

THE MPLA - GRAE OPPORTUNISTIC RECONCILIATION

On the 8th June 1972, President SeSe Mobutu of the Republic of Zaire and President Ngouabi of the People's Republic of Congo issued a joint communique announcing the "reconciliation" of the two Angolan leaders of the two Angolan liberation movements, the GRAE of Holden Roberto based in the Republic of Zaire, and the MPLA of Agostinho Neto based in Congo-Brazaville and Zambia.

The Third Angolan Liberation Movement, UNITA, led by Jonas Savimbi and based inside Angola was not consulted or invited to the reconciliation summitry of the leaders of the two Congos, and of the two Angolan movements.

It was later reported that this reconciliation exercise between the two exiled Angolan groups received formal blessings from the last OAU Conference held in Rabat, Morocco.

UNITA welcomes and indeed applauds any genuine move towards the reconciliation of the Angolan Liberation Movements on basis of a revolutionary programme. On the other hand, UNITA, as a revolutionary movement representing essentially the class interests of the majority of the oppressed African people of Angola will denounce and condemn any African leader or liberation movement leader totally committed to an unrealistic marriage of convenience.

1. The Historical significance of opportunistic reconciliation

UNITA as a liberation movement leading the people's war in Angola, and representing the majority of the African people in Angola has a duty to examine objectively the basis and the historical significance of this diplomatic exercise initiated and imposed by the Presidents of the two Congos.

One must note that the two Congos do not have any fraternal or diplomatic relations. The two presidents, Ngouabi and Mobutu are not even reconciled themselves, but still they are determined to reconcile the irreconcilables of the Angolan political movements, MPLA and GRAE.

Many sons and daughters of Africa have already been sacrificed in the altar of political expediency in the name of African "reconciliation" and brotherhood. Great African patriots, like Patrice Lumumba, fighters like Pierre Mulele, patriots like Ben Barka and many others were victims of this shameful political expediency.

The new generation of African patriots and freedom fighters, therefore, must draw historical lessons from such bitter and tragic experiences. Any reconciliation move or any united front aimed at eliminating progressive people and groups of Angola will never work because the basis of such reconciliation is based on reactionary motivations and policies. Above all, two reactionary movements and leaders can not and will never succeed to create a progressive leader or movement.

2. The role of the OAU and Neighbouring Countries.

UNITA has no intention of undermining the status and prestige of the Organization of African Unity, OAU. UNITA does recognize that despite all their good will and common efforts, the truth and the naked reality of the struggle of the Angolan people against Portuguese colonialism and international imperialism in Angola lies and depends ultimately upon the fighting forces of the African revolution inside Angola and not from the exiled headquarters where leaders and parties are openly manipulated by international forces working against the interests of a genuine African liberation.

UNITA recognizes the importance of the neighbouring countries, the People's Republic of Congo, the Republic of Zaire and the Republic of Zambia. The importance and the assistance given by the neighbouring countries will be greater and more effective if liberation movements of Angola use these countries as logistic and transit points, and not ultimate and permanent bases of political procrastination of exiled politics.

UNITA does canvass for African support, because the total liberation of Angola is part and parcel of the total liberation of the Continent of Africa. UNITA needs concrete international solidarity of all anti-imperialist forces, because the struggle against imperialism is one and indivisible. But, UNITA as a revolutionary movement knows too well that the Angolan liberation struggle must be fought by Angolans and on the Angolan soil. UNITA knows too well that the price of freedom is the patriotic blood of the African people inside Angola. Portugal and its Allies will never negotiate with anybody in Angola unless Africans in Angola unite as a mighty force and defeat Portugal on the battle-field.

3. UNITA concrete efforts to the cause of Angolan Unity

Since the formation of UNITA in March 1966, it made concrete and genuine efforts to the cause of the Angolan unity. Contacts through letters, memoranda, meetings were made with the two leaders of MPLA and UPA, with the Liberation Committee of the OUA, and with the presidents of the respective neighbouring countries. For the record, UNITA will start to publish systematically all the relevant correspondence with the MPLA, UPA, OAU Liberation Committee and the presidents of Congo -Crazaville, Zambia, and Republic of Zaire, and Tanzania.

The two letters published in this Kwacha speak for themselves. Other letters and memoranda will follow in due course.

In 1966 and 1967, president of UNITA, Jonas Savimbi, met the leaders of GRAE and the MPLA in Lusaka-Zambia, and in Cairo-Egypt for talks on an eventual formation of an Angolan united Front. The encounters did not produce any tangible results, because the conditions proposed and advanced by UPA-Holden and MPLA-Neto were not realistic and serious.

In July and August 1966, UNITA met one of the leaders of MPLA, Anibal de Melo in Lusaka-Zambia. Unfortunately, these contacts did not bear fruit. It turned out that the MPLA leaders were not interested at all in unity on basis of a concrete revolutionary programme, but in having the UNITA leader, Jonas Savimbi expelled from Zambia. MPLA leaders went to the extent of proposing unity talks to take place not in Lusaka, but in Dar es Sallam, Tanzania. The MPLA efforts were crowned with success when the UNITA president, Jonas Savimbi, was sent out of Zambia in 1967.

In September 1966 Holden Roberto, president of UPA-GRAE was in Lusaka, Zambia. In Zambia Roberto Holden met the president of UNITA, Jonas Savimbi, for talks about the formation of an Angolan united Front. The conditions proposed and offered by Roberto Holden, were as follows:

- 1) Dissolution of UNITA inside and outside Angola, and the integration of UNITA militants and leaders into UPA-GRAE group as individuals.
- 2) Jonas Savimbi, president of UNITA, should write an open letter of apology for his famous and important statement of resignation from UPA-GRAE in 1964. The declaration of Savimbi was issued in Cairo in 1964, and it was reported in international press.

In 1967, during the Conference of Five African Countries in Cairo, the president of UNITA, Jonas Savimbi, was ready to meet the President of MPLA, Agostinho Neto, again for talks about the formation of an Angolan united front. The initiative itself to hold such talks came from the government of United-Arab Republic (UAR). But, once more, the proposal was squarely rejected by Agostinho Neto, the president of MPLA.

In 1968, the UNITA president moved permanently inside Angola. 1968 was the year of the re organization and consolidation of UNITA inside Angola. So, in 1969, another effort towards the formation of an Angolan united front was made by UNITA.

In 1969, a special letter was sent to the president of Zaire, then Congo-Kinshasa, Mobutu, through his Foreign Minister, Mr. Justin Bomboko. This letter clearly advocated and proposed concretely what should be done for the creation of a democratic united front of the Angolan liberation movements.

Before, negotiations could take place, in a typical Holden Roberto diplomatic game, the letter was publicly read by Holden Roberto's Vice president, Emmanuel Kunzika, presently languishing in Holden Roberto's gaols, in World Assembly Youth Congress held in Liege, Brussels in 1969. President Joseph Mobutu himself never bothered to reply the letter and the propositions made by UNITA.

On June 10th 1970, another letter was sent to the Government of the People's Republic of Congo through its Ambassador in Cairo-UAR. The letter was the logical outcome of various contacts with the officials and diplomatic officials of the People's Republic of Congo. In this long letter, UNITA exposed the entire situation of the Angolan struggle, its failures and successes, and its inherent difficulties. The letter signed by three members of UNITA central Committee asked the Vice-president of the People's Republic of Congo, then, Mr. Raoul, to offer to Angolan liberation movements its good offices for contacts as initial stages for the formation of a Democratic United Front. Again, there was no response at all.

Contacts with Zambia were assiduously made through the Zambian Press. In the last Non-Aligned Summit held in Lusaka, Zambia, in 1970, the delegation of UNITA to the Conference met various African delegations to discuss on the same issue, but without avail. The letter which is being published here as an answer from Mr. A.M. Milner, the Secretary-General to the Government of the Republic of Zambia is clear and speaks for itself.

From 1969 to 1972, annual memoranda and letters have been sent to the Secretary of the OAU-Liberation Committee, Mr. George Mangombe. Also, one of the replies from Mr. George Mangombe on Angolan unity is published in this Kwacha-Information Bulletin. Unfortunately, all our pleas, memoranda, letters fell on dead hears. The latest Memoranda on unity was sent to the presidents of Mauritania, Tanzania, Kannyatta, Mobutu and Ngouabi. But, still Mr. Mobutu and Ngouabi decided to ignore UNITA's efforts on the question of reconciliation. UNITA has been ready to meet any Angolan liberation movement for talks, and produce a revolutionary programme that will meet the concrete needs of the Angolan struggle, and not to please, this or that African leader, this or that Great Power. And since, every Angolan liberation movement is claiming to have liberated areas, UNITA proposed to all of them to come to their liberated areas and there with the Angolan people inside Angola to deal thoroughly with the question of Angolan unity. Unfortunately, movements with liberated areas prefer to discuss national questions outside liberated areas, as they put it "for security reasons"!...

4... Reconciliation and International Politics.

Certainly, these reconciliation moves going on in Africa, in Angola and in the world over, are by no means accidental. Even the Super-Powers, USA and Soviet Union have been reconciled in many issues, mainly on the question of people's liberation struggles around the world. Liberation movements which have been at mercy of USA and Soviet manipulations had to follow the same international trend, - the diplomatic padding in the tidal waters of peaceful coexistence.

The reconciliation moves are occurring at a time when president Ngouabi and Sese Mobutu, who are not reconciled, are looking for a formula for their own entente and rapprochement; at a time when the relations between Portugal and Zaire are getting better and better; at a time when all the enemies and agents of imperialism in Africa are spreading rumours that Portugal is about to negotiate with the Angolan liberation movements as a unified force. What an illusion!...

It is an illusion, because the prime Minister of Portugal, Mr. Marcelo Caetano, in a recent statement, published in the Diario de Lisboa of July 4th 1972, stated unequivocally that Africa does not belong to Africans as well as Americas does not belong to the Red Indians. Caetano went on by saying that the world belong to human beings, and Portugal will never abandon the Oversea Provinces and our Portuguese brothers who live in the Oversea Provinces where they formed their welfare and forged their destinies. Portugal will never negotiate, said Caetano, because this is tantamount to capitulation.

It is also an open secret that the MPLA has totally failed in the Cabinda province. Cabinda is today an eldorado for USA-Gulf Oil Company. It is becoming evident that MPLA is failing in Eastern part of Angola where MPLA tried to eliminate physically and politically UNITA. Consequently, the sole alternative for MPLA to survive as a political movement is to compromise with Holden Roberto in Zaire, and to compromise with president Mobutu who only supports Roberto Holden for the acquisition of a military exile-base to operate from. But, any Angolan who knows Mr. Roberto Holden well knows also that MPLA is heading to a dangerous abyss.

On the other hand, Mr. Holden Roberto who used the Zaire soldiers and helicopters to assault his own military camp in Kinkusu on 17th March 1972 almost ceased to be a liberation movement. Only a recognition of the OAU could save Roberto and his defunct movement from this predicament. The OAU few years ago decided to recognize only the MPLA. Consequently, Roberto Holden in order to be recognized by the OAU and its Liberation Committee had to make another compromise with MPLA which is solely recognized by OAU.

The historical experience of many anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggles around the world taught us that whenever imperialists find a particular part of the colonized world strategically and economically important, will fight to a bitter end. The Vietnamese situation and its heroic people's war is a typical case. The Algerian liberation war against French colonialism is still fresh in our memories. Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe will not be exceptions.

The NATO imperialist powers are heavily involved in Angola. They would rather see the African population depleted than losing their military and strategic bases in the Portuguese colonies.

5. The Strategic importance of ANGOLA

The strategic and economic importance of Angola to imperialists is obvious. Because of a unique relation of the Zaire Republic to strategic position of the Cabinda Enclave, the Gulf Oil Company of USA, the Republic of Zaire and the People's Republic of Congo have been coveting Cabinda. Cabinda is also very rich in mineral resources, mainly gold, Oil, diamonds, coffee, and wood.

Angola serves as a door to one of the most minerally rich parts of Africa- the Republic of Congo(Zaire). In the event of a further domestic troubles, says the arguments of USA and Belgium imperialists, Angola once again will be used as a base of operations to restore "law and order" in that part of Africa.

Similarly, Angola's size and proximity offers obvious advantages over the British-owned Ascension Islands which is one of the British military bases.

Angola and Mozambique secure the strategic flanks of South Africa and Rhodesia, which are extremely strategic, militarily and economically to the imperialists and racialist domination in Southern Africa.

6... UNITA, a liberation movement without illusions.

A liberation struggle led by a revolutionary leadership and Party is a Science and an Art. A revolutionary Party, armed with the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, bases its correct strategy and policies and tactics on the concrete conditions of the struggle, and on concrete daily experiences of the oppressed masses. It includes, above all, the ability of the leaders whose lives are bound up with the interests of the toiling masses, who share in their aspirations and are selflessly devoted to them.

An important part of the art and science of political revolutionary leadership is the ability of the Party to UNITE its efforts with the efforts of all those with whom it is possible to achieve unity of action and in the struggle, including those with whom there are differences on fundamental questions. This has been UNITA's consistent revolutionary stand. Unity of Angolan groups imposed from outside Angola in order to help and fit a certain "politique d'etat" of a particular African state or great power will never work, because this unity is not dictated by the concrete conditions prevailing inside Angola. This unity is dangerous and bound to fail.

UNITA, is therefore, without illusions that the only way for the oppressed African masses of Angola to eradicate colonialism and imperialist relations is through a revolutionary armed struggle within Angola, a struggle which springs from a direct confrontation with the Portuguese colonialism, and drawing its strength from the exploited and disinherited African people of ANGOLA. Any other "magic" formula engineered and cooked up in any African or European capital aimed at solving the problem of colonialism in Angola is nothing but a hand skilled in the art of political manipulation and deception used to turn the liberation forces away from the scene of confrontation and then fix their gazes upon remote pastures.

For UNITA and the oppressed people of Angola, the most distressing aspect in all these moves is that most of African countries, and liberation movements, even the progressive ones, are being taken for a ride. They do not recognize the snare. Even as the imperialist hangman puts the noose round the neck of Africa and liberation movements, they cheer and clap hands believing this to be a rope thrown to a drowning man to save his life. What pity!,,,

And because UNITA was not invited by Mobutu and Ngouabi to join the reconciliation summitry, OAU and Liberation Committee will be used once again to isolate the revolutionary forces born and fighting inside Angola, little knowing that by so doing they are

playing a perfidious role which will halt the glorious pace towards the total emancipation of the African people in Angola, and that of Africa.

There is no shortcut to freedom, there is no cheap way of getting liberation. Angolans in Angola must pay the price for it. The highest price for freedom in Angola is the Angolan blood. And today, Angolans know too well that Portugal in Angola will not be defeated by a torrent of pious resolutions of the OAU, or of the United Nations Organizations, or even by an African military brigade. Portugal will surely be defeated by an Angolan people's war guided by a revolutionary leadership who are led by the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism which they must relate to the Angolan specific conditions.

UNITA reiterates its readiness to join hands with other Angolan liberation groups willing to unite on the basis of a programme of action that will be in the high interest of the Angolan people. And since UNITA, MPLA and GRAE say to have liberated areas in Angola, then, we must deal with the question of a democratic united front inside the liberated areas and from there produce a common programme, that will make Portuguese Colonialism the first and primary contradiction of our struggle.

UNITA, however, will refuse to form a single united bloc with any of the Angolan groups aimed at isolating or destroying the third one. In order to be realistic, all the Angolan patriots willing to fight Portuguese presence in Angola must join this United Democratic Front. African leaders and countries can only help Angolans in this question and not dictate or impose any formula upon Angolans.

The question of unity is a complex one. UNITA will systematically publish all relevant documents on unity from now on. Another comprehensive document on unity will be published very soon.

