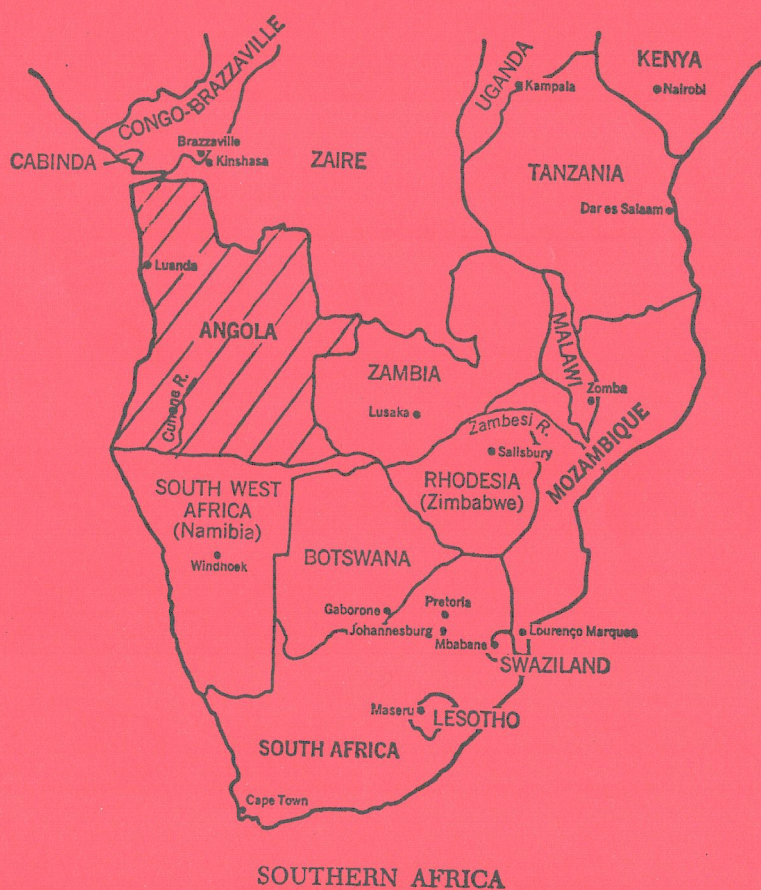


ANGOLA'S REVOLUTIONARY NATIONAL WAR and THE STRUGGLE FOR PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM



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"Leninism...recognises the existence of revolutionary capacities in the national liberation movement of the oppressed countries, and the possibility of using these for overthrowing the common enemy, for overthrowing imperialism....Hence the necessity for the proletariat of the 'dominant' nations to support - resolutely and actively to support - the national liberation movement of the oppressed and dependent peoples.

...This does not mean, of course, that the proletariat must support every national movement, everywhere and always, in every individual concrete case. It means that support must be given to such national movements as tend to weaken, to overthrow imperialism, and not to strengthen and preserve it."

Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, Eng.ed., Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1970, pp. 73-4.

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PART I

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM: THE QUESTION OF SUPPORT

On November 11, 1975, the nation of Angola won independence from Portugal after almost 500 years of struggle against colonial rule. Anti-imperialist, democratic peoples throughout the world rejoiced at this victory of the Angolan people. But two lines solidified over how to give genuine support to this anti-imperialist struggle. The People's Republic of China condemned all foreign intervention into the internal affairs of Angola, and urged the three liberation organizations to unite so as to strengthen the Angolan people's fight against imperialism, colonialism, and feudalism. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, also in the name of socialism, sent in large numbers of weapons and "advisors" and transported Cuban troops to Angola, to encourage one of the liberation organizations to fight the other two.

Within the U.S. progressive movement, the Guardian,* for example, waged an active struggle to criticize the democratic stand of the People's Republic of China and put forward "Support the M.P.L.A."** as the correct slogan. In the process, they distorted the Chinese position saying that China had sided with the U.S. government by supporting F.N.L.A. and U.N.I.T.A.. The People's Republic of China, however, has consistently explained its principled, anti-imperialist stand: "We have always treated the three Angolan liberation organizations on the same basis and in a friendly way," explained the Chinese representative to the United Nations, "and we provided them with various kinds of assistance including military assistance, in their struggle against Portuguese colonialism. In our opinion, the three Angolan liberation organizations are fraternal organizations, who were comrades-in-arms in the days of arduous anti-colonial armed struggle. They have every reason to restore their unity and no reason whatsoever for confrontation, division and war. That is why we have been trying to persuade them to seek common ground while putting aside their differences and to unite against the enemy. After they reached agreement with the Portuguese Government on achieving independence at a scheduled date, we stopped giving new military aid to the three liberation organizations..." (Peking Review, 12/12/75)

The two lines that developed over how to support a revolutionary national war like that in Angola can be reduced to:

1. Choose one group; support it as the most "progressive"; encourage it to fight the other "reactionary" groups; or
2. Support all revolutionaries who fight the imperialists and encourage them to unite against the common enemy.

Struggles are now raging throughout Southern Africa - in Azania (South Africa), Namibia (Southwest Africa) and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). In all of these situations, there are two or more liberation groups fighting the colonialists. This will result in problems similar to those that developed in the course of the Angolan struggle unless the necessary lessons are drawn from the experience of the struggle

*See Appendix II (p.24) for an analysis of The Guardian's "Internationalism".
**MPLA is the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, FNLA is the National Front for the Liberation of Angola, UNITA is the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

in Angola. Also, this struggle in Angola will continue as long as foreign troops occupy the country and as long as the liberation groups are pitted against each other.

The struggle against the distortions propagated around the Angolan struggle will continue until the principles for genuine proletarian internationalist support have been firmly established, and resolutely and actively applied.

I. GUIDANCE FOR A SCIENTIFIC ANSWER TO THE QUESTION OF SUPPORT.

"To 'seek truth from facts,' is the scientific approach." As Mao in his article "On New Democracy" explains: "There is but one truth, and the question of whether or not one has arrived at it depends not on subjective boasting but on objective practice. The only yardstick of truth is the revolutionary practice of millions of people."* In 1949, the People's Republic of China was established as an independent, New Democratic, state. The revolutionary practice of millions of Chinese people demonstrated the truth of the laws of struggle of national revolutionary war which were discovered, tested, and propagated by The Communist Party of China. The Communist Party of China learned through their own revolutionary experience that the call for unity against the common enemy was indeed genuine support for a national liberation struggle. And they applied that lesson when they took their position of support for the struggle in Angola.

The Communist Party of China, the party of the proletariat, was able to unite all the revolutionary classes in China and lead them to victory because they were able to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. In "On New Democracy", Mao summarizes the important historical lessons learned by the Chinese people in the course of their revolutionary struggle. Particularly relevant towards analyzing the recent controversy over the question of genuine support for the liberation struggle in Angola is the lesson that in the age of imperialism, a national liberation struggle in a colonial or neo-colonial nation must go through two stages - 1. The New Democratic Revolution and 2. The Socialist Revolution.

The democratic stage in the struggle of an oppressed nation fighting against imperialism is not the same as the bourgeois democratic revolution that was carried out in the capitalist countries before World War I. In the era of imperialism and the establishment of the first socialist states, the strength of proletarian forces help to determine the character and the goals of the revolutionary national liberation struggles. With the example, encouragement, guidance and material support from genuine socialist countries, the proletariat within the revolutionary national liberation struggles are strength-

*Selected Works, English edition, FLP, Peking, 1967, Vol II, pp. 339-340.

ened to give leadership to the struggles. Also, the dual character of the national bourgeoisie in an oppressed nation means that though it is oppressed by imperialism and will at times join the united front against the common enemy, it also tends to conciliate with imperialism. Consequently it has proven itself incapable of leading the revolutionary national war. Whereas, the proletariat has proven itself a staunch fighter who will persist in carrying out the New Democratic revolution and guiding it towards socialism. On the other hand, the imperialists in their struggle for hegemony will not allow a bourgeois democratic society to emerge. Instead they will each do all in their power to bring any attempt at bourgeois democratic capitalist development into a subordinate neo-colonial relationship with the imperialist power victorious in the struggle for hegemony.

The New Democratic revolution is won by a united front of all revolutionary classes, strata and people led by the proletariat. This joint dictatorship of anti-imperialist, revolutionary classes is necessary to change the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society into an independent, democratic society.(i.e. independent of all foreign domination.) Just as the New Democratic form of government is different from the old style bourgeois democratic government that served the bourgeoisie during the epoch of capitalist world revolution, so the New Democratic economy is different from the capitalist society of the European and American type. Since the New Democratic revolution is directed against imperialism and feudalism, it allows the development of such private capitalist economy as will benefit and not "dominate the livelihood of the people".

New Democracy provides for the development of a restricted but also protected private capitalist economy. This attacks imperialism at its very roots and so is firmly opposed by the imperialists.*

*In On Coalition Government, Mao explains that the economy of New Democracy includes:

- 1)On the land question -- "land to the tiller."
- 2)On the question of industry and commerce--state operation of monopolistic industries and those too big for private management.
- 3)the protection of private capital and private property. "It is foreign oppression and feudal oppression that cruelly fetter the development of the individual initiative of the Chinese people, hamper the growth of private capital and destroy the property of the people. It is the very task of the New Democracy we advocate to remove these fetters and stop this destruction, to guarantee that the people can freely develop their individuality within the framework of society and freely develop such private capitalist economy as will benefit and not 'dominate the livelihood of the people' and to protect all appropriate forms of private property."(April 25, 1945, ibid., vol III, p. 231.)

The revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people provide a crucial lesson for fighting revolutionary national wars against imperialist oppression and feudal domination. The lesson is that only once this first stage of a New Democratic Republic is successfully carried through, is it possible to move to the stage of building a socialist society. It is this lesson of the necessity of such a two stage revolution that the Soviet Union and its apologists like Irwin Silber of the Guardian attacked under the divisive and misleading slogan around the struggle in Angola--'Support the M.P.L.A.'

The history of 5 centuries of anti-colonial resistance which culminated in the outbreak of massive guerrilla warfare in various sections of Angola makes it clear that the people of Angola will resist all foreign aggression. The masses of peasants, contract laborers, urban petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals who fought with all three liberation organizations--with the M.P.L.A., U.N.I.T.A. and F.N.L.A.--have demonstrated in the heat of revolutionary national war that they will fight, not compromise with imperialism. To reduce the question of Angola, like the Guardian and others have, to whether Holden Roberto (leader of F.N.L.A.) and Jonas Savimbi (leader of U.N.I.T.A.) took aid from the C.I.A. is to demonstrate a profound ignorance of the whole nature of the revolutionary national struggle in Angola. The question is primarily not "who they took aid from" but "who they directed their struggle against." This is the question--who they direct their struggle against--that must be asked at each twist and turn about all national liberation organizations.

II. THE HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE (1483-1975)

The Portuguese colonial rape of Angola lasted for almost 5 centuries beginning in 1483. The Angola the Portuguese colonized consisted of several different feudal kingdoms. Throughout this 500 years, the Angolan people waged an active resistance against Portuguese rule and every colonial crime committed against the people. The Portuguese colonists fought tribal leaders and peasants, murdering, beating and cheating them. By the force of superior arms, at least 4 million Angolan people were rounded up and shipped off as slaves. Formally ending in the late 1850's, this slave trade continued for 25 years after that and remnants of it remain in the forced labor that was typical until the end of Portuguese colonial rule in 1975.

One example of resistance against colonial rule was the war waged by the Bakongo people of Northern Angola against the Portuguese in the 1600's. The slave trade was devastating their society. The peasants fought against the Portuguese taking slaves and were defeated by October 9, 1665. The Portuguese killed the defeated king and put his head on display in a chapel on Luanda Bay. The

Bakongo peasants, defeated by conventional warfare, turned to protracted guerrilla warfare and continued their resistance against all attempts to conquer their land and to enslave them. The popular rebellion ebbed and flowed, but developed particularly in the 1859-1914 era after the Portuguese decided to try to annex the Bakongo region as a northern district of the Province of Angola. There were battles nearly every year from 1579-1921.

In 1860, for example, a Portuguese force of 700 Europeans was dispatched from Lisbon. It failed to put down the peasant rebellions and after the successful peasant struggle (the Dembros War, 1872-73) the Portuguese were forced to withdraw the hut tax they had tried to levy against the peasants. In 1913-14, in a rebellion led by Tulante Alvaro Buta, the Bakongo peasants rose up against the Portuguese appointment of a puppet king. The anti-colonial demands of this rebellion were:

- 1) That the Portuguese secretary to the King be dismissed.
- 2) That the King be deposed and certain hated individuals be exiled.
- 3) That an end be made to official recruitment of workers for private enterprises (forced labor).
- 4) That no Bakongos be made to work outside the area of their native language.

The history of Bakongo peasant resistance to Portuguese colonial rule continued through the 20th century and culminated in 1961 in an uprising which started on a coffee plantation in the Bakongo region.

III. COLONIALISM, IMPERIALISM AND THE ECONOMY OF ANGOLA

In the last 100 years, the Angolan economy has had a colonial, semi-feudal, semi-slave character. Chattel slavery practiced by the Portuguese in Angola for the first 400 years of their rule was replaced by forced labor in the 1870's. An 1878 labor code and an 1899 regulation said that Angolan slaves were "free", but that semi-slavery (called forced labor) was now necessary. The government had the right to require African Angolans to work on European owned plantations.

The Portuguese forced the village chiefs to administer the colonial economy. They would require these chiefs to provide a certain number of forced laborers or to collect a certain amount of taxes. If the chief failed, he would be beaten or jailed. Also, whatever crops the colonial administration wanted, had to be produced by everyone strong enough to work. This order was given to Africans throughout the country and was enforced by the state power held by the Portuguese.

By the 1900's the "Great" Powers of Europe had completed their division of the world. Portugal, a relatively weak imperialist power was able to maintain her colonies because of the interimperialist

rivalry between England and her rivals. As Lenin, in Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism explains:

"Portugal is an independent sovereign state, but actually, for more than two hundred years, since the war of Spanish Succession (1701-14) it has been a British protectorate. Great Britain has protected Portugal and her colonies in order to fortify her own position in the fight against her rivals, Spain and France. In return Great Britain has received commercial privileges, preferential conditions for importing goods and especially capital into Portugal and the Portuguese colonies, the right to use the ports and islands of Portugal, her telegraph cables, etc. Relations of this kind have always existed between big and little states, but in the epoch of capitalist imperialism they become a general system, they form part of the sum total of 'divide the world' relations, become links in the chain of operations of world finance capital."*

Portugal used Angola as a market to dump those Portuguese goods that could not be sold elsewhere. But Portugal demanded that Angola maintain a balanced budget by producing enough goods for export to balance out the imports she absorbed from Portugal. In this way Angola gathered in foreign currency for her exports and paid them to Portugal for the goods (mainly wine and textiles) Portugal dumped in her colony. Portuguese capital was mainly concentrated in agriculture, light industry and in banking. Basically this monopoly stranglehold over the colony of Angola produced economic stagnation there until after World War II.

By the end of WWII, the U.S. imperialists had replaced Great Britain as the foremost imperialist power in the world. Portugal continued to rule in her colonies but with the U.S. imperialists as her protector she was obliged to serve the dictates of U.S. finance capital.

After WWII, the price of coffee jumped on the world market. This stimulated the Angolan colonial oligarchy (ruling elite) to increase the production of coffee. (During 1945-60 Angola became the first producer of coffee in Africa and the third or fourth in the world.) European companies and farmers gained considerable profits, but the African farmer and laborer suffered increasing exploitation and oppression. In the 1950's a new wave of Portuguese settlers came to Angola. They stole land from the African peasants. The peasants fought back. The colonial government forced the peasants to work on the land as contract laborers, under primitive working conditions, at barely subsistence wages, and subjected them to corporal punishment if they resisted these wretched conditions. These were some of the conditions that led to the uprising in the Northern area of Angola in 1961.

*Eng.ed., FLP, Peking, 1973, pp.102-103.

The primary market for coffee in post war Angola was the U.S. (In 1970, the U.S. received approximately half of Angola's coffee). The first signs of large expansion of mineral exports stemmed from a Gulf Oil concession granted in 1957. International finance capital, often with minority participation of Portuguese finance capitalists, was concentrated in the rapidly expanding mineral sector. This pattern appeared within the banking sector financing colonial development of Angola's mineral wealth, as well. Portugal's entry into N.A.T.O. was accompanied by dependence created through loans from the U.S. At the same time there was an increase in American investment in Portugal. Portuguese military cooperation with the U.S. in N.A.T.O. ensured that by 1961, when the rebellion in Angola broke out, the Portuguese military were primarily equipped and trained with American weapons.

In the 1960's, as foreign companies expanded into Angola, four of Portugal's biggest banks moved into Angola. Two of these banks had recently become tied with British banks, (One of which was partly owned by Chase Manhattan Bank of New York). During this period finance capitalists set up a pattern of joint investments in Angola. For example the Angol-Petrangol oil complex involved Portuguese, Belgian, French, American and South African finance capitalists.. U.S. finance capitalists, however, sought dominance. U.S. corporations, through their tax payments made it possible for the Portuguese government to finance the war. The production of Gulf Oil's Cabinda wells by 1972 provided one fourth of the export earnings of Angola.

IV. THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE: UPSURGE IN 1961

In the 1950's, the Portuguese colonial administration in Angola intensified their policy of political subjugation. The term 'colony' was dropped and replaced by the term 'overseas province.' Religion and education were used to try to assimilate a small percentage of Africans into Portuguese bourgeois culture. And the PIDE, the secret police of Portugal developed an extensive network of repression in Angola.

Throughout the 1950's there was a resurgence of clandestine political and cultural activity in Angola. The "Discovering Angola" cultural movement helped to re-establish a national identity. Members researched old newspapers, pamphlets and books and rediscovered anti-colonial culture created between 1870 and 1930. (Between 1910 and 1928 there had been a bourgeois republic with minimal democratic rights in Portugal which allowed some minimal open expression of anti-colonial sentiment and political activity in Portuguese colonies) Among the students and intelligentsia who took part in the "Discovering Angola" movement, anti-colonial national culture was revived in opposition to the total adherence to Portuguese bourgeois

culture demanded by the colonial administration.

Much, but not all, of the political activity of the 1950's was among students, intellectuals and the urban petty bourgeoisie (e.g. lower level government clerks). There was also resistance among workers. In 1954, for example, an organization of Ovimbundu railwaymen was formed in Nova Lisboa. Also there were movements for national independence that developed among peasants sometimes taking the form of religious sects (like the followers of an Angolan prophet Simão Toko). By 1955, the Angolan Communist Party appeared and did clandestine work in Luanda. A new party appeared in 1956 (which may have been related to the Angolan Communist Party) and in December 1956 this group joined with other secret organizations to form the Angolan Popular Liberation Movement (M.P.L.A.).

During the same period, a struggle developed in the Bakongo region (the coffee growing areas) among the peasants. There was widespread resistance to forced labor. The American consulate encouraged some Bakongo leaders to try to elect a strong local king. The Portuguese, opposed these efforts. The failure of this struggle even further inflamed the Bakongo people. Some leaders who were in exile in Leopoldville then took measures to appeal for international publicity. A letter was sent to the U.N. Secretary General. In July, 1957, several Bakongo militants formed an organization called Unity of the People of the North of Angola (U.P.N.A.) to continue the resistance struggle.

A representative was invited to Ghana the next year to take part in the All African People's Conference. Holden Roberto, a leader of U.P.N.A. was chosen to go. While at the conference, African leaders like Nkrumah and Sekou Touré encouraged Roberto to win his organization to a national rather than regional focus. By December 5, 1958, Holden Roberto circulated a manifesto from his organization whose name was changed to "Unity of the People of Angola" (U.P.A.) and calling for national liberation for all of Angola. The organization undertook an international campaign to achieve recognition of the struggle in Angola. They also did work inside the country, smuggling in a torrent of mimeographed leaflets in various languages. Party members of different ethnic origins were helped to be on the leading committee in an effort to overcome the narrow tribal orientation contributed by the predominance of Bakongo people in U.P.A..

During the same period in Southern and Central Angola, there was a popularization of nationalist sentiment among students in Ovimbundu areas. The anti-colonial liberation struggle in the Congo provided them with inspiration to intensify their struggle for independence from colonial rule. Representatives of various groups would try to make contact with larger organizations like M.P.L.A. and U.P.A. On June 30, 1960, colonial officials, aware of local interest in the Belgium Congo's independence struggle, decided to hold a mass

"loyalty" demonstration. They recruited hundreds of villagers, providing free transportation. African teachers and students were required to go. A student leader of one of the local resistance groups refused to attend and was arrested and executed. For the masses who went to the November 14th rallies, the colonial administration's denunciation of the Congolese independence and of Patrice Lumumba, was an exposure of the desperation of Portuguese colonial rule. Why were the Portuguese so anxious to denounce Lumumba? The political awareness of those who were forced to attend this "loyalty" demonstration was heightened. As a result, younger people were able to more actively organize and mobilize the masses for political action against imperialist domination.

By the 1960's the economic devastation of colonial practices led to conditions indeed ripe for an open revolt: "some 2,000,000 Africans had been torn from their social and geographic surrounds, 800,000 were subject to rural forced labor; 350,000 faced underemployment and joblessness in urban areas; and about 1,000,000 Angolan emigres were laboring in the Congo, the Rhodesias and South Africa."*

The combination of wretched oppressive and exploitative working conditions, the stealing of peasant lands, and the wave of nationalist sentiment sweeping Africa at the end of the 1950's prepared the objective conditions for a mass rebellion. And the small educated strata of Africans helped to provide conscious leadership.

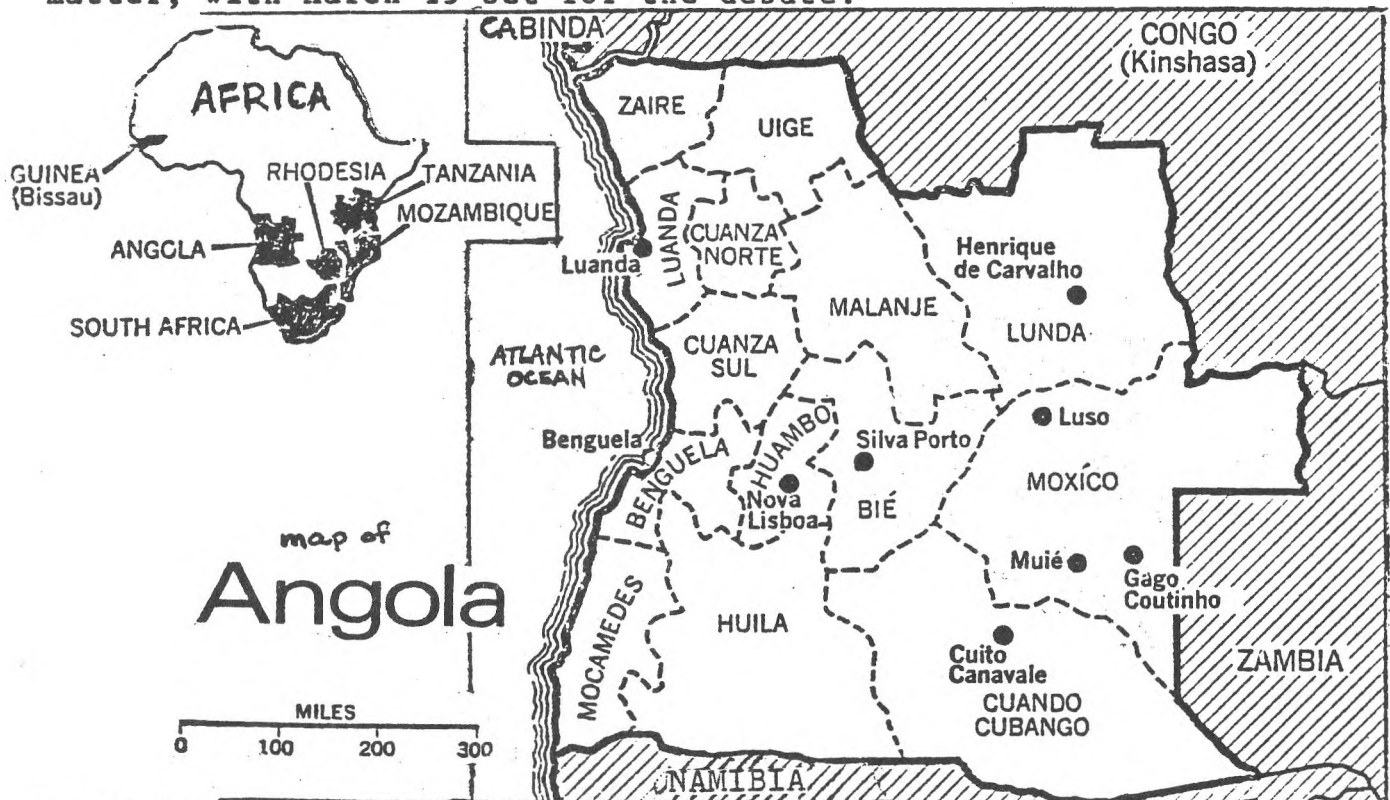
Forced cotton growing was one of the traditions established by the colonists in Angola. African peasants were required to grow cotton on their land. A fall in cotton prices in 1960 in the central Angolan area of Kasanje was followed by failure to pay the peasants who had been forced to grow the cotton. By January, 1961, strikes broke out, then arrests, and then several weeks of rebellion. Many burned their seeds, destroyed barges, slaughtered livestock of the Portuguese colonists, broke into stores and Catholic missions and chased away Europeans. Cutting tools were used to level property and kill cattle, but not to kill people. Portuguese planes and troops were rushed in to firebomb and strafe villages and to try to crush all opposition. (One of the leaders was captured, tortured and finally killed.) F.N.L.A. sources estimate 7,000 Africans were killed. Upwards of 10,000 peasants fled to the Congo (now Zaire) and formed what later became a revolutionary support base for F.N.L.A. military operations back in the area. There was a purposeful news blackout in Angola and throughout the world of this rebellion and the massacre of Africans which followed it, but awareness of the rebellion spread.

In February, 1961, several hundred Africans, armed with knives and clubs mounted an attack on Luanda's main political prison. They

*Quoted in John Marcum, The Angolan Revolution, Vol. I, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1969, p.120.

hoped to free the political prisoners who were slated to be transferred to Portugal (usually to disappear permanently). Some sources believe this uprising to have been initiated by M.P.L.A. Former members of another group, M.L.A., credit their organization (an underground organization made up of students and young intellectuals - independent of M.P.L.A.). Several days later, on February 10, progressive peoples staged a raid on another Luanda prison. This raid also failed. The Portuguese police organized civilian vigilantes and several hundred Africans were slaughtered. During the week of the rioting, a number of M.P.L.A. militants reportedly left Luanda for the interior with the aim of organizing a resistance movement there.

The February rebellion in Luanda attracted world wide attention and the Security Council of the U.N. scheduled a discussion of the matter, with March 15 set for the debate.



On March 15, 1961, a rebellion broke out in Northern Angola. Most sources indicate that extensive underground networks organized by U.P.A. (later to become F.N.L.A.) militants prepared the way for the uprising. Some sources say the uprising was spontaneous, Franz Fanon's widow, Josie Fanon, a friend of Holden Roberto, later claimed that during a visit with her and her husband in Tunis shortly before the uprising, Roberto had said: "Pay close attention to March 15th, the day of the debate in the U.N.; some very important things are going to happen in Angola."*

* ibid., p.140.

On March 10, in the area of the uprising, a U.P.A. organizer spoke to a revolutionary rally which he estimated at 3,000 persons. His instructions were to burn bridges, crops, houses - to destroy property but not persons. The destruction of communications and transportation facilities especially airfields was given top priority. On March 15th the workers on the Primavera coffee plantation turned on their bosses who reportedly opened fire on them when they demanded higher wages and better living conditions. In retaliation, the workers attacked the manager with shovels and machetes and killed him. Several hundred hated colonists were killed in the course of the uprising.*

The rebellion spread. The Portuguese brought NATO trucks and other equipment that had been earmarked for defense of the North Atlantic area. They heavily bombed many areas. White militia roamed and killed at will. 150,000 refugees from the attacked areas streamed into the Congo by the end of the year.

V. THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE: THREE GROUPS GIVE LEADERSHIP

The national liberation struggle of the Angolan people clearly grew out of genuine resistance to colonial oppression. By 1966 there were three organizations giving leadership to this movement. The M.P.L.A. and F.N.L.A. (which had developed out of U.P.A.) grew out of the unrest preceeding the 1961 rebellions. U.N.I.T.A. was formed by Jonas Savimbi who split from F.N.L.A. in 1963. U.N.I.T.A. was developed and grew based on its organization of the struggle among the Ovimbundu and other peasants in Southern Angola. All three groups led and participated in the armed resistance against Portuguese colonial rule. They all sustained themselves through very repressive conditions and active fighting.

Throughout the struggle against Portuguese colonial rule, various outside influences like the Organization of African Unity urged the different organizations to unite. Each group called for a democratic united front to fight against the Portuguese and a Democratic Republic to administer the country. The original statutes which formed the U.P.A. described it as a 'political organization formed for all Africans originally from Angola without discrimination as to sex, ethnic origin, or domicile,' and with the intention of establishing a 'democratic regime for peasants and workers' within an independent Angola.* In 1962, the U.P.A. after merging with other groups changed its name to F.N.L.A. (National Front for the Liberation of Angola). In its program, F.N.L.A. says: "The regime that (they) will establish in Angola will be democratic because the power will be exercised by the people for the people. ...The lands will be distributed to those who work them."**

MPLA, in their minimum program, say: "urgent formation of a solid Angolan front for freedom which will bring together in a larger union all political parties, all popular organizations, all armed forces, all prominent personalities of the country, all religious

*Thomas Okum, Angola in Ferment, Boston, 1962, p.82.

**ibid., p. 121.

organizations, all nationalities or tribes of Angola, without distinction of political leanings, of wealth, sex, age..."*

And U.N.I.T.A., in its Constitution says: "to affirm peremptorily the necessity to form a democratic front of all the fighting forces in Angola..." (Documents of the Third Congress of U.N.I.T.A.)

In 1963, when F.N.L.A. was strong, and strongly fighting the Portuguese, it refused to form a United Front with the M.P.L.A. It held the view that a national front had already been created and was called the F.N.L.A. and that M.P.L.A. could join it at any moment it wished. By 1962, they claimed to have 40,000 members.** From 1961-65, F.N.L.A. was considered the most active movement in Angola.

In 1963, the M.P.L.A. found itself in a crisis. It was split by dissension among its fighters (reportedly 250). The O.A.U. recommended recognition of the F.N.L.A.'s government in exile as the legitimate representative of the Angolan struggle. M.P.L.A. reorganized, sent several leaders off to be educated in Europe and launched a leaders training campaign. They sought Russian and Chinese aid and sent organizers into areas of the country that had not surrendered to the Portuguese or gone over to the F.N.L.A. By 1964, they began to send clandestine leaders into the Eastern Angolan bush. By 1967 to 1969, M.P.L.A. was the only movement pursuing war in as many as four regions.

By 1967, when M.P.L.A. had grown stronger than F.N.L.A., Holden Roberto of the F.N.L.A. said it was not opposed to a united front with M.P.L.A. provided there was "no confusion and no external pressure." J. Savimbi, leader of U.N.I.T.A. said it wanted unity on the basis of a common front, not through amalgamation. M.P.L.A. then refused to form "a common front with splinter groups."***

The constant pressure towards unity both from within each of these organizations and outside led to the December 1972 agreement between F.N.L.A. and M.P.L.A. (reached during the Kinshasa talks held December 11,12,13, 1972). But this agreement was never implemented.

U.N.I.T.A., the latest of the three main liberation groups to form (1966) organized resistance among Ovimbundu peasants, the largest ethnic group in Angola, but did not limit itself to this group. A reporter's account in 1974 was that Savimbi was the only Ovimbundi on the ten member executive council and all the U.N.I.T.A. groups in peasant villages and guerrilla camps were mixed including members of Limba-Cholawe and other tribal groups in the west and southwest.****

Angola is a country made up of people with African and European ancestry, living in towns, cities and in the countryside, practicing many different religions including tribal religions, Catholicism, Protestantism. The people of Angola speak many different languages and dialects. Also, the history of the regions of Angola differ.

*ibid., p.118.

**Emmanuel M. Dube, "Relations Between Liberation Movements and the O.A.U." Essays on the Liberation of Southern Africa, p.48

***ibid.

****Southern Africa, February, 1974.

It is no wonder that there was more than one revolutionary national liberation group. It is to the credit of all three groups that they each attempted to overcome differences among the Angolan people and unite them to fight the common enemies: imperialism; colonialism; feudalism.

As is always their practice, the imperialists constantly tried to play off one organization against another, one ethnic and tribal group against another, one religious group against another, one region against another, etc. But all their efforts were at least temporarily crowned with failure. Portuguese colonial rule in Angola was defeated by the combined efforts of the three liberation groups and Angolans of all descriptions.*

Understanding the long history of anti-imperialist struggle of the Angolan people which won independence after 500 years of resistance to colonial rule and understanding the leadership role of all three groups in the last fourteen years of the struggle, it was correct for democratic people to call for a united front transitional government.

VI. THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE: 1975

On January 31, 1975, a transitional government was sworn in, made up of one representative from each of the three liberation organizations and a twelve member cabinet. (three members each from the liberation movements and three representatives from Portugal). Details of the independence agreement were hammered out during six days of talks between M.P.L.A., U.N.I.T.A., and F.N.L.A. officials. The agreement included the following provisions:

1. A transitional government to be presided over by the Presidential Council of three, one representative from each liberation organization, chairmanship rotates.
2. Armed forces of the three liberation organizations to be integrated with the Portuguese armed forces. 8,000 each from M.P.L.A. and F.N.L.A. and U.N.I.T.A., and 24,000 from Portugal.
3. General elections to be held within nine months of January 31, 1975, for a Constituent Assembly with candidates to come exclusively from the three organizations.

It is in this context that the superpowers, particularly the Soviet Union intervened and instigated a fratricidal war. As Peking Review reports** "In January 1975, about the time of the signing of the Alvor agreement on Angolan Independence, over 100 Soviet military advisors arrived in Angola. Large shipments of arms followed them in March. In July the Soviet Union stirred up Civil War. In September large groups of Cuban troops were dumped in Caxito, Northern Angola. From September 25 - October 23 Moscow sent five shiploads of weapons, over 2,400 mercenaries and in the week ending

*See Appendix I for examples of how 'divide and rule' was used by the Portuguese.

**April 9, 1976.

October 18, more than 750 Cuban soldiers were transported into Angola." The Chinese point out that the large South African invasion was not till after the Soviet Union brought substantial arms and men into Angola. And they ask the Soviet Union the question: 'Whom were you fighting previously' before the South African invasion?

The answer is obviously the Angolan national liberation fighters. The Soviet Union sent its 'mercenaries' into Angola to stir up a civil war by inciting M.P.L.A. to fight against F.N.L.A. and its supporters in the North and U.N.I.T.A. and its supporters in the South. The Peking Review goes on to explain: "As in the days before October 23, the unbridled Soviet actions in Angola were directed against the Angolans and not in the least against the South African troops. After suppressing one liberation organization in early February in Northern Angola, the Soviet Union then directed its mercenaries to launch a massive attack on another liberation organization along the Benguela Railway in Central Angola."*

The Soviet Union which had only given minimal aid during the fight against the Portuguese sent generous amounts of weapons such as tanks, rockets, armoured cars, fighter-bombers of the latest type, etc. after the Angolans won their independence from Portugal. One thousand Soviet military officers and over 10,000 foreign mercenary troops were sent by the Soviet Union to Angola to stir up Civil War. The result was that over 150,000 Africans in Angola were killed with Soviet weapons and many towns and villages destroyed by Soviet bombs. These are clearly not the actions of a socialist country, The Soviet Union was not interested in aiding the long and painful struggle of the Angolan people for independence. Instead, they were creating the conditions to seize naval and air bases in Angola so as to dominate the South Atlantic. They also wanted to use Angola as a base to expand into central and southern Africa to try to sabotage other national liberation movements in Southern Africa and to allow them to gain control over the region's rich and strategic resources.

The Angolan people have fought Portuguese colonialists heroically for over five centuries. They finally achieved victory. They will continue to fight until all foreign domination has been wiped off their soil.

VII. THE TWO LINES: Support the MPLA, It is the Socialist Group
or Support the Three Liberation Organizations which
 Have Fought Against Imperialism.

The position has been put forward that the M.P.L.A. is socialist and should therefore be singled out as the only legitimate liberation group, the only group worthy of progressive support. This position is a distortion of both the nature of the M.P.L.A. and of the prin-

*April 9, 1976.

ciples of proletarian internationalism. In Foundations of Leninism, Stalin explains the tremendous potential strength of the national liberation movements of the oppressed countries and the 'possibility of using these for overthrowing the common enemy, for overthrowing imperialism'. Stalin goes on to explain the necessity for the proletariat of the 'dominant' nations (imperialist nations) to support, resolutely and actively to support, "...such national movements as tend to weaken, to overthrow imperialism and not to strengthen and preserve it."* Since all three liberation organizations fought and weakened Portuguese colonial rule, all three deserved to be supported, resolutely and actively.

In February, 1976, the Monthly Review published an article, "The Liberation of Angola" by Azinna Nwafor. This article is one example of the distortions that have been used to build up support for M.P.L.A. as the only legitimate organization and to slander the other two liberation organizations. Nwafor writes: "But given Roberto's virulent anti-Marxism and Fanon's faulty grasp of Marxist ideas - the conceptual expression of the world view of the working class - they were both incapable of recognizing that spontaneous peasant insurrection must necessarily and unavoidably lead to failure, that the work of political mobilization was an indispensable instrument of successful revolutionary struggles, and that victory must belong to a peasantry led by a political movement created in the cities and, as with the M.P.L.A., under the influence and guidance of a Marxist philosophic outlook." To say that victory must belong to a peasantry led by a political movement created in the cities is in fact counter to Marxist theory on revolutionary national war in a nation fighting imperialism. As Mao explains, in an oppressed nation like China, the task was "not to seize the big cities first and then occupy the countryside; but the reverse."** Also compare Nwafor's claim that "the M.P.L.A. was under the influence and guidance of a Marxist philosophic outlook" with Agostino Neto's own words during an interview in 1972: "...when a movement consists of people who are different politically and ideologically it is not possible to say that this is, for example a communist movement. ... We think that ideologically we follow not necessarily the communist or Marxist line, but we follow the socialist line with justice for everyone."(our underlining)***

Neto explains that he understands that there are different forms of socialism, and that the socialism of his organization is different from Marxism. Different classes each have their own form of socialism. The socialism being propagated by Neto of the M.P.L.A. is petty bourgeois socialism (utopian socialism of the social democrats and Fabians, etc.) not scientific socialism of the proletariat which is based on the ideology of dialectical and historical materialism - on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought.

*Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1970, p. 73-74.

**See "Problems of War and Strategy", Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1967, vol. II, p. 220.

***MPLA, Angola In Arms, vol. 3, no. 4, Aug., 1972.

Even though Neto professes a socialism which is petty bourgeois and not proletarian socialism, his organization is to be supported as long as it opposes imperialism. It is in the class interest of the petty bourgeoisie in an oppressed nation to fight against imperialism and feudalism. But as long as F.N.L.A. and U.N.I.T.A. take up the fight against imperialism and feudalism, they merit the support of progressive peoples, too. All three liberation organizations were made up of different political tendencies. Constant, internal struggles between the different political orientations is clearly the history of M.P.L.A., F.N.L.A., and U.N.I.T.A.

The M.P.L.A. has never claimed to be a Communist Party, but rather a united front of various political tendencies. Mentioned in an article in the bourgeois New York Times are two supposed factions of M.P.L.A.: The Active Revolt faction described in the New York Times as "Pro Western" and the Angolan Communist Organization, described as "Maoist." (May 6, 1976) A two line struggle for leadership in such organizations as M.P.L.A., F.N.L.A. and U.N.I.T.A. is inevitable and ongoing. The proletarian forces will struggle inside and out. The effort to integrate Marxism Leninism with the concrete struggle of the Angolan people against imperialist domination and feudal oppression is surely on going. But in so far as any of the three liberation organizations takes up the fight against imperialism, whether they call themselves socialists or Marxists or capitalists, they are allies of the socialist proletariat and their struggle is part of the social revolution of the proletariat. As Mao, in On New Democracy explains:

"This revolution has the proletariat of the capitalist countries as its main force and the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies as its allies. No matter what classes, parties or individuals in an oppressed nation join the revolution, and no matter whether they themselves are conscious of the point or understand it, as long as they oppose imperialism, their revolution becomes part of the proletarian socialist world revolution and they become its allies."

Selected Works, Eng. Ed.,
vol. II, F L P , Peking, pp.346-7.
(our underlining)

PART II - THE NEW DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
AS THE TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM

I. GOALS OF THE THE STRUGGLE

The struggle of the Angolan people has a long history. In the last five hundred years it has gone from a scattered, anti-colonial struggle to restore feudalism to an anti-colonial, anti-feudal struggle to construct bourgeois democracy, to an anti-colonial, anti-feudal, anti-imperialist struggle to construct a new democracy as the basis for the struggle for socialism. The nature and character of this struggle is determined by the objective conditions within Angola and by the era of world history during which these revolutions take place. The struggle of the Angolan people continues.

Regardless of the subjective wishes, theories, or plans of any individuals or parties, the struggle in Angola in the current era has as its necessary goal the defeat of colonialism, feudalism, and imperialism and the construction of a united Angolan nation. The Angolan people have already been victorious in their struggle to defeat Portuguese colonialism. In this great victory M.P.L.A., F.N.L.A. and U.N.I.T.A. all played constructive roles. In order to defeat feudalism, the Angolan people must end the feudal land relationships. Throughout the modern history of peasant struggles, the goal of these struggles has been "land to the tiller." Only when this stage is accomplished can peasants be convinced that individual private land ownership does not solve all their problems and voluntarily be won to the advantages of cooperative farms and the socialist social system. To defeat imperialism, the Angolan people need national unity. The imperialists have two main tactics that they use to prop up their control of the state apparatus: deception, and repression. Often the purpose of the deception is to create enough enmity and dissention so that the threat to their rule is momentarily contained. At home, the imperialists bribe a small stratum of the working class - the labor aristocracy - to spread the myths calculated to incite segments of the working class against each other while picturing the government or the companies as benefactors sharing common interests with the workers. In the colonies, semi-colonies and neo-colonies, besides force, the imperialists use deception to incite classes or strata or tribal groupings or liberation groups to fight against each other so as to maintain their rule. In China, Japanese imperialists tried to maintain their rule by offering the Chinese bourgeoisie 49% or 51% ownership in enterprises in exchange for their collaboration. In Angola, the Soviet Union offered M.P.L.A., and the United States offered F.N.L.A. and U.N.I.T.A. arms and assistance if only they would fight each other rather than unite. Opposed and contrasted to imperialist methods of rule are proletarian methods of internationalist support. The People's Republic of China, for example, provided arms and other assistance to all three groups to aid them in their fight against Portuguese colonialism, while encouraging them to unite against the common enemy.

II. NATIONAL UNITY VRS. CIVIL WAR: What is the Lesson from the Chinese Revolution?

The struggle for national unity in Angola has not yet succeeded. The only form such a success can take is that of a new democracy as opposed to a bourgeois democracy or as opposed to a dictatorship of one 'revolutionary' class or group over the other genuine national liberation groups or revolutionary classes. A stage of new democracy is necessary for the political education, economic development and cultural work among the masses so they can participate as one active force in the continuing struggle against imperialism and for socialism.* The current exercise of force by M.P.L.A. leadership against F.N.L.A. and U.N.I.T.A. goes against the need for leadership which encourages the Angolan people to democratically unify themselves. Whether a group is as reactionary as the Kuomintang or as progressive as the Communist Party of China, until there has been a stage of national unity and democratic struggle (a dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes over the counter-revolutionaries--the pro imperialists, feudalists, and pro-colonialists), the correct call and correct direction is for national unity, national reconciliation, democratic relations and interactions among the masses of the whole nation while exercising the people's democratic dictatorship.

The Communist Party of China constantly made the call for the Kuomintang to act as part of the United Front against Japanese imperialism. At various periods during the course of the Chinese revolution, the Kuomintang violated the United Front and attacked the proletariat and the Communist Party. As Mao explains: "For the last fifteen years, the relationship between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party has been the decisive political factor in China. The cooperation of the two parties in 1924-27 resulted in the victories of the first revolution. The split between the two parties in 1927 resulted in the unfortunate situation of the last decade. However, the responsibility for the split was not ours; we were compelled to resist the Kuomintang's oppression, and we persisted in holding high the glorious banner of China's liberation. Now the third stage has come, and the two parties must cooperate fully on a definite programme in order to resist Japan and save the nation. Through our ceaseless efforts, the establishment of cooperation has at last been reached but the point is that both sides must accept a common programme and act on it. An essential part of such a programme is the setting up of a new system of government." "Interview with James Bertram", Selected Works, Eng. Ed., FLP, Peking, 1967, pp.58-59.

Compare this historical experience of the struggle for the United *In "On Coalition Government," Mao explains: "It is a law of Marxism that socialism can be attained only via the stage of democracy. And in China the fight for democracy is a protracted one. It would be a sheer illusion to try to build a socialist society on the ruins of the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal order without a united new-democratic state, without the development of the state sector of the new-democratic economy, of the private capitalist and the cooperative sectors, and of a national, scientific and mass culture, i.e. a new-democratic culture, and without the liberation and the development of the individuality of hundreds of millions of people--in short, without a thoroughgoing bourgeois-democratic revolution of a new type led by the Communist Party." Selected Works, Eng. ed., F L P , Peking, 1967, vol. III, p. 233.

Front by the Chinese Communist Party with the distortion of that history as in the Monthly Review article, February, 1976, where Nwafor writes:

"Deserving of special attention in the present struggle in Angola is the involvement of the People's Republic of China on the side of imperialism....In Angola they vehemently denounce the civil war, urge unity of all the liberation movements, and stridently pillory the Soviet Union for its solidarity with M.P.L.A. This is all very odd for so exemplary a revolutionary country as China. First, the historical experience of all revolutions, including the Chinese, demonstrates the impossibility of a revolution without a civil war." (our underlining)

But the historical experience of the Chinese revolution teaches exactly the opposite lesson.* The task of the proletariat and their party was to call for the national bourgeoisie to unite with the other revolutionary classes under the leadership of the proletariat and to fight against the common enemy, against imperialism. Nwafor turns this historical lesson on its head. There was civil war in China because the bourgeoisie betrayed its own interests, conciliated with the foreign imperialists, and attacked the proletariat and its party. It is the bourgeoisie in China that provoked and called for the civil war, not the proletariat. Which class does Nwafor represent when he calls for civil war against the revolutionary classes who had fought against Portuguese colonialism? The People's Republic of China denounced the Civil War in Angola, just as they had during their own revolution, and they called for unity against the common enemy-imperialism-just as they had during their own revolution.

In the current situation, with the direct involvement of Soviet military advisors and Cuban troops in Angola, with the efforts of M.P.L.A. to annihilate F.N.L.A. and U.N.I.T.A. and their supporters and fighters, the Angolan people are prevented from national reconciliation, democratic exchanges and national construction. Therefore, their current struggle will inevitably continue to take the form of a struggle for New Democracy, a call for a united front of all revolutionary classes, groups and individuals led by the proletariat, the end of civil war, and the removal of all foreign troops and military advisors.

*As Mao explains, in an oppressed nation like China "China's national bourgeoisie has a revolutionary quality at certain periods and to a certain degree, because China is a colonial and semi-colonial country which is a victim of aggression. Here, the task of the proletariat is to form a united front with the national bourgeoisie against imperialism and the bureaucrat and warlord governments without overlooking its revolutionary quality." "On New Democracy", Selected Works, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1967, Vol.II, p.348.

III. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMY CONTINUES

The Angolan revolutionary national liberation struggle with its great victory over Portuguese colonialism in 1975 has made a substantial contribution to the proletarian-socialist world revolution. M.P.L.A., F.N.L.A., and U.N.I.T.A. all participated in winning this victory and making this contribution. The struggle of the Portuguese people against fascism and for socialism was directly aided by the struggle of the Angolan people. The struggle of the U.S. people against imperialism, for socialism, was also directly aided by the revolutionary national liberation struggle in Angola. U.S. hegemony in Africa was undermined and important lessons were taught about imperialism, especially Soviet social-imperialism (socialism in name, but imperialism in deed.) On the other hand, other struggles in the world revolutionary front were direct aids to the Angolan struggle. Material aid was provided without conditions by genuinely socialist countries, particularly the People's Republic of China, and by progressive people around the world. The 1917 October Revolution in Russia opened the way for proletarian leadership and the struggles of e.g. the Chinese, Korean and Vietnamese people for new democracy as a basis for socialism provided theoretical support and guidance for the Angolan revolution. The anti-war and anti-imperialist activities of the Portuguese and U.S. people also directly aided the Angolan people by tying the hands of the colonialists and imperialists at home.

The Angolan people can not settle for a capitalist society under a bourgeois dictatorship. International finance capitalism will continue its opposition to Angola's independence and the development of domestic capitalism, while fighting among themselves to dominate Angola. Also, the example of China and Albania and of the Soviet Union when it was socialist give them the forward goal to aim for. The task is for social ownership of the banks and big commercial, mining, and milling enterprises. The Angolan people will succeed in this task against, for example Gulf Oil, only if all the revolutionary classes, strata, and people in Angola are united and active. They must have established a democratic dictatorship to be able to carry out such nationalization which will clearly be opposed by international finance capital (seeking to maintain their profits and dominance). The Angolan people will be aided in their struggle by the struggles of workers in the capitalist countries against their own bourgeoisie, by the lessons learned from their own struggle against Portuguese colonialism, and by the support and lessons from the genuine Socialist countries.

The current task of the Angolan revolution is to fight imperialism feudalism, neo-colonialism. The fight against imperialism (the United States ruling class and the Soviet Union ruling class contending for hegemony) and against feudal remnants is the basis and the conditions

for the transition to socialism. Socialism as a political, economic and cultural social system cannot be imposed upon Angola from without or from within. Socialism requires the voluntary collectivization and administration of a society under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order for socialism to be possible, all revolutionary strata and individuals must be won by persuasion, study and their experience to the correctness of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, the struggle for socialism must pass through a new democratic stage under a dictatorship of all revolutionary classes, restricting, but not opposing, the development of domestic capitalism, and providing the conditions for the voluntary formation of cooperative farms and encouraging national reconciliation and democratic exchanges and participation in governing.

The demands of the revolutionary masses of the Angolan people were clearly for such a democratic republic to lead them in their anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle. That is why each group had to put such a democratic platform in its program. That is why the democratic united front government was agreed to by the leaders of the three groups. Despite the twists and turns of the struggle, the great majority of the people in Angola will continue to struggle against feudalism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. The democratic united front including all three liberation organizations continues to be the call of democratic anti-imperialist peoples.

LONG LIVE THE ANGOLAN REVOLUTIONARY NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE

APPENDIX I

THE IMPERIALIST TACTIC OF DIVIDE AND RULE

The Portuguese rulers understood that Angola's wealth, important strategic position and important political position in Africa made it a prize sought after by every other imperialist ruling class. In order for the Portuguese capitalists to receive any benefits from Angola's treasures, they understood they had to maintain political rule. And that in order to maintain political rule it was necessary to try to keep the liberation struggle as weak as possible. That meant it was necessary to actively work to stir up and enflame divisions among the Angolan people.*

The most obvious method was to use troops recruited from the South to fight the rebels from the North. For example, to intensify and incite tribal divisions, the press would play up the loyalty of some Bailundu workers during attacks by African rebels.** Also Portuguese colonialists used to breed dissension among the peoples of Angola by radio broadcasts. Two Africans, both enrolled in the school of nursing at the Government Hospital, to gain an audience would broadcast the news of the day in their own language, Umbundu. Their message was first, 'hate the Americans' and second, 'Fight the Terrorists in the North'. The campaign to hate the Americans is carried on because they carry on racial discrimination. The object is to sound progressive and then to win people to see the terrorists in the North as going too far by trying to fight against colonialism. The newscasters would invent massacres of women and children by the terrorists - they would describe the killing of loyal Bailundus. "We are Portuguese," the broadcasters would say, "and we must defend ourselves from these invaders (meaning the liberation fighters) who come from outside. Do you want to be like the Congo where women and children are hungry? This is stupidity on our part to think that we can live independently of the Portuguese..." These repeated attacks on "the terrorists" were intended to try to isolate them from the broad masses of people.

Another weapon used to divide people was religion. Protestant - Catholic relations were strained because of the accusation leveled by the government against Protestants as being responsible for

*Compare this to the method of rule being used by the U.S. bourgeoisie in the busing situation in Boston.

**Following is an example in an excerpt from a newspaper interview: "Before us is a Bailundu, Pedro Jose, who has been wounded in both arms while in the north of Angola. It is of interest to hear of his loyalty and to hear also of other loyal Angolans, of whom there are many in this Portuguese province. At this moment our thoughts are with those who were massacred while defending our country where peace always reigned between blacks and whites without conflict. For the first time I present to the press of our country one of these humble and brave Portuguese of the black race. We know how he feels. We sympathize with him in his loss of his employer." Angola in Ferment, p. 87-88.

terrorist activities in Northern Angola. Two newspapers, Provincia de Angola, a Luanda daily, and O Plantalto, a biweekly publication in Nova Lisboa, led the anti-Protestant campaign. The repeated accusations by civilians and officials resulted in the arrest of many Protestant leaders. At the village level, unequal treatment in government persecutions intensified the rivalry between Catholics and Protestants. Catholic villages were relatively free from government raids, while Protestant villages were heavily raided. This unequal treatment created intense feelings of animosity at the village level.

Arrests and killings of Protestant church leaders not only heightened the division with the Portuguese dominated areas, but also affected existing political groups working for an independent Angola. The Portuguese spread the myth that F.N.L.A. favored Protestants while M.P.L.A. favored Catholics. Through their persecution of Protestants within Angola, the Portuguese authorities tried to sharpen divisions between F.N.L.A. and M.P.L.A. and their followers.

The Portuguese tactics designed to divide the Africans were supplemented by tactics of direct and repressive retaliatory measures against African revolt. Portuguese troops were vicious in their retaliation. Cities were bombed for 'reported' terrorists in their midst. Police raided student dormitories and searched students' belongings, made wholesale arrests and resorted to beatings to extract evidence. One student who was told the PIDE wished to see him, presented himself saying: "I have nothing to hide". Reports were that he died in prison as the result of beatings by the PIDE. The PIDE would continuously uncover 'plots' 24 or 48 hours before they were to have been executed (these plots were invented by the PIDE to create an atmosphere of rumor and fear). During their raids, the PIDE claimed to uncover lists with names of Europeans who were to be liquidated. The PIDE's favorite hour of arrest was midnight or during the early morning hours. Also, white vigilantes would yank people from their homes and shoot them without a trial.

And so it becomes clear that the imperialists' tactic is to try to stir up divisions, to try to play one group off against another. But despite their efforts, the objective interests of the people of Angola meant that they would struggle to unite to fight against their common enemy.

APPENDIX II

The following is the beginning of a polemic with the Guardian's role in the struggle to support the revolutionary liberation struggle in Angola.

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM vs IRWIN SILBER'S REVISIONISM

In a series of editorials, Irwin Silber of the Guardian raised the question of the "meaning" and "application" of proletarian internationalism for the U.S. revolutionary movement. Since Silber is speaking as a representative of the U.S. left, his accusations and social chauvinism should not be allowed to continue without a struggle.

In an editorial in the Guardian, Silber said "There can be no communist party - especially in the heartland of U.S. imperialism - that does not firmly and unequivocally base itself on proletarian internationalism." (9/8/76)

That is a fine principle. But let us look at the brand of so-called "proletarian internationalism" being actively propagated around the country by Mr. Silber. He writes:

The question of Angola has become a crucial political test for the U.S. left.

Every anticolonial struggle poses a similar test for communists in the "mother" country. Just as the revisionist French Communist Party faltered on the question of the Algerian independence struggle, so some in the American left are faltering on the question of Angola.

To U.S. communists it must be a matter of the highest principle to support the struggles of an oppressed people when they are directed against the U.S. bourgeoisie—and in Angola this struggle is led by the MPLA. Failure to do so is nothing less than class collaboration no matter how much "revolutionary" rhetoric may be expended in explaining one's position.

Mr. Silber has reduced communists to nationalists! The U.S. communists must support the struggles of an oppressed people when they are directed against the U.S. bourgeoisie. The French communists must support the struggles of an oppressed people against the French bourgeoisie, etc. That is true, but the issue it evades is substantial. U.S. communists must support the struggles against all imperialism - particularly, but by no means exclusively, against U.S. imperialism. Why then has Mr. Silber substituted the struggle against U.S. imperialism for the struggle against imperialism? Isn't he trying to hoodwink well intentioned anti-imperialist people? Imperialism is based on a world-wide system of financial networks, of loans and obligations. Imperialism means a small handful of monopolists from one state are engaged in a fierce rivalry with a handful of monopolists from other states struggling over the redivision of the imperialist loot, the loot sweated off the backs of the oppressed and exploited peoples world-wide.

*Silber writes: "For any in the U.S. left, under cover of the slogan "superpowers out of Angola," to support this neocolonialist solution is an indefensible abandonment of the most elementary expression of revolutionary solidarity." (Guardian, 2/11/76)

For Mr. Silber, socialists who support the struggle of oppressed nations against all imperialism have gone too far. The struggle for national liberation means just that - the struggle to liberate an oppressed nation from all imperialist domination. But Mr. Silber, like the Soviet social imperialists, is frightened by the audacity of the oppressed nations to know they can survive without any imperialist rulers. Otherwise, why would Mr. Silber equate the call "superpowers out of Angola" with support for a "neo-colonialist position"? (Guardian, 2/11/76, p.9) * For Mr. Silber, genuine anti-imperialism has become neo-colonialism and his support of neo-colonialism - i.e. foreign troops in support of one faction as in Angola - he calls anti-imperialism. At first glance it may seem as if he is just confused.

Mr. Silber travels around the country attacking anyone who warns that like U.S. imperialism, Soviet social imperialism is also the enemy of progress. But the progressive peoples of the world will fight against all imperialism, whatever its nationality. Mr. Silber, haven't you become a salesman for a rival slavemaster? The slaves are fighting for an end to the system of plunder and oppression, not just for a new oppressor.

In Angola, imperialism, the system of superpower rivalry, was at work. The superpowers chose up sides and tried to instigate fighting among the liberation organizations which had won respect and a following through their struggle against Portuguese colonialism. The U.S. tried to choose F.N.L.A.; the Soviet Union, M.P.L.A. The People's Republic of China, on the other hand, encouraged the three organizations to unite and to form a representative and a new democratic government so as to be able to continue their struggle against all foreign domination. The position of choosing sides is the old imperialist 'divide and rule' tactic; the position of encouraging national unity against all imperialist domination is the method the Chinese successfully employed to throw the imperialists out of China.

Silber, however, imparts to the Soviet Union, honorable -not imperialist - intentions: "The Soviet Union," he writes, "sees a chance to weaken its super power rival, the U.S. ... Soviet leaders can see just as well as everyone else can that the U.S. is trying to retain its influence via the two rival 'liberation' organizations it is backing. Therefore, from the Soviet point of view, backing for the M.P.L.A. becomes a way of helping to seal U.S. isolation in West Africa." (Guardian, 2/11/76)

This is the same reasoning Silber employs in justifying his position of choosing sides. "And after all the rhetoric is cleared away," he writes, "the choices are that clear-cut. Whatever hopes the U.S. may have had for a military victory over the M.P.L.A. were dashed when Angolan patriots, supported by Cuban troops, threw back the

*"For any in the U.S. left, under cover of the slogan "superpowers out of Angola, "to support this neocolonialist solution is an indefensible abandonment of the most elementary expression of revolutionary solidarity." Irwin Silber, Guardian, 2/11/76, p.9.

FNLA - UNITA - South African forces after the CIA backed counter revolutionaries had made some initial gains shortly after independence was declared." (Guardian , 2/11/76)

But the sides are not as the imperialists want to portray them - M.P.L.A., Soviet Union, Guardian , vs. F.N.L.A., U.N.I.T.A., U.S. imperialism, South Africa, C.I.A. The sides are imperialism versus national liberation. The genuine forces of proletarian internationalism, led by the People's Republic of China, correctly encouraged the three liberation organizations, all of whom had demonstrated their legitimacy by active fighting against the Portuguese colonialist rule to return to the government of National Unity that the three organizations had agreed to during joint negotiations. And in practice, the People's Republic of China has demonstrated its uncompromising support for the struggle against imperialist intervention in Angola on the part of South Africa, U.S. imperialism, Soviet social imperialism, and Cuba.

A careful study of Silber's arguments reveals that his apologies for imperialism are not just confused jumbles, but conscious window dressing intended to aid and abet Soviet social imperialist neo-colonial efforts. Otherwise, how can he acknowledge: "It can also be expected that the Soviet Union will attempt to exploit the national liberation struggles in order to replace U.S. influence with Soviet influence", and yet attack those genuine anti-imperialist forces who have taken up the struggle against both U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism.

Silber, like the Soviet Union, has come to understand that the struggle for national liberation can no longer easily be opposed openly. Instead, under the cover of attacking "class collaboration" he seeks to try to sabotage the national liberation struggles encouraging them to change masters rather than supporting their struggle for total liberation from all imperialist domination.

Silber knows and approves of what the Soviet Union is up to. And so his slanders of genuine anti-imperialist fighters must be taken with utmost seriousness. Let no one be even temporarily fooled. He is an active distorter of Marxism. He is using the slogan "proletarian internationalism" to attack genuine proletarian internationalism .

Those who have fought imperialism and colonialism will not long be fooled by Soviet social imperialism because it carries a supposed "socialist" flag. Conquerors and bullies, regardless of their camouflage , are hated by democratic peoples everywhere. The days of imperialist rule, under whatever cover, are numbered.

We agree, Mr. Silber, class collaboration ... will prove fatal.

APPENDIX III

FROM "SOVIET INTERFERENCE IN ANGOLA CONDEMNED"

Over a long period, one superpower has been doing its utmost to help sustain the racist regimes in southern Africa, while the other superpower which flaunts the banner of 'socialism' has been sowing dissension within the national-liberation movements, undermining their unity and inciting civil war with a view to replacing the old colonialists in exercising control over this region. A conspicuous case in point is the recent deplorable and distressing situation emerging in Angola."

Lai Ya-li declared: "The Chinese Government and people have always firmly supported the African peoples in their revolutionary struggle against imperialism and colonialism and firmly supported the Angolan people in their just struggle against colonial domination and for national independence. We have always treated the three Angolan liberation organizations on the same basis and in a friendly way, and we provided them with various kinds of assistance, including military assistance, in their struggle against Portuguese colonialism. In our opinion, the three Angolan liberation organizations are fraternal organizations, who were comrades-in-arms in the days of arduous anti-colonialist armed struggle. They have every reason to restore their unity and no reason whatsoever for confrontation, division and war. That is why we have been trying to persuade them to seek common ground while putting aside their differences and to unite against the enemy. After they reached agreement with the Portuguese Government on achieving independence at a scheduled date, we stopped giving new military aid to the three liberation organizations. The Soviet slander about Chinese 'interference in the internal affairs of Angola' is the despicable trick of a thief crying 'catch the thief!' Nothing can cover up the countless crimes committed by social-imperialism in Angola."

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