members of the A.N.C. to help out.

Since then the S.A.C.P. has led a parasitic life on the body politic of the A.N.C.

A further example of that could be seen in the workings of the Party outside South Africa. Most of its white leaders live in Britain. The Party operates an office in London with full time staff. Yet, although it is not illegal abroad, it never convenes rallies, meetings, demonstrations in its own name. Its members carry out all those activities under the banner of the A.N.C.

In 1969, the S.A.C.P. went further when it seized control of certain key departments in the A.N.C. This included the so-called Revolutionary Council, which includes Yusuf Dadoo, Joe Slovo and Reggie September whose membership of that committee was prematurely disclosed in the Sechaba publication, although this was supposed to be a clandestine committee.

As a means of camouflaging its reckless policy of dominating the A.N.C., the S.A.C.P. has long resorted to the weapon of branding as 'anti-communist' all those who resist this state of affairs. The same slander is now being resorted to against the expelled eight whose opposition to S.A.C.P. tactics is portrayed as opposition to all communist parties.

And consequently that political interference in the affairs of the A.N.C. gave rise to the distortion of the basic issues underlining the liberation struggle. The national character of the struggle was blurred and clouded and talk of African nationalism became blasphemous. Those A.N.C. Leaders who resisted this trend were branded 'bourgeois nationalists'.

In matters of tactics in the struggle, the S.A.C.P.'s role has proved adventuristic and disastrous on several occasions. For example:

the S.A.C.P. was responsible for luring underground African leaders to its hide-out in Rivonia, Johannesburg, which resulted in their arrest in 1963, and enabled the South African police to have their biggest field day in uncovering incriminating evidence, including war materials and copies of the insurrectional plan 'operation maybuye' at that supposedly impregnable hide-out:

the S.A.C.P. leader Arthur Goldreich who was in charge of the Rivonia hide-out, mysteriously escaped from prison, ended up in Israel where he was to fight on the side of the Israeli army on the Jordanian Front in the 1967 Six Day War against the Arabs. Not even a mere denunciation of Goldreich was ever forthcoming from the S.A.C.P.;

the S.A.C.P. has resorted to recruiting non-South African whites, e.g. Moumbaris and Horsey to carry out clandestine work inside South Africa whilst its own white South African members continue to live in the comfort of Europe;

instead of building up a membership of its own, a cadre of its own, the S.A.C.P. relies entirely on using the A.N.C. as its recruiting ground, its platform, its front organization.

*No, the time has come for the S.A.C.P. to be finally told to get off the A.N.C.'s back.*

Past experience obliges us to examine at this point the problem of dual loyalty. A slice of the bitter fruit the A.N.C. external mission is now tasting arises out of the exercise of membership of two organizations simultaneously. A conflict situation was bound to arise when it came to reconciling interests of two organizations which, could not always be co-terminous particularly against the background of rank opportunism on the part of one of them.

In fact, the problem of dual loyalty came up on quite a few occasions in the past, and specifically, it was discussed by the national conferences of the A.N.C. in 1923 and 1943. The conferences found, correctly in our view, that the A.N.C. being a national liberation movement would continue to admit in its ranks all Africans regardless of ideological persuasion.

In that event no confusion ensued regarding communist party membership up to 1950 when the S.A.C.P. still enjoyed legal status in South Africa. For one thing Africans who were also members of that party were identifiable. But after the party dissolved itself in 1950, it re-emerged clandestinely in 1960, vis-a-vis the South African regime as well as vis-a-vis the A.N.C.

And thus arose a situation in which S.A.C.P. members could speak in the same breath in the name of the S.A.C.P. and in the name of the A.N.C. A glaring example of that deplorable state of affairs showed itself, when the then Chairman of the S.A.C.P., the late J.B. Marks, attended in that capacity a conference of world communist parties, held in Moscow in 1969. In his speech he made an attack on China, and found it necessary to drag in the A.N.C. – and thus the A.N.C., a national liberation movement became embroiled in an ideological dispute

that was irrelevant to its own programme.

To further illustrate our allegations against the S.A.C.P. we quote from a document adopted by the S.A.C.P. leadership in March 1970. The document entitled 'Central Committee Report on Organization' has a section on page 13, sub-headed; 'The Party and the A.N.C. in the post 1960 period.' In pages 14 and 15, paragraphs 35 to 36, the following appears:

"It was only at the (roughly 18 monthly) plenary sessions of the Central Committee that our leading body was able to turn its collective thoughts to the overall problems facing the whole liberation movement and particularly, its most important cadres. In between the contact which was maintained proved inadequate for collective leadership purposes: an extreme example of our failure in this respect was that the C.E.C. was totally unaware of the Zimbabwe events of 1967 until they hit the world's press. The 1965 plenary session of the Central Committee recorded the need for those comrades directly involved in the strategic areas to *keep the C.E.C. informed on the main outlines of A.N.C. activities both inside and outside the country in order "to enable the C.C. to provide adequate political leadership and guidance."* But as time went on it became more and more clear that the absence of proper institutional links with the A.N.C. in the new conditions acted as an obstacle to the ability of the Party to exercise its vanguard role. It was to overcome this weakness and also the unsatisfactory situation which had developed in relation to effective participation by the oppressed minority groups, that the Central Committee helped to initiate the steps taken in November 1966 to bring into existence the Consultative Congress Committee. This body was a sub-committee of the A.N.C. . . ."

## **THE MOROGORO CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE**

This Conference was convened in the town of Morogoro, Tanzania, by the A.N.C., in 1969, as a result of a suggestion to that effect by some of the A.N.C. leaders (some now expelled). The conference was to consider the stalemate the organization had reached following the military campaign, in 1967 and 1968 in which the A.N.C. had been involved in alliance with the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU). The outcome of the campaign raised certain fundamental questions and criticism related to the strategy and tactics to be pursued in a warfare related to our situation

It is the Zimbabwe campaign to which the S.A.C.P. document refers in the section, quoted above, which says, "the C.E.C. was totally unaware of the Zimbabwe events of 1967 until they hit the world's press." The Party is, of course, lying. Among the A.N.C. leaders who decided on the Zimbabwe campaign were prominent African leaders of the S.A.C.P., namely J.B. Marks (the then Chairman) and Moses Kotane (Secretary-General). What is true is that the white leaders of the Party were not told . . . hence their strategem in 1969, to agitate for the opening of A.N.C. membership and to worm themselves into key positions in the organization.

The Morogoro Conference also took place against the background of a crisis within the A.N.C. cadre organization, that crisis had surfaced in the form of a memorandum by seven militarily trained cadres articulating the mood of the men. The memo turned out to be a scathing criticism of the leadership and its conduct of the struggle. The majority of the leadership not only took unkindly to the criticism but was in a scape-goat seeking mood by the time the consultative conference was convened.

The conference itself was a multi-racial affair which was attended by Africans, Coloureds, White and Indians. But the S.A.C.P. saw only one thing in the situation – the moment for the realization of its cherished goal of taking over the A.N.C.

True enough, the carefully worked out subterfuge passed as a call for 'the integration of all revolutionaries'

## **THE ACTING PRESIDENCY**

The A.N.C. over the past six years was to steadily deteriorate into a body that no longer had a programme of its own, that merely drifted along, with a leadership that spent most of its time travelling from one capital to another and even attending the most irrelevant international gatherings, to our struggle, like the 1975 U.N. conference on "the law of the sea."

A few individuals have undertaken numerous tasks on their shoulders – to give the impression of business – whilst on the other hand there has been the pathetic wastage of able and talented personnel. Trained cadres have been confined in camps for a number of years.

Presiding over this sorry situation is O.R. Tambo, the Acting President of the A.N.C. He was Deputy-President in 1959 when he was sent abroad by the organization in South Africa to set up an external mission in view of the imminence of the proscription of the A.N.C.

When the A.N.C. adopted armed struggle in 1961 as an additional form of resistance, his

mandate was extended to encompass preparations for that struggle and cadres were sent out of South Africa for that purpose. He was also at the head of that programme.

It should be noted that he became Acting President after the untimely passing of our President-General, Chief A.J. Lutuli in July 1967. Since then no serious attempt has been made to elect a new President-General and eight years after Lutuli's death. Tambo is still acting.

It must now be admitted that his leadership of the external mission has been disastrous. He has failed to take a firm stand and give a firm lead on even the most fundamental issues the A.N.C. has faced abroad. And significantly on the interference of the S.A.C.P. in A.N.C. matters, it was not he who went on record as having taken a stand on the matter but the Secretary-General of the Communist Party, Moses Kotane, who when the C.P. wanted to organise meetings of its members within the A.N.C. cadre organization – Umkhonto We Sizwe – in 1965, resisted, stating that Umkhonto was the military wing of the A.N.C. and that the C.P. when it had created its own army, could hold meetings there. Unfortunately, that enlightened and correct policy of Kotane was thrown to the winds after he suffered a stroke at the end of 1968 and the C.P. leadership fell into the hands of the Yusuf Dadoo/ Joe Slovo clique.

On subjects like these and many others, Tambo has failed to make public pronouncements as Head of the A.N.C., instead, in private gatherings he says different things to different people, depending on who and where they are. As he globe trots from country to country, for no apparent reason, he makes personal deals, pacts and arrangements with individual members which, however, are never carried out except, perhaps in so far as they might politically be inconsequential. This style of work creates bad blood among members. A recent example of his habit of saying one thing here and another there, occurred over the adoption of resolutions affecting the organization by A.N.C. members in London, and addressed to the executive, identifying the reasons for the present stagnation in the A.N.C. and suggesting remedies. In a private discussion with a leading member (since expelled), Tambo gave the assurance that on getting to the A.N.C. headquarters in Africa, he would see to it that the resolutions were given attention before their substance got distorted and he further stated that he accepted the view of the U.K. membership; that it was the practice of the A.N.C. to review its past decisions at conferences whenever the need arose. However, as soon as he appeared before a meeting of the extended executive, and in the presence of the very man to whom he had given assurances in London, on the subject of resolutions, he made a vitriolic attack and damaging insinuations against the conduct of the African membership of the A.N.C. in London.

It is this kind of duplicity also which has given the impression to Bantustan leaders like Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, that their political activities on the international plane (though contrary to the declared A.N.C. policy), had, nevertheless the backing of Oliver Tambo, as Head of the A.N.C.

Oliver Tambo, his hand always clutching to a passport, always on the point of flying off somewhere, makes a remarkable contrast to a leader like Samora Machel, who during the struggle was seen always having a gun slung over his shoulder, leading his men into the fight.

Tambo stands in contrast to leaders like Mondlane, Cabral and Chitepo, who lived with their families at the headquarters of their organizations in Africa. Tambo chose to buy a stately home in the posh Muswell Hill suburb of London.

## **THE UMKHONTO WE SIZWE (M.K.)**

The Umkhonto We Sizwe (M.K.) – the military wing of the A.N.C., attracted to its ranks some very brilliant and dedicated young people, and in a short period, they saw action in Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, although fighting in terms of a badly conceived strategy, they acquitted themselves well when they met the enemy. But demoralisation was to set in leading to many of the remaining ones to assert that they can return to South Africa, to fight, only in the company of the leadership.

Tambo must also take full responsibility for the deplorable state of affairs in the organization of these pioneers of the revolutionary army of our people.

## **A BETRAYAL**

It is our considered view that Oliver Tambo has clearly betrayed the sacred trust and mandate given him by the A.N.C. to head the external mission. He has betrayed the African wives and mothers who parted with their husbands and sons when they left to prepare for the liberation war. His conduct has been a betrayal of colleagues languishing in jail like Nelson Mandela, whose hopes of leaving Robben Island lie in the successful prosecution of the struggle.

*No, the truth must be said as it is, that this man – that Oliver Tambo, is unfit to lead a revolutionary struggle.*

## **THE WAY FORWARD**

But there is the current situation in Southern Africa, which is dominated by the recent stirring victories of the armed struggle waged by the liberation movements of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau, which has precipitated the downfall of Portuguese Colonialism and fascism and the collapse of the point-of-no-retreat of the Racist regimes in Pretoria and Salisbury, which had been strung out along the Zambezi river.

These spectacular victories by our brothers in the former Portuguese African colonies amply vindicated the correctness of the policy of armed struggle. And that contrary to the assertions of the likes of South African Premier, John Vorster, it was not something too ghastly to contemplate.

A situation has thus arisen in Southern Africa which opens up important possibilities for the advancement of our struggle for freedom in South Africa. And it is also against this background that the depth of the betrayal and cowardice of those in the A.N.C. leadership, who have decided to choose precisely this moment to conduct purges and expulsions and to sow division and disruption within the ranks of the revolution, must be reviewed.

On the other hand, we on our part are fully resolved to take the destiny of the struggle of our people into our hands. And we solemnly pledge ourselves to work for the following:

- (a) the restoration of the sovereignty, dignity and leading role of the A.N.C. revitalising and re-arming of the membership for the revolutionary tasks that lie ahead. That such re-organization and efforts will be carried out at home and abroad culminating in the re-establishment of the democratic processes of the organization at a national conference.
- (b) the forging of African unity as the fundamental base around which a broader coalition of all other democratic and revolutionary forces can be constructed.

This strategy has been the basis of our progress in the past. And even other recent international experiences like the Algerian and Vietnamese liberation wars proved beyond doubt that the formula to success lay in national unity, solidly based, not on wishy-washy platitudes and coined in an irrelevant context, but solidly on the concrete political forces at work in a particular situation.

Consequently, firm initiatives will be taken by us to bring this about;

- (c) re-instatement of a foreign policy based on non-alignment.
- (d) intensification of the struggle against White minority rule, Racist oppression and exploitation and to fight for the triumph of the aims and objects of the A.N.C. and for the victory of a national democracy in South Africa.

**BROTHERS AND SISTERS – FROM THE BRINK OF DISASTER, FORWARD TO VICTORY.**

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