

UNITA

NATIONAL UNION FOR TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA

Date: . January 1971

Place: . FreeLand of Angola
Central Base
Region N° 2
ANGOLA

From: . The President of UNITA

EXPOSING THE LIES OF BASIL DAVIDSON ABOUT ANGOLA

AHIS

Further enquiries:

UNITA Office
25 Ospringe Road
LONDON, N.W.5
ENGLAND

Tel: . 01-485-3075

THE UNPUBLISHED LETTER TO LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE

By the President of U.N.I.T.A.

(translated from French)

Jacques Fauvet,
Director of Le Monde
Diplomatique
Paris,
FRANCE.

From: Free-Land of Angola
Central Base- Region N°2
10th January 1971
ANGOLA

Dear Sir,

I have previously resisted the temptation to give UNITA's views on articles published in your Newspaper, Le Monde Diplomatique, by Mr. Basil Davidson. I think now that my personal contribution would certainly be the wish of your readers, since Mr. Basil Davidson in an article published on 25th November 1970 indirectly requested my participation.

Before elaborating my reply, I would like to stress the destructive nature of such discussions when one of the parties involved begins to make accusations as serious as those made by Mr. Basil Davidson.

In Angola the most important and delicate problem is that of unification of the all nationalist forces who combat Portuguese colonialism and its agents. Anything that helps this unification would not only be desirable but would be by far the most efficient contribution that could be given to our fight and struggle in general for the emancipation of the African peoples who are still under colonial rule. If my letter follows those general lines, only then can it deserve publication.

Anyone who carefully has read any of Basil Davidson's articles in English, French, Swedish newspapers and magazines will have immediately noticed his partisan and contradictory tone.

(What are the facts about Basil Davidson Lies?)

- 1) Mr. Basil Davidson says that he visited MUIE which, he says, is in the centre of Moxico. This is quite wrong, false, because in fact Muie is in the South of Moxico on the borders of Moxico and Cuando-Cubango (see Map of Angola, 1966, Edicao da Junta da Investigacao do Ultramar, Missao Geografica de Angola, Apoio Geodesico e Cartografico). It is true to say that in Europe public opinion is very involved in the social struggles of their own countries, but from time to time interest is shown in African problems. However, this does not give Mr. Basil Davidson (or any other person or organization) the right to exploit the ignorance of the European public opinion on African problems. On the contrary, he should try to inform objectively and never to deform the reality. Therefore, I appeal to the staff of your respected Newspaper, Le Monde Diplomatique, to try to inform the European opinion fully (and correctly) about our struggle, because "only truth is revolutionary".

(cont. letter to Le Monde Diplomatique)

- 2) Mr. Basil Davidson is very one sided about our struggle when speaks only about the Umbundus, Kimbundus, Bakongos, Mbundas, Luchazes, etc. He is concerned with our people's efforts to organize themselves in resistance movements against colonial oppression on our continent, but he brings grist to the mill of apartheid which does not recognize any national character in the aspirations of the African peoples, just as though the Scots are not British too. When one realizes how fiercely the British opposed the secession of East Nigeria, it is very difficult to see how a British man can become an apologist for tribalism among us. To reduce our struggle to the dimensions of tribal rivalries in this way, is to attempt to throw general discredit on our efforts, as much for MPLA as for the other nationalists.
- 3) Mr. Basil Davidson speaks of the "strategic" control of MPLA. Such language which attempts to show that MPLA controls 9 of the 15 provinces (or 10 of the 15 provinces according to the new administrative division of Angola) is only permissible to a partisan journalist. But we find very hard to accept from an English Colonel (of the British Army) who has worked with the partisan forces of Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia.

For UNITA, control, true control of the Zones, the liberation of vast zones and the subsequent creation of base areas consists only of "tactical" control. A liberated zone is one in which the enemy can no longer penetrate, for should he try to do so, he would leave only dead men and no longer would have the courage to continue. The opposite of this is pure and simple demagoguery, a word which is no longer in our dictionary.

Strategic control certainly exists, but only in the zones disputed by the enemy. The day that our forces and support among the people exceeds all the enemy forces, this control immediately becomes tactical. Therefore, only movements based outside the country can allow themselves to exert at most a "strategic" control. For UNITA there is a great need to establish our HOME in Angola itself. If it became necessary to move from strategic control to real control which is tactical.

This letter takes the place of an invitation to your Newspaper to send a journalist to our liberated areas in order to confirm at first hand the magnitude of our struggle and the dimensions of our success on the spot. We know that pressure has been exerted to prevent journalists from visiting our Bases in Angola. Even the African Liberation Committee of the O.A.U. has not been able to send observers to us so as to propagate the lies of others. But there are no lies in a genuine revolution which can destroy its success, not any pressure great enough to influence its course towards final victory.

- 4) In the Newstatesman of 30 October 1970, Mr. Basil Davidson writes as follows: "... But it is a problem in Angola where the World Council of Churches (WCC), for example, has recently given aid to three movements." Mr. Davidson had made a trip to Scandinavian countries in 1969-70. As a result of this journey which was used to denigrate UNITA in order to support MPLA, the \$25,000 US dollars which the Swedish Democratic Party promised us verbally and by a letter remained a dead promise (letter). We find it easy to understand that when Mr. Basil Davidson speaks of the World Council of Churches, he would like all the material help (money) to go solely to MPLA. I am forced to read between the lines that these are Mr. Basil Davidson's true motives. But,

I must admit that we were also surprised by this aid. For inspite of our policy of accepting all aid when there are no conditions attached, the WCC has never previously been among the list of our allies. His disappointment corresponds exactly to our surprise. Naturally, the WCC must have reasons for assisting not only UNITA but also the other anti-racist movements. But, I remind Mr. Basil Davidson that there are African Liberation Movements which even if recognized by the African Liberation Countries have not been aided by the WCC. Should I doubt whether Mr. Basil Davidson would not see in this aid to UNITA the hand of the USA-CIA? I would ask him to inform himself about it at the WCC in Geneva-Suisse.

In UNITA we believe that the most solid aid which does not obey pressures or sympathies is that of our own people. Mr. Davidson can not give this aid because it must be conquered by fighting within the country and through enormous sacrifices. Because of this support to our people, the outside world which had denied us their aid and even their logistic support now sees itself morally obliged to support us, because we represent a force and determination here inside Angola. We shall carry on certain of the support of our people.

- 5) In the same journal, Davidson, speaks of "Maoists" and of the aid from the Peoples Republic of China to the African Liberation Movements with an anti-Chinese tone which could not be stronger in Washington or even in Lisbon. No African movement can honestly support his affirmations, far less the MPLA. The anti-Chinese tone of Basil Davidson's writings are no longer in doubt, and for my part I believe that it is this spirit which motivated Mr. Basil Davidson's journeys to our country, that is, if he really went there!... Mr. Davidson wanted to take part in the ideological struggle which today divides the Socialist World which is the only camp that can really support the liberation movement in Africa and elsewhere.

UNITA has its own philosophy, but it is very largely based on the revolutionary principles which have already triumphed in other parts of the World. UNITA's struggle is part of this ideological struggle, for the liquidation of colonialism is part of the general struggle against imperialism. Here we want to establish the ideas which correspond to actual practical terms to the requirements of our struggle and to the true solidarity of the peoples fighting against imperialism. This places us on the side where we are. Mr. Basil Davidson has clearly shown which side he is on, but the struggle must not be taken lightly for two reasons:

(a) If UNITA triumphs, Mr. Basil Davidson will appear as a simple plotter in the eyes of the world.

(b) UNITA IS NOT HITLER. Basil Davidson? thinks it to be UNITA sees itself as the avant-garde of the proletariat in Angola in this phase of the national democratic revolution until socialism triumphs here. Here we have no need for defendants such as Basil Davidson who justifies anti-communism to the world in order to obtain Western support for MPLA. From the audience with the Pope (Paul VI) after a discriminatory conference organized under the auspices of MOSCOW to the articles of Basil Davidson, there is nothing but mystification from MPLA in terms of its political options.

(Le Monde Diplomatique)

As for Mr. Basil Davidson I simply say this: a man who has acquired a certain reputation has also taken on responsibilities and should not lead the public opinion on false trails in this way with impunity. The struggle will not pardon him so many lies, so many prejudices, and above all so much involvement in the wrong place. In this fight UNITA will play its cards to the FINISH, because it is a question of our life. Now it is Mr. Basil Davidson's turn to play to the finish also.

As for myself personally, I have never belonged to MPLA. As for my numerous contacts with them (MPLA) of which Mr. Davidson speaks I think that it would be desirable for these contacts to be taken up again so that we could advance on the road to unification of our respective movements.

As for the motives which impelled Zambian authorities to expel me from their country in 1967 after imprisoning me for six days without trial, it is good that Mr. Basil Davidson should have drawn overhastly conclusions. I shall content myself to relegate this affair of historical dimensions to posterity as part of the true struggle we are waging here, once we have taken up our arms.

The people of China, Korea and the heroic Vietnamese people have triumphed because they have adopted correct revolutionary principles for a just struggle. The brothers of Algeria have written a glorious page in the history of armed struggle of the weak peoples on our Continent. Here we do not have to invent much but we can draw on the experiences of the other peoples who have won the fight in other regions. However, UNITY in Angola remains the most powerful tool in our hands against the manoeuvres of the close and direct enemy or against the distant enemy who prefers subtlety in order to increase even further the dissensions in the heart of our national liberation movement.

UNITY of people in its class divisions with different interests MUST BE FOLLOWED BY UNITY of action between the different liberation movements in Angola. This task of unifying the liberation movements has been entrusted to the O.A.U. and neighbouring African countries. If they fail, the Angolan people will be called upon to succeed in achieving this with their committed struggle in the past 10 years, for UNITY is the only guarantee for our victory under less painful conditions.

For time being, UNITA will carry on fighting within the country, and if necessary, fight alone.

With thanks and best wishes,

Dr. JONAS M. SAVIMBI

(President of UNITA and Commander-in-Chief
of the Armed Forces of Angola- FALA)

Terra-Livre de Angola
10.1. 1971
ANGOLA.