

KWACHA — ANGOLA



ORGÃO DE INFORMAÇÃO
DA
U. N. I. T. A.

African Association
Zamalek Cairo.
U. A. R.

=====

CONTENTS

=====

CONTENTS

CONTENTS

=====

Page

- 1..... EDITORIAL : The II Congress of UNITA
- 5..... UNITA's LETTER TO THE O.A.U.
- 9..... FALA in ACTION
- 11..... FROM THE PRESS : The War in Angola

=====

N A T I O N A L U N I O N F O R T H E
T O T A L I N D E P E N D E N C E O F A N G O L A .

-- U.N.I.T.A.--

Cairo Office :

5, Ahmed Hismat Street
Zamalek - C a i r o
U. A. R.

London Office :

25, Ospringe Road
London, N.W. 5
U. K.

=====



E D I T O R I A L

II Congress of U.N.I.T.A. organized from August 24th-30th, 1969.
Freeland of Angola, Central Base of UNITA.

1. The II Congress was convened under the token of UNITY AROUND A REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM AND NO LONGER AROUND PERSONALITIES. The slogan of the II Congress was : "GREAT UNITY FOR GREATER VICTORIES."
2. On the 20th August 1969 the delegates and the officers coming from the zones number 1., 6., 3., 9 and 10 met at the zone number 32 where they had a tumultuous reception from the local people (see the pictures).
3. On the 21st the delegates set for the zone Nr. 1S where the II Congress took place. They had a warm reception all along the local committees they have passed by. On the 22nd they crossed the river which divides the First Military Region from the second one. (See the pictures)
4. On the 23rd the delegates reached the zone Nr. 1S. They were received with songs, speeches, dances and other cultural activities. (see pictures)
5. On the 24th, all the delegates met to discuss the Agenda. They were 80 delegates coming from military zones (troopmen and officers) and from local committees. 55 of them were delegates from the people and only 25 from the Liberation Armed Forces. After a long discussion the Agenda was adopted. The main items were :
 - a. To choose the Presidium of the II Congress of UNITA.
 - b. To choose the Commissions. They were chosen two commissions : the Political Commission and the Military Commission.
 - c. The opening speech of brother Jonas Savimbi, President of the Central Committee of UNITA. (The speech was in the form of a report of some important phases the Party had gone through and the program of a future Central Committee if the President was re-elected).
 - d. Speech from the Secretary-General, brother Miguel N'Zau Puna, who reported to the Congress on the Party's activities since he entered the country with the President in June 1968.
 - e. Speech by brother Moisés Kayombo who acted as Chief Commander during 8 months. He reported on Military activities of our Armed Forces for National Liberation.
 - f. Speech from brother David Samwimbila who reported on the situation outside Angola and his intervention to the UN Special Committee on Decolonization in Lusaka on May 1969. Brother Samwimbila was the Secretary for Security in the former Central Committee.
6. After those speeches the delegates were divided into Commissions. The Political Commission presided over by the Secretary-General of UNITA, brother M. N'Zau Puna, studied the new program of UNITA and reviewed the Statutes. The Military Commission presided over by brother Samuel Chivale, General Commander, studied the new Regulations for the Armed Forces of UNITA.

N.B. : Among the delegates we had 10 delegates from women brigades.

.../...

Editorial : II UNITA's Congress (Cont.)

7. On the 23th August the Commissions met in a plenary session to make a join discussion. The new Program of UNITA was adopted by unanimity and the reviewed Statutes approved.
8. On the 29th the delegates elected a new Central Committee. Brother Jonas Malheiro Savimbi was re-elected unanimously by the delegates. The re-elected President of UNITA presented his new Central Committee which was approved by acclamations. Delegates were shouting : FORWARD WITH THE STRUGGLE ! LONG LIVE THE PRESIDENT ! LONG LIVE UNITA ! DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM ! DEATH TO CAETANO AND HIS CLIQUE.

N.B. : The new Central Committee of UNITA is of 30 members from which 12 are the permanent members of the Politburo.

9. On the 30th August 1969 the II Congress of UNITA passed the following resolutions :

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

The II Congress of UNITA meeting in an ordinary session from 24th to 30th August 1969 in the Freeland of Angola, after a deep analysis of the following situations :

- a. The political situation of Angolan struggle since UNITA was created till now.
- b. The DIVISION OF ANGOLAN NATIONALISM and its present and future consequences.
- c. The political situation prevailing in Afrika with its subsequent incidence on the struggle of dominated peoples of Southern Afrika.
- d. The international situation with its influence in the struggles of all oppressed peoples and progressive governments in the World.

The II Congress of UNITA has recorded that :

- 1.- There was a tangible and real progress in the struggle against Portuguese Colonialism in Angola. Further more the leadership of UNITA and that one of FALA have achieved great victories in the mobilization of the people who are giving to the struggle their conscious and total support.
- 2.- The development of the Armed struggle in the districts of Moxico, Lunda, Cuando-Cubango, Malanje and Bié was effective. The opening of a new front in the district of HUILA in May 1969 was a prelude to the extension of the war to the whole territory of Angola.
- 3.- Desperated actions of the enemy, like corruption of some weak elements to become Angolan KAVANDAMES, the massive and constant bombing of our liberated areas, are signs that our Armed Forces have grown stronger.
- 4.- The establishment of UNITA HEADQUARTERS inside Angola was a correct measure which has enhanced the enthusiasm of the people and gave confidence and a correct orientation to our struggle for National Liberation.
- 5.- The adoption and the practice of the revolutionary principle of SELF-RELIANCE was determinant in the continuation of our struggle at a time when our Party was being an easy target of imperialism all over.

.../...

Editorial : II UNITA's Congress (Cont.)

- 6.- The acceptance of a PROTRACTED WAR in Angola was the most logical conclusion, for we are seeking our freedom through an armed struggle.
- 7.- The isolationism in which UNITA is being kept till this very moment is the work of colonialists and imperialists therefore we should not fear it. We must, on the contrary, double our efforts to launch heavy blows at them throughout the country.
- 8.- The OAU have been avoiding to examine Angolan situation on the light of a new political and military development. The OAU have tried to impose ONE PARTY SYSTEM to people who are still under foreign domination by recognizing one Party in each dominated country. This action is not only undemocratic but will prove ineffective. The OAU as a Continental Organization will only honour her principles if she decides to be more courageous and realistic in facing the new situation in Angola because UNITA is determined to go forward with or without external aid.
- 9.- The Liberation Movement of Southern Afrika has lost a lot of its own identity to become instruments of ideological disputes between big powers. UNITA reaffirms its principle of Independence towards any bloc and refuses insistently to be used by anybody for propaganda sake.
- 10.- Imperialism and its allies have been committing constant aggressions against oppressed peoples of Afrika, against Independent African States and against socialist countries in the World.

In Face of all that is stated above, the II Congress of UNITA greets :

- 1.- The leadership of UNITA and that one of FALA and calls on them to continue because they are in the correct way.
- 2.- The Angolan peoples at home and abroad for their support to UNITA since its creation. It is from our own efforts that our freedom will one day emerge.
- 3.- All African Liberatory Movements which are trying hard to improve the level and the quality of their struggles.
- 4.- African progressive countries which have been consequent in their struggle against neo-colonialism and imperialism.
- 5.- All African countries that are trying to secure their economical Independence from Capitalism which is the foundation of Imperialism. We greet very warmly the efforts of Zambia to control her own mines.
- 6.- The formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Vietnam which represents another step forward in the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people. UNITA has all along supported the struggle of the people of South Vietnam.
- 7.- The calling of the IX Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, the re-election of President Mao Tsé-toung to continue leading Chinese people and the success of the Cultural Proletarian Revolution.
- 8.- The heroic struggle of Black brothers in the U.S.A. for human dignity. The World should recognize Afrika as the cradle of Black race to where all Blacks should have the right to return and contribute to her reconstruction.

The II Congress of UNITA condemns :

- 1.- Tribalist manoeuvres within UNITA and in the whole struggle for African Redemption.
- 2.- The Congress declares the expulsion from the Party of the following traitors : Samuel Chivala "mwanangola", Frank Mateus "Banda", Tiago Sachilongo and José Sôzinho who have been cooperating with the enemy while in UNITA.

.../...

Editorial : II UNITA's Congress (Cont.)

- 3.- The manoeuvres of some angolan groups which refuse Unity and try to impose their hegemony on Angolan people by force of arms.
- 4.- The cooperation between fascist regimes of Portugal, South Affika, and Rhodesia against all African Peoples.
- 5.- The aggressions against Independent African States mainly Zambia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Guinea and Senegal.
- 6.- Very vehemently the continuation of American aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and against the heroic people of South Vietnam for their National Independence.

The II Congress of UNITA calls :

- 1.- For the intensification of the armed struggle in this Southern part of Afrika, the only alternative left to us to secure our freedom and Independence.
- 2.- For an urgent formation of a Democratic United Front in Angola. The O.A.U. must take in account the existing situation in Angola and no longer what they would like to exist here. All manoeuvres to impose any single Movement in our country will be considered as deliberate tricks to delay our National Liberation.

N.B. : The II Congress of UNITA has authorized the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola - F.A.L.A. - to pursue any Angolan aggressive group which would dare again to attack us till the neighbouring country where they eventually come from. WE WANT UNITY, BUT WE SHALL FIGHT FASCISM.

- 3.- For a greater revolutionary unity in Afrika to face Imperialist aggression and its lackies. They should be no coexistence with the enemy before we exist.
- 4.- For a greater revolutionary unity among all forces the World over fighting for National Liberation, fighting the consolidation of their independences and fighting for Peace, Democracy and Socialism.

LONG LIVE UNITA ! LONG LIVE INDEPENDENT ANGOLA !
 LONG LIVE PEOPLE'S WAR ! LONG LIVE MOTHER AFRIKA !
 LONG LIVE REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLES !
 DOWN WITH COLONIALISM, NEO-COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM !

UNITED WE SHALL WIN !

Freeland of Angola, Angola, August 30th, 1969.

At the end of the II Congress of UNITA all delegates stood up and holding their hands together over their heads they sang UNITA's UNITY SONG.

- the end -

~ ~ ~ ~ ~

LETTER TO THE LIBERATION COMMITTEE OF THE O.A.U. (August 1969)

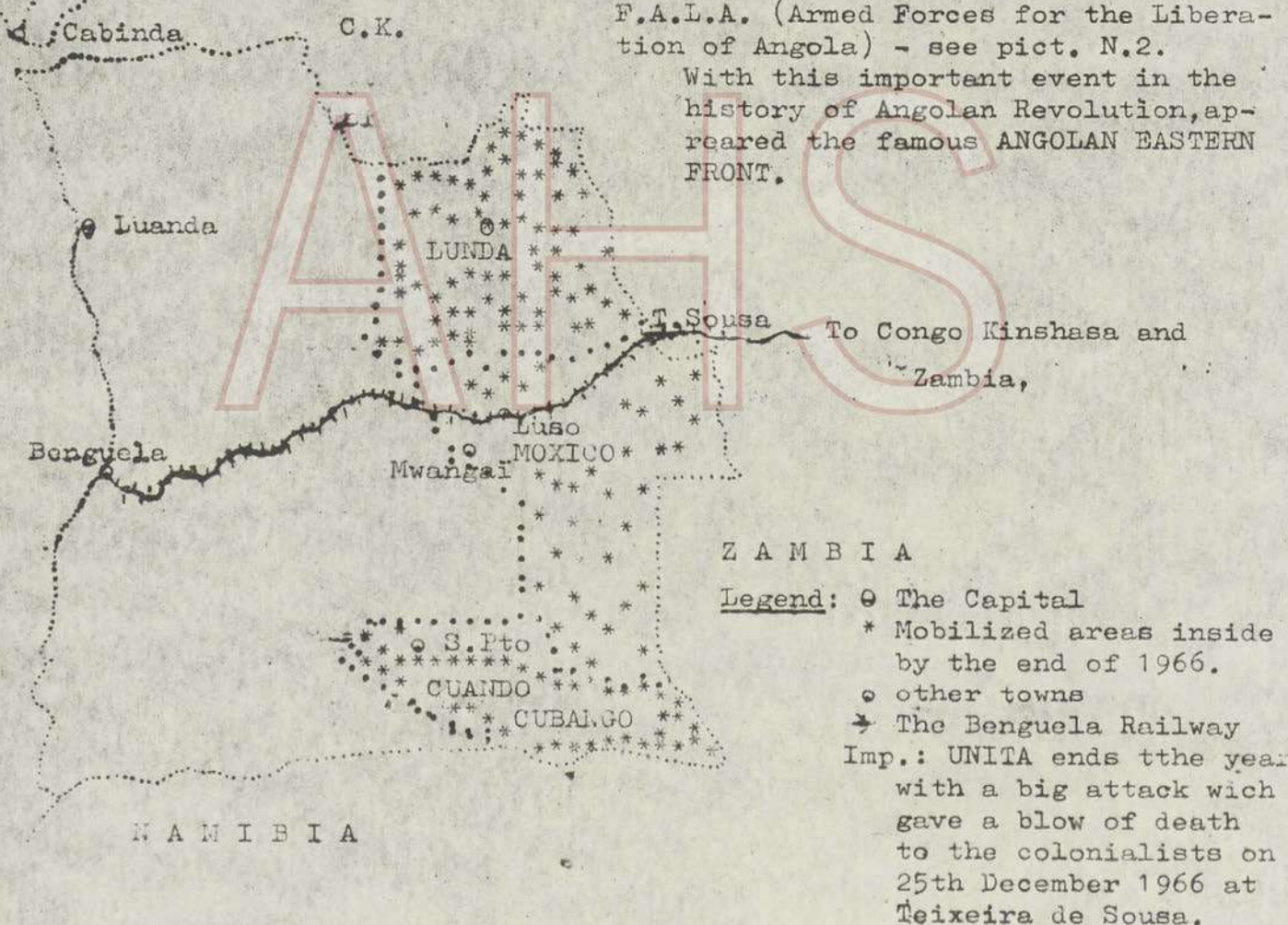
ACTIVITIES OF UNITA IN ANGOLA :

"Our every action is a battle cry against imperialism...Wherever death may surprise us, let it be welcome, provided that this, our battlecry, may have reached some receptive ear and other hand may be extended to wield our weapons." Ernesto Che GUEVARA

UNITA was founded at the Conference held inside Angola in March 1966 at Mwangai, a small town about 300 miles from the boundary with Zambia. (See pict. N.1). This happened after a hardworking mobilization of the masses in the Provinces of Moxico, Cuando-Cubango and Lunda in 1965. The President himself, Dr. Jonas Savimbi entered Angola and after a big attack at Teixeira de Sousa, held a Conference of Commandos with then guerrilla units, and with his commanders founded the military wing of UNITA named

F.A.L.A. (Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola) - see pict. N.2.

With this important event in the history of Angolan Revolution, appeared the famous ANGOLAN EASTERN FRONT.



1967 :During this year UNITA spread its activities up to Malanje and Bié provinces and did a big campaign of mobilization. The enemy himself claims and denounces the activities of UNITA freedom fighters all over the mentioned provinces.

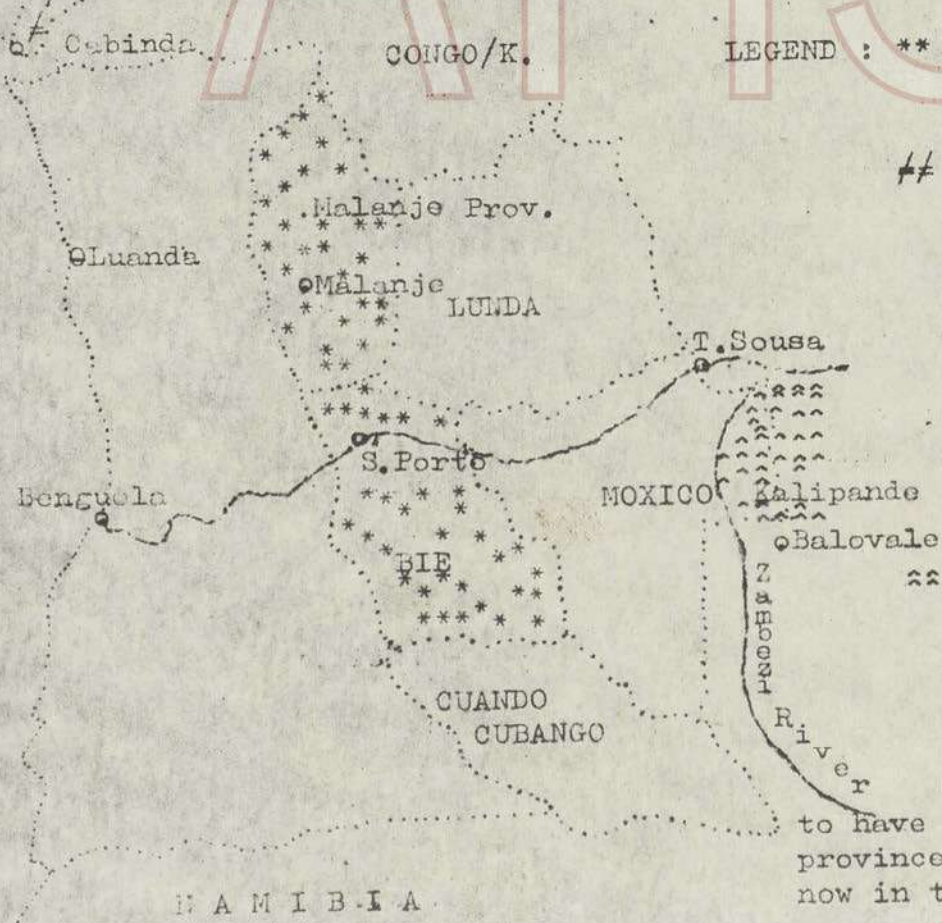
.../...

UNITA's letter to the O.A.U. (Cont.)

After a series of actions and well established administration of the party among the masses inside the country now in the Moxico, Lunda, Cuando-Cubango, Bié and Malanje provinces our President left the country in a party's mission of explanation of the struggle inside Angola.

UNITA's commandos blew up the Benguela railway-link, not with the intention to harm the economy of both Congo/K and Zambia, but to hamp the movement of portuguese troops that go to slaughter the people in the villages as brutal reprisals. Let us quote a passage of the periodical "Semanario de Noticias" of Luanda which repeated, early this year, the same allegation : "... The special train is totally ready for us - four compartments super-packed with young people and well trained, who, by the next morning will launch an attack against the enemy (the guerrillas) who always avoid casual contact". (See the pictures N.3 and 4).

Dr. Savimbi is kept in Cairo because of UNITA bitter and strong activities against colonialists in Angola. It's important to note that during all this time UNITA was the only one Organization operating in the famous EASTERN FRONT of Angola since 1966. By the end of 1967, the activities of UNITA caused a terrible panic not only to colonialists but unfortunatly to some other angolan groups which intended to hold the hegemony of the Angolan Nationalism. AND TOO LATE we saw some of them coming to the Eastern Front only to confuse the genuine struggle. We say confuse, because, on the spot they started to kill the masses and provoking the fratricide war. The results of this unshameful fratricide war is well known by the people and the governments of the Eastern Front neighbouring countries. UNITA improves its struggle with continued captured guns from portuguese troops and is succeeding to equip its guerrilla units.



LEGEND : ** - UNITA spread its activities in more 2 provinces, Malanje, Bié

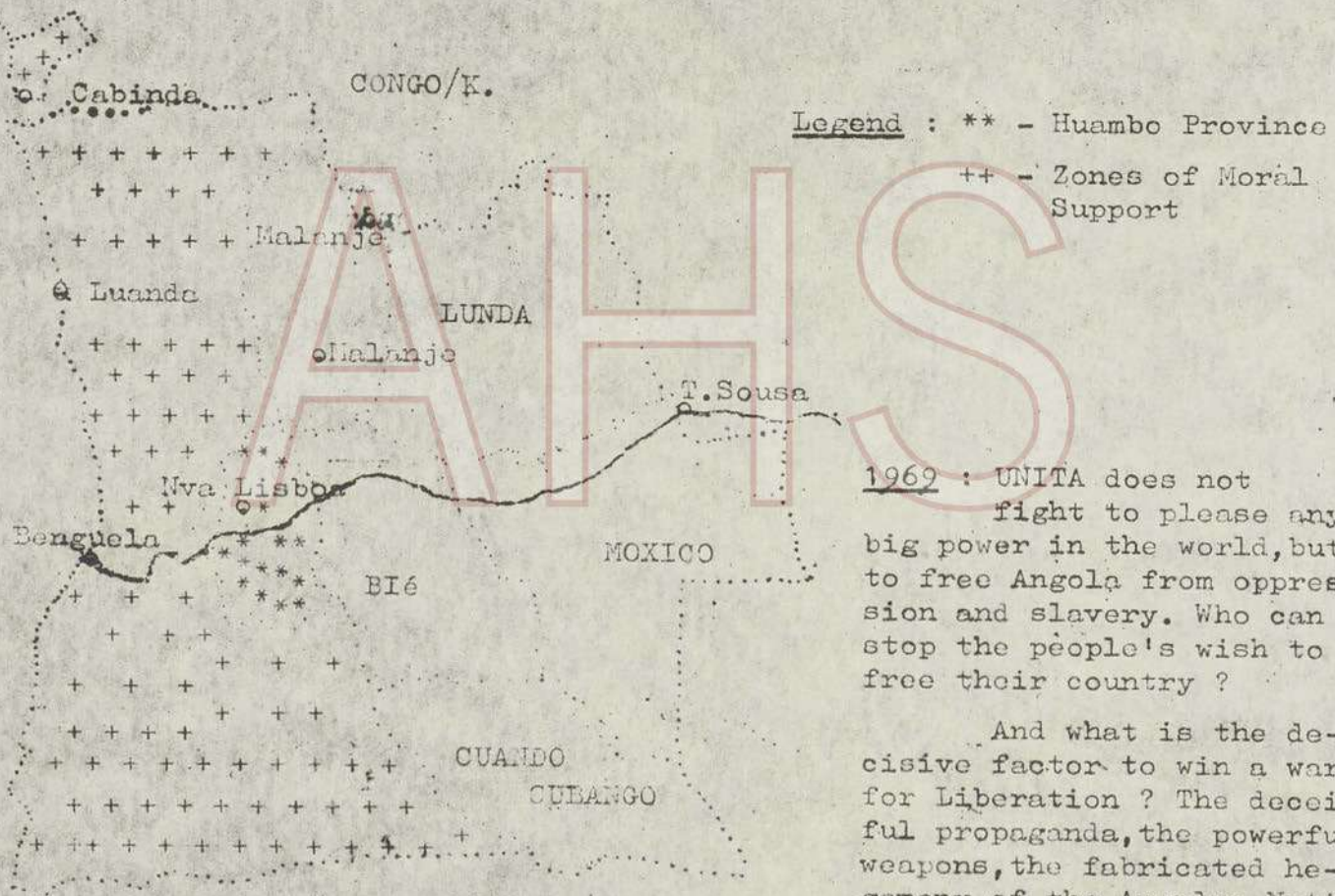
- By the end of this year the other groups quits Cabinda prov. claimed for a period of 6 years as an already liberated one from portuguese colonial rule.

- With the CABINDA type of war the other groups come to this spots from where they launched the most unshameful campaign of propaganda guerrilla warfare in our days, claim to have liberated 10 of the 15th provinces of Angola and fighting now in the remaining 5 provinces

://...

UNITA's letter to the O.A.U. (Cont.)

1968 : With the growing support of the masses inside Angola, UNITA rooted its forces and got the Huambo province. This year was the most revolutionary one in the history of UNITA's struggle for Total Independence of Angola. The headquarters and the Central Committee were entirely based inside Angola. The President himself and the Secretary General of UNITA respectively Dr. Jonas Savimbi and Miguell N'zau Puna entered Angola from Cairo after an unfair but difficult event of dedicated freedom fighters, to join their beloved comrades and the people itself in the same struggle for freedom, where they are, ever since based permanently. The UNITA moral support zones send their most representative people to participate physically in the battlefield and most of them are today in the Central Committee. They came from the following provinces : Cabinda, Zaire, Huambo, Huige Cuanza-Norte, Cuanza-Sul, Luanda and a young lady from Huila province. From August 31st to September the 5th 1968, UNITA held in the remote jungles of Angola its first Congress of the political and military cadres. (See pictures Ns. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.



1969 : UNITA does not fight to please any big power in the world, but to free Angola from oppression and slavery. Who can stop the people's wish to free their country ?

And what is the decisive factor to win a war for Liberation ? The deceitful propaganda, the powerful weapons, the fabricated hegemony of the Angolan Nation-

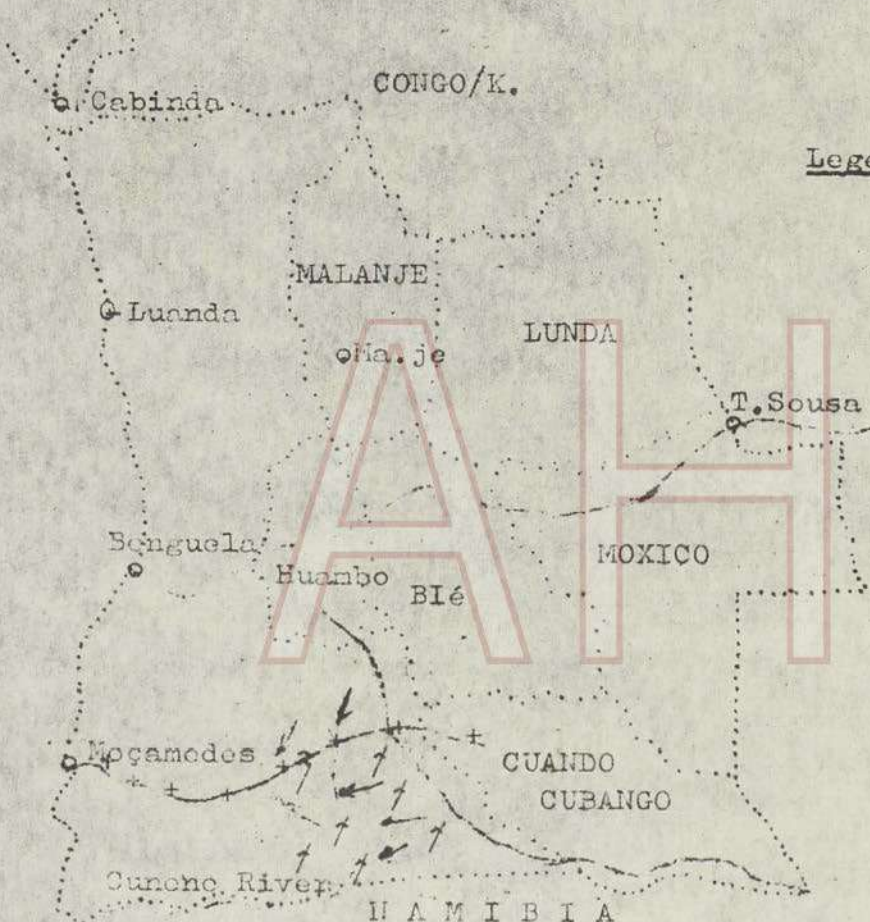
alism, the imposed leaders from the external world ? ONLY THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES ARE THE DECISIVE ONE.


Relying on our own forces without any kind of external aid, we are fighting alone all this long term war that don't mean that we are the strongest but because we are determined to die for dignity of our beloved motherland.


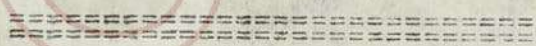
In March 1969 the commandos of UNITA after a successful operation coded "Baile" siezed number of NATO weapons from portuguese troops and puppet soldiers as you can see in all other pictures. Yet this year the portuguese themselves from their mouthpiece- the officers of the Army who went to military talks with their counterparts in South Afrika -

.../...

- reported that there were guerrilla units getting and operating in the area some few miles from the Cunene River. As a result of UNITA's continued activities, the colonialists launched a big campaign of pamphlets in a desperate attempt to keep the people on their side, as you can see on this Swahili-written enemy propaganda. The above allegations of portuguese officers were also reported in the "Times of Zambia", the independent Zambian Newspaper. And this confirms the activities of our advanced commandos in the New Front of Huila Province. So UNITA, in the third year of arduous struggle, have spread its activities into 7 Provinces where we are controlling large areas, where we have more than two thirds of people's support and where 50% of the people don't pay their taxes to the Portuguese Government any more. Only the staying of all the leaders of the party and all the Central Committee inside Angola, now for more than a year, is an unquestionable proof of our capacity and determination to free our beloved Motherland. For all of this, see pictures Nrs 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16.



Legend :  - The area which is under the activities of UNITA commandos in 1969. Totalizing seven provinces where UNITA is waging a revolutionary struggle for Independence and controlling large areas with some rudimentary primary schools and units of medical care.

 = The Moçamedes Railway.


That is what we have done alone without any sort of outside facilities or aid, but with the total support of the Angolans themselves in and outside the country.

We know that UNITA is playing an important role in

Southern Afrika. We are not reaccionaries or counter-revolutionaries as some people, that we know very well, use to say. Africans we are, we are calling for the hands and friendship of Independent African States to give us a moral and material support which all the people in Angola and our all marthys deserve.

"These facts demonstrate that there are men in the revolutionary lines who have all the necessary conditions for fighting and that their development is criminally frustrated only by incapable leaders, charlatans and manoeuverers."

Fidel Castro

MOTHERLAND OR DEATH! UNITED WE SHALL WIN !
GLORY TO MOTHER AFRIKA ! GLORY TO OUR MARTHYRS !

NB.: Due to the conditions of our work here, we are not in position to reproduce the pictures & other documents, send to the O.A.U., mentioned in this letter.

Not the political parties but the morale of the people, the valiant determination of the people, the human tendency to resist pain, the unbearable condition that colonialism breeds, the resolute participation in quest for freedom and the readiness to die in battle and for victory that make a revolution a successful one. However, political parties come in because in order to coordinate these factors responsible for a successful revolution and to make them operative, it is necessary to have a political party.

In respect to Angola, when one says organizing the masses through a political party, he does not mean organizing a handful of Angolan refugees in exile, one must take him to mean organizing the Angolan masses in Angola. For it takes masses of people to defeat the Portuguese and their accomplices. Any political realist and a genuine Angolan know this or of this.

Since 1961 that we started to fight the Portuguese and her allies, only in 1964 that brother Jonas Savimbi accepted the fact that victory over Portugal would be impossible if Angolan leaders limit their efforts to external policy and neglect to organize the masses in Angola. Hence he effectively and promptly undertook to organize UNITA with the end result of having its base of operation in Angola. All Angolans should be proud to know that UNITA and its military wing FALA are presently bringing before ANANGOLA (sons of Angola) a bright future - a future overloaded with freedom and progress in all levels of human experience.

The Angolan People under the auspices of UNITA are determined to put an end to colonialism, imperialism and other forces of oppression. Although hindered by environmental difficulties, the followers of UNITA have been extremely courageous and decisive to remain inside Angola and there to confront "tête-à-tête" the enemies of freedom. Undoubtedly it takes an undying love for the motherland, a special talent and a will to be ascetic in order to fight the western world in Angola.

As you know our colonialism is a peculiar one; therefore, the few of us who understand Portuguese colonialism in Angola would concurrently say that it is difficult to conduct a guerrilla warfare from within Angola. This is why most of our Angolan leaders could not use Angola as an operational base although potentially they had and some of them still have means to do so. Fighting for Angola was exclusively confined to the borders of the country simply because it takes a unique courage, talent and devotion for one to dare enter Angola. Fortunately UNITA did unilaterally enter and will remain in Angola until victory is attained. "WE WANT VICTORY AND VICTORY WE SHALL GET", says UNITA.

Angolans under UNITA guidance are in quest for freedom, dignity and respect; in quest for Angolan power - power to determine their own fate, power to live and let live, power to gain and keep Independence. In short, power that some nations in the world enjoy. But UNITA in anticipation tells its members that power can not be given to us in a silver plate. Nor power can come to us through demagogic and mystical phrases as some of us envisage, but power can only come through 'blood and iron'. The military wing of UNITA - FALA has attaining and sustaining power for all Angolans through blood and iron.

..//..

Reports by FALA coming to us from Angola could well testify to this.
"See infra."

FALA forces have again inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy side and caused a considerable damage to their equipment.

A communiqué issued on August 30th, 1969 has this to reveal :

On August 10th, 1969, a FALA unit at early hours of Sunday morning launched an attack on the enemy in the area between CUITO-CUANAVALE and CANGOMBE. The freedom fighters using machine-guns and hand grenades succeeded in killing 16 Portuguese soldiers and wounding 28. No weapon was seized because a reinforcement of 3 lorries escorted by 4 helicopters were sent to the vicinity thus abating further destruction of the enemy forces.

On 12th August, 1969, an ambush of 6 Portuguese trucks took place in the area of CHITEMBO-MUMBUÉ (Bié province). The FALA soldiers successfully blew 5 of them up with all the equipment and personnel in them.

On 13th August, 1969, FALA forces successfully and effectively harassed the enemy forces coming from CUEMBA (Bié province). 15 enemy soldiers were killed and many wounded. Also a considerable damage to the electrical installations was sustained. One of FALA's men lost his life when attempting to disconnect one of the electrical wires.

On 19th August, 1969, a FALA column heading to Huila province was met by a Portuguese offensive which for the first time in the month of August succeeded ^{in killing} one of the FALA's member and capturing a 17 years old freedom fighter. In retaliation the FALA column counter-attacked the enemy when they were retreating. The result was the killing of 10 Portuguese soldiers and the seizure of arms, grenades and uniforms.

On Friday, 22nd August, 1969, several patrol trucks coming from MOXICO - LUSO were ambushed by the Armed Forces of UNITA. Two of them, each with 6 occupants, were totally annihilated. By the same token, the freedom fighters were able to seize 3 G3's, 2 Fall UM and a machine-gun of Italian manufacture.

We who coexist with FALA inside of Angola, we who suffer days and nights assure you that, in spite of the hardships and difficulties that attend our struggle, we are full determined not to be at rest until enemies of freedom are totally neutralized.

Motherland or Death,
United we shall WIN.

On behalf of the General Commander,
Antunes Kahali, Captain

Freeland of Angola, August 30th, 1969.

"OUR STRUGGLE IS AGAINST TRIBALISM AND FOR CONSOLIDATION;
OUR STRUGGLE IS ANTI-COLONIALIST, ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND
FOR INDEPENDENCE."

Patrice LUMUMBA

FROM THE PRESS

Note : The following article is extracted from the "TIMES OF ZAMBIA", Thursday, September 17, 1969. Here is the full text.

THE WAR IN ANGOLA : PORTUGAL FACES DEFEAT. Steve Valentine brings you an exclusive report from the guerrilla battlefield.

"Guerrilla activities in Angola are on the threshold of a new period of escalation which will make it increasingly difficult for Portugal to hold on to the central African territory. After spending four weeks with a guerrilla band travelling 500 miles through the war torn colony I am now convinced that the Portuguese will never win more than a temporary victory over the freedom fighters.

And, surprisingly enough, the biggest danger the Portuguese now face is the Cinderella of the freedom movements, discounted by the World, receiving not one scrap of support from any nation or international agency and almost entirely unpublicised.

The movement is UNITA (the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) headed by 38-year-old Dr Jonas Savimbi, a scholar soldier with a PhD degree in political science from Lausanne University whose heroes are Che Guevara and Algeria's Ben Bella.

Savimbi, once called the most dangerous man in Angola, has built up in the very heart of that country a formidable political and military machine, since March 1966 when he formed UNITA after breaking away from Holden Roberto's Union of the People of Angola - of which he was Secretary-General and later Foreign Minister in the party's Congo based government in exile.

And, although he feels bitter at the lack of support he has had from the world in general and Africa in particular - the Organisation for African Unity support the rival MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and Zambia turned him out in 1967 reportedly because of his repeated blowing up of the Benguela railway - it seems fairly obvious to me that lack of support has been the key to his success.

UNITA has been forced to operate permanently inside Angola, the only weapons available had to be taken from the Portuguese, and the only way of staying alive was by winning the support of the local people.

SMUGGLED. For several months now, Savimbi, in letters smuggled out to Zambia, has been claiming that he has the true support of the people; that, excluding the towns, he controls almost half of Angola, and that from his small beginnings - eleven men with bows and arrows - he now controls a highly disciplined and well armed fighting force.

Few have believed him. Because he now feels that outside support in the shape of arms gifts would allow him to double his activities, the doctor invited me through Zambia Newspapers to see for myself whether his claims were exaggerated. I saw no evidence that they were.

To join a UNITA band is a tricky business. Portuguese agents are known to operate even in Lusaka and elaborate precautions were taken. I travelled to Mongu a day before my UNITA contact and met him the next night. In an atmosphere of cloak and dagger I was introduced by candlelight to Samuel Chitunda, 31-year-old chief of general staff of UNITA forces, who, with another officer was camped under a tarpaulin by the harbour.

THE WAR IN ANGOLA. Portugal Faces Defeat (Cont.)

He told me that everything was arranged, a guerrilla band was waiting for me at the border.

Next morning we all left in a barge for Kalabo. As Samuel was widely known, we pretended that we were not together. After about 12 hours, the barge stopped at a village 12 miles from Kalabo for the night.

Passengers were invited to sleep in the local school. We accepted the invitation but as soon as the moon was up, the UNITA men and I put on our packs and began walking. We reached Kalabo at about midnight, walked through the deserted town in the brilliant moonlight and slept in the house of a UNMFA sympathiser in a village three miles beyond the town.

All the next day I stayed out of sight in the house, though several UNITA sympathisers came to visit me. Two gave us chickens. That night we slipped out of the village to where a canoe was waiting and did not bed down until we had put many miles between us and the town. The canoe trip, across the Barotse flood plains, lasted three days. Then we began walking again for three days until we reached the boundary area chosen for the crossing.

President Kaunda, when accused of letting freedom fighters use Zambia as a jumping off point, always maintains that the border is impossible to patrol properly without thousands of soldiers. This is certainly the case. The area is fantastically remote.

REMOTE : So remote, in fact, that people on seeing a European approaching, immediately assumed I was Portuguese, and fled into the bush. We saw no trace of Zambian Security forces and were told they passed that way only occasionally.

Crossing into Angola was totally undramatic. We simply crossed a footpath and were no longer in Zambia. Only about a mile from the border, in a dense forest, we came across the guerrillas. They were about 40 of them, half were armed, mostly with NATO weapons which could only have come from the Portuguese. Belgian FN automatic rifles were much in evidence as were the American designed (made in Portugal under licence) G.3's. There were several Mausers, used extensively by the Portuguese, and four Russian sub-machine guns. When I asked about the latter I was told they were brought to UNITA by defectors from MPLA. This could be true, but it is highly likely that they were taken from the rival group in battle. UNITA admits that they and the MPLA have clashed, but denies that it has ever done more than defend itself.

They was ammunition in plenty. The NATO weapons take a clip of 22 shells. Each was loaded and the soldiers carried two spare clips, all full. The Russian guns accurate to 200 metres despite their stubby barrels, carry magazines of 71 shots. All were fully loaded and their were spare magazines. I also saw a box of TNT and three green Italian hand-grenades of the type used by the Portuguese.

We stopped at this camp for two days ostensibly to wait for another group which had gone to buy food. I was very grateful for the rest. One, because my feet had become two large blisters - life in an office is no preparation for walking in Barotse where even the smallest footpath is four inches deep in the sand - and, two, because it gave me a chance to find out more about the people I was to travel with.

FROM THE PRESS : The War in Angola (Cont.)

S T R I C T : My first surprise was the strict standard of discipline. At first, I thought this might have been stage managed for my benefit, but as it never once flagged in three weeks, one must concede that it is a permanent feature of the organisation.

The camp, for instance, was laid out with an area for each rank. There were "messes" for officers, sergeants, other ranks and yet another for the "military police", well hated by all as in any army in the world and dubbed "dragons" because of their wide powers. Chosen from the toughest of the guerrillas, the dragons come into their own at night having complete control of the security of the camp.

Several members of the band assured me that these unsmiling nocturns would shoot dead anybody approaching a camp often dark unless his response to one challenge was instantaneous. Guerrillas caught by the rapidly falling darkness away from the band always opt to sleep in the bush rather than run their gauntlet.

Saluting is used constantly and there is, for instance, an elaborate drill for a lower rank reporting to his senior, very similar to that used in the Britain army, but with more of a flourish, undoubtedly borrowed from the Portuguese. Each time an officer enters another part of the camp, all other ranks are obliged to leap to their feet and stand to attention.

The guerrillas themselves were a mixed lot. Other ranks were mostly a ragged and unschooled bunch while the officers were all literate and mostly with intellectual leanings. School teachers and male nurses made up more than half their number. Most could speak Portuguese and French and a handful could struggle along in English.

The Chief of Staff, with whom I had travelled from Mongu, surprised me by revealing that he had served four years in the Portuguese army fighting guerrillas had been wounded and decorated in the service of the metropolitan power and was a full Assimilado (a black Portuguese accepted by the whites with the same rights as themselves).

A lean, bearded six footer who lost a scholarship for university because he was conscripted, he told me : " I would have been fighting on the other side now, I suppose. Because I got shot, the Portuguese made me a bit of a hero; an example to other Africans of what they should be like. I enjoyed it. Then one day I heard that my father had been arrested for political organising. I went to see my commanding officer. He was very sympathetic. He said he was sure he could do something. But he couldn't. Quite suddenly I realised I was black. I stopped fighting hard and when my term was over I joined up with UNITA. My training has helped me train others."

A F R A I D : A fair percentage of the guerrillas have been obviously driven to fighting by hamfistedness on the part of the Portuguese. One ex-school teacher told me he fled to UNITA after Portuguese arrested some other teachers on suspicion of organising politically. He was afraid he would be arrested. Before then he had few political leanings. Now he is a leading organiser.

The most colourful figure in the group was its leader, 25-year-old Samuel Chiwale, general commander of the UNITA forces and probably the most hunted man in Angola. Another former school teacher, with a wagish sense of humour and an unlimited capacity for enjoying life, no matter how hard, he was a founder member of UNITA who joined for the politics and then discovered his talents lay in warfare.

FROM THE PRESS : The War in Angola (Cont.)

Under Savimbi, the only Angolan guerrilla leader to lead his own forces in battle, Chiwale is the top man on the military side.

He told me : " I have no hate for the Portuguese. What I am doing is just a necessary step in our fight for independence. We kill Portuguese soldiers because they have weapons which we need to free our country. Many of these boys are just conscripts from Portugal who don't want to be here anyway. They are here against their will. We have to kill them, but there is no enjoyment in it. We would rather if they just went home."

His almost Robin Hoodish approach to the whole campaign was beautifully displayed one day when we heard from an informant that a Militia leader, one Kamanga, had laid an ambush a few miles ahead of us. The younger element was all for attacking it, but Chiwale refused to be budged from the job of getting me deep into the country. We were already well behind schedule and to avoid the ambush we would have to put on an extra day walking around it.

R A G E : The guerrilla leader was beside himself with rage, stamping up and down and shouting " "This man Kamanga goes too far," he said, as though his enemy had broken some unwritten law. " "I've warned him not to play about like this. Now look what he does. He sends in these people just to annoy me, to make life difficult. I must teach him a lesson. As soon as this trip is over I'll have to come back and do something about this... "

He continued to mutter to himself as we wound through the difficult bush, sometimes threateningly, sometimes pleading for his colleagues to witness how he had been wronged. As Kamanga's name cropped up again and again during the next weeks it occurred to me that his role was not unlike that of the Sheriff of Nottingham and I got the distinct impression that after so many adventures shared with the Militia man on the one side and the guerrilla leader on the other, that should Kamanga ever be killed, Chiwale would be genuinely upset at the loss.

There were two aims in our journey. One was to meet Jonas Savimbi, who has not left Angola for two years and has not spoken to a journalist in that time and two, for me, to visit the secret camps of the guerrillas (a privilege never accorded to a journalist before) to see how they work and to substantiate the party's claims.

THE LIBERATED COUNTRYSIDE

(Times of Zambia, Friday, September 12, 1969)

One of the objectives of my trip into Angola with the freedom fighters, was to meet UNITA leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi. But this I did not manage, basically because the guerrillas, having been in the bush for more than three years, totally overestimated the walking capabilities of the average journalist. Assuming that fifty miles a day was reasonable, they arranged the meeting hundreds of miles inside Angola. The reason for this was to prove how far in they operated.

As soon as I discovered this, I put them right on my physical capabilities and we sent a small group to Savimbi to tell him to start walking to meet us. Unfortunately, our progress was so slow on the way in (and I arrived at the border almost a week late) that Savimbi had given us up before our messengers arrived and had moved to another side even deeper in the country.

FROM THE PRESS : The War in Angola (Cont.)

After taking 13 days to walk 250 miles, I finally decided to turn back. Ironically enough, by this time, I had learned to walk properly. On the return trip I averaged nearly 40 miles a day. Had I been able to do this from the start, we should certainly have had time for a rendezvous.

A second objective, of seeing how UNITA lived, was achieved. After our two days rest at the border, I was literally thrown in at the deep end. My own food supplies had run out and the group sent for food did not return in time.

We began our trek with a few dried fish, a bag of meal, a little rice and some two-week-old antelope meat, and were, from the start, living off the land.

The method of moving maintained throughout, was interesting. Three men with automatic weapons fanned out about half a mile ahead, moving quickly from cover to cover. Next came the main party, including unarmed people like cooks and porters and myself with fighting men evenly spaced down the single rank. We are followed up by a real guard of three, fanned like those in front, and on each flank an officer marched parallel a few hundred yards away.

Our route was through the bush, crossing plains only where essential and then well camouflaged. Guerrillas do not like plains. They provide little cover and make one particularly vulnerable to aircraft. Apart from bombers, the Portuguese use helicopters with machine-guns mounted. I was assured that both were "not very dangerous," but still felt distinctly uncomfortable each time I heard an aircraft engine. The guerrillas said that if either the bombers or the helicopters flew low enough for accuracy, they would be in range of our fire and that the pilots, knowing this, preferred to miss in safety rather than risk being shot down. Since no plane spotted us, I cannot say if this is so.

To enter Angola, is to enter a land at war and the signs of suffering are written everywhere. Most obvious are the abandoned villages, some with all the treasured household goods of their previous owners scattered about and rotting, some burned by bombing. There are still people, they live in the wood foraging for food, almost naked, but determined to stay. But most of the onetime inhabitants of the lush country through which we passed have long since fled to Zambia as refugees or are living in special camps around the towns.

For some time now the Portuguese have been pursuing the policy so successfully used by the British in Malaya of emptying the countryside to deny support to the guerrillas. The theory is that by removing the people, food production stops and channels of information are closed. But for the Portuguese this policy has not succeeded beyond providing a nuisance. We obtained food for even our large party, though it took time, and we received ample information about the movements of the enemy.

The reason for this failure is undoubtedly that Savimbi's claim that he has the support of the people is true. There are hundreds of people living in the forest. I saw them. Many came out to greet us as we passed. Others were found by scouts who followed up their tracks. The information we received was extremely useful and obviously better than that of the Portuguese.

For instance, our first night's camp was only five or so miles from where the Militia were camped. We were told the exact spot where they were by an aged man who supported the party. The ambush I have already mentioned was known by our group hours before we reached the spot and details of troop activity by the border were brought to us as well. We were told that the Portuguese had received information that our group, which they did apparently know about, contained the infamous S. Chiwale.

FROM THE PRESS : The War in Angola (Cont.)

This prompted to send large contingents to the border area where they believed him to be. By that time, however, we were several days march away.

M I L I T A : Considering that Chiwale was camped at border for more than a week, their information was very slow in coming. And it showed that the second ambush attempt could not have been based on information, but was just on spec as the track was known to be used by guerrillas.

After the first 100 miles, the guerrillas completely gave up the idea that we might meet hostile forces. Although, in the early days, we occasionally saw militia tracks (they wear shoes and are therefore easy to sort out from those of the forest dwellers, these soon stopped appearing).

The law about marching in silence was dropped and the band even shot game for food. It was most welcome, as we had been existing almost entirely on cassava, dug up in hidden gardens, and wild honey, of which there is a vast supply.

When the game was shot I thought we had walked into the Portuguese. Two men had been sent off to shoot some time before, but I had forgotten all about them. Suddenly there was a barrage of shots (only five, I discovered later) and the whole party dropped to the ground.

When the shooting was over a wild cheer went up and everyone started running towards the sound. Everybody was so excited, it took me minutes to find out that it was five eland which had been shot. The diving on the ground was part of the drill on such occasions, because the game was between us and the hunters and bullets were coming our way.

Each of the five shots killed an eland. Two, shot by the same man, were hit in the eye at something over a 100 yards. No more marching was done that day. Everyone worked furiously on butchering the animals. The meat was then dried over fires and most of it hung in trees. Later, the word was spread among the forest people to come and get it.

On our return, several days later, not a scarp remained. For the guerrillas a most fantastic feast started. I have never seen so much eaten. After being without meat for many days they gorged themselves until many were ill. Next morning it continued and after only two hours marching, we had to stop to let the sick recover. This I was told, happens once a fortnight.

On such a march, the boredom of just keeping going for ten hours a day is fairly total. Everywhere are the abandoned villages and grown over gardens. We crossed two main roads which gave relief and about three roads totally grown over. The guerrillas explained that they had long since blown up all the bridges. The size of the trees growing on the roads was a good indication that they had not been used for least two years. The first major road we crossed, the guerrillas said was

A m b u s h e s

now only used by convoys because of ambushes. The second was in daily use.

The pattern of travelling was always the same. Rise at 5.30 a.m. and start at six; lunch for two hours at 12 and walk to six. At six, camp fires were lit in the bush and we sat around talking and eating until eight. The drill then was to fan through the bush for half a mile or so to a sleeping place appointed by the dragons. Sometimes the fires were extinguished. Sometimes they were built up and left with a small ambush in the hope that the Portuguese might see them and walk into the trap.

FROM THE PRESS : The War in Angola (Cont.)

The sleeping camps were well guarded by dragons. Only once were disturbed. A duiker came crashing through the bush at about three in the morning and, naturally enough, did not respond to the dragons challenge. The guard sounded the alarm and the entire camp was out of bed with guns deployed in seconds. There was no panic shooting and hardly a word was spoken. After giving the alarm the guard plunged into the bush after the intruder, discovered its true identity and came to report. Safety catches were checked and we all got back to sleep.

Life had its lighter moments - like the day I stopped eating off my table. The guerrillas did all they could to make me comfortable and one touch was to provide the "table". This was a very robust wooden box with rope handles off which I ate. On the third night, I was eating by the fire when I noticed that the leader kept feeling the front of the box. "What is the trouble," I asked.

"Oh, nothing," he said, "it's getting a bit hot that's all."

"What?" I asked, "does it matter if the box gets hot?"

"Well, he said evasively, "it doesn't really matter. It's TNT, but I'm told it's quite stable as a rule."

That was the end of my table. I have a dislike for high explosives.

The box continued to travel with us. Samuel, in one of his lighter moments, said he was only looking after it. "It's not ours you see. It belongs to the Portuguese. A few weeks ago the captain was up front, about to cross a bridge, when he saw a piece of string which he thought unusual. He traced the string and found the box together with a firing mechanism. Although the Portuguese say we handle the box, and we are not thieves either, we naturally intend to return the box to its rightful owners. It's just a matter of working out the very best way to return it. You can count a hundred per cent on them getting it back."

UNITA claims to have about 3,000 trained guerrillas, of which half are armed. To this I am sceptical. The most I ever saw was about 70 - half had firearms and the other half were unarmed. All the guerrillas assured me that the party was strong and that I could see for myself their true strength. The fact that they were not only prepared, but eager for me to reach the zone, qualified me to believe that they were telling me the truth.

The party claims to control the countryside over half the country, but admits that in the towns the Portuguese are masters. Areas where the party is strong are called "Liberated" areas and at their centre have zones, in which are secret military camps. There are, they say, 12 zones and 20 sub-zones. I visited one zone and one sub-zone.

At the sub-zone there seemed to be about 15 guerrillas and about 25 at the zone. I was told other parties were out on various missions. They also claimed that the deeper into the country the bigger the zones. Even if they were the same size, it would give a large number of guerrillas. As I was invited to visit as many zones as I liked (it would have taken months) I have no reason to disbelieve the claims.

That the party has strong support among the local people is easily seen. At the sub-zone about 50 people turned out to see us. At the zone more than 300 emerged from the forests and we had a full scale political rally - complete with about an hour of mass singing. If being able to shout at the top of one's voice and fire rifles means you are liberated, these people certainly were.