

Angola News Summary

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March 25, 1976

US POLICY TOWARDS ANGOLA

There is little good news from Washington. The Administration's attitude seems to have hardened -- despite some earlier indications (the release of the Boeings and green light to Gulf Oil) that it might be willing to open lines of communication with the MPLA Government.

Using a variety of rationales which range from "we are waiting for Zambia and Zaire," to "first the Cubans must go," to "we cannot recognize a minority government" (the most specious of all considering their relationship with the Vorster minority regime), the Administration is steadfastly refusing to recognize the legitimacy of the Angolan Government. Thus it also refuses to even consider all related issues, such as the question of reconstruction aid. Congressman Diggs, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Resources, has already initiated the process for obtaining \$10 million as disaster assistance for Angola in 1977, but nothing will happen on that so long as the Administration maintains its hard line position.

There are a small group of House and Senate members who have been urging the Administration to recognize the Angolan Government -- the most recent call on this issue having been made by Senator Edward Kennedy, but none of these men and women have expressed much optimism about early recognition.

Senior State Department members have not yet committed themselves on whether visas would be made available for an Angolan Government delegation to travel in the United States. The US is compelled by reason of its agreement with the United Nations to issue such visas to allow the delegation to attend the U.N. -- but such U.N. visas do not allow for travel away from New York. Thus, it might take considerable public pressure to force the Administration to grant visas for MPLA representatives to attend the Conference on Angola, scheduled to be held in Chicago the last weekend in May. (More information on plans for initiating the organization of that Conference will be in the next News Summary.)

ANGOLA, NAMIBIA, AND SOUTH AFRICA

The United Nations Security Council is scheduled to take up on March 26 the continued occupation of a strip of southern Angola by the armed forces of South Africa, the illegal occupying power in Namibia. The meeting has been requested by Kenya on behalf of the Organization of African Unity. The New York Times, in a March 20 dispatch from its U.N. bureau, stated that South Africa had advised Secretary General Kurt Waldheim: "We have during the past few days received, through a third party, assurances which in general terms appear to be acceptable to us." Pretoria said that if interpretations were correct it would withdraw its troops from the Cunene River area in Angola. Last August South Africa had occupied the Calueque dam and power station, part of the \$400 million Ruacana hydro-electric complex, 12 miles above the Namibia border. (See March 4 Angola Weekly News Summary for background on entire Cunene River dams project, of which Calueque and Ruacana are a part.) That venture was followed by intervention in the conflict deep into central Angola. Last month, South African Defense Minister Piet Botha had admitted to some 5,000 of his country's troops patrolling a 50-mile deep zone in southern Angola, while other media estimates of numbers of South African troops inside Angola at that time ranged as high as 20,000.

Last week, South Africa announced that it had evacuated part of that border strip, pulling back from the town of Heiva (formerly Pereira D'Eca) which is 30 miles north of the Namibia border.

Some weeks ago the South Africans had demanded assurances on three issues. The first was protection of the Ruacana complex, part of the Cunene project, which already is providing water for irrigation of farmlands in the Owambo bantustan in northern Namibia and which is intended next year to generate electric power for use throughout the Territory, mainly in the south and central parts. Pretoria has been emphasizing irrigation needs of the African population and downplaying their real concern -- the energy demands for maintenance and expansion of mining, manufacturing and industrial sites in the lower, or white-settled, two-thirds of the country. Particularly worrisome is power to facilitate the operation of the Rossing uranium mine and plant near the seacoast town of Swakopmund and the neighboring port of Walvis Bay.

A second issue raised by the South Africans was guerilla incursions by troops of the South West People's Organization (SWAPO) from bases in Angola over into their homeland. There have been a continuing series of armed attacks inside the Territory, one only 40 miles from the capital city of Windhoek in central Namibia, and none of the insurgents have been apprehended despite the fact that Namibia is full of heavily armed and fully-mobil soldiers and paramilitary police.

A further point was the matter of Angolan refugees, mostly whites, reported to be in the thousands, but now apparently repatriated to Portugal.

An unconfirmed but reported demand was that Cuban troops be removed from Angola.

In reports of about the last month regarding continued South African conditions for withdrawal, only the dam protection issue has been mentioned.

Prime Minister Fidel Castro, in a speech delivered in Conakry, Guinea on March 15, warned South Africa that continued occupation of the Angolan territory at the damsite could cause the war to flare up again, and extend into Namibia, and even into South Africa itself. (Reuters report) "If the dam of Cunene becomes a battlefield, the responsibility will be wholly that of South Africa," he said.

The Washington Post reported on March 22 that the British Foreign Office said Britain and the Soviet Union had helped secure guarantees from the Angolan Government "enabling South African troops to withdraw from the Cunene River dam." However, the London Observer of March 21 reported that the Government of the People's Republic of Angola said "it would not negotiate over the withdrawal of South African Army units from southern Angola. It also said it would not talk with Pretoria about the Cunene River hydroelectric scheme ...until South Africa complied with United Nations resolutions on Namibia and ended its illegal occupation of the territory." Luanda added that it "will fight on until the last South African soldier has been expelled from our territory, without any kind of negotiation or agreement."

The Washington Post on the same day reported that the Angolans pledged "that they would 'soon make the necessary agreements' on water and power from the project with the 'legitimate representatives' of Namibia." The dispatch referred to a previous speech by Angolan President Agostino Neto reiterating support for SWAPO.

*****SUPPORT THE MPLA SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE*****

The MPLA Solidarity Committee will put out the Angola News Summary every other week, unless events in southern Africa necessitate publishing more frequently. We will continue to provide information on Angola, and with a journalist friend of the Committee on his way to Angola, we hope to include our own firsthand reports from Angola soon. We will also cover events in other areas of Southern Africa as best we can, especially as they have been effected by the victory of the Angolan people in their struggle for national independence.

TO CARRY ON WITH OUR WORK WE NEED YOUR SUPPORT! This unfortunately means money. A return envelope is enclosed with the News Summary. Please give us what you can. We appreciate the many past contributions we have received. They have allowed us to put out the Angola Weekly News Summary since last November. However, continuing financial support from our readers is necessary for us to be able to continue our work.

BACKGROUND ON ZIMBABWE:
From the Lusaka Agreement Until Now

(reprinted from Africa News Special)

In December, 1974, at the urging of several Heads of State, African nationalists from Zimbabwe (the African name for Rhodesia) announced the consolidation of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), and the Zimbabwe Liberation Front (FROLIZI) under the umbrella of the African National Council (ANC). The Agreement, announced in Lusaka, Zambia, signaled efforts toward a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe. It also began a new phase in the Zimbabwe freedom fighter's struggle for majority rule, which has been characterized by political and tribal divisions, as well as personal conflicts between rival leaders.

Unsuccessful talks with Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith, following the Lusaka Agreement, caused more militant forces within the ANC to doubt the usefulness of direct negotiations with the settler regime. African reservations about constitutional talks with Smith increased in March 1975, with the arrest of the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, former leader of the militant ZANU, for allegedly conspiring to murder fellow ANC leaders.

In response to diplomatic pressure by South African Prime Minister Balthazar J. Vorster, Smith later released Rev. Sithole from detention, to attend an April 1975 Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit meeting.

Divisions between militant ANC leaders such as Rev. Sithole and moderates such as former ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo, intensified following the OAU summit when, in June ZANU and ZAPU supporters clashed at a political rally in Highfield, an African township of Salisbury. In the aftermath, 13 Africans were killed by Rhodesian Security Police, and the ANC's position on armed struggle versus dialogue with the Smith regime remained to be settled.

In August, 1975, South African Prime Minister Vorster and the Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda arranged a conference at Victoria Falls on the Zimbabwe-Zambian border, between the Rhodesian government and the ANC, as part of Vorster's design for detente in southern Africa. The talks failed, as Smith rejected African preconditions that ANC leaders in exile be granted amnesty to attend any constitutional talks.

In December, Chairman Muzorewa named exiled ANC leaders Ndabaningi Sithole and James Chikerema to head to newly formed external wing of the ANC. The new organization, known as the ZLC, Zimbabwe Liberation Committee, was opposed by moderate ANC leaders in Salisbury, led by Joshua Nkomo. Nkomo backers inside Zimbabwe held a convention of the party's executive council unexpectedly, and voted to replace Bishop Muzorewa with Joshua Nkomo as the organization's head.

Muzorewa rejected Mkombo's leadership claim since most ANC executives were not present for the elections, and expelled Nkomo from the ANC. Muzorewa supporters held a rally in Salisbury, turning out in overwhelming numbers to show their support for the exiled leaders, and to question Nkomo's credibility as the leader of the ANC.

In late December, the ANC faction headed by Joshua Nkomo and recognized by Smith agreed to drop reconditions for constitutional talks with the white minority government, which then got underway.

In November 1975, guerrillas operating from bases in Mozambique announced the formation of a new organization, the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA). ZIPA says it is composed of former ZAPU and ZANU cadres fighting a common enemy. ZIPA has denounced the ANC leaders Nkomo, Muzorewa, Chikerema, and Sithole. They charge that these leaders' self interest and hunger for power have made them ineffectual in the struggle to free Zimbabwe.

Africa News is a news service on Africa for both radio and print media. For further information write Africa News
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ZIMBABWE IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICA CONTEXT

When the Smith regime issued the "Unilateral Declaration of Independence" from Britain in November 1965, Southern Rhodesia formed part of the curtain of white dominated countries spanning the waist of lower Africa. With Angola and Mozambique, then in the grip of Portuguese colonialism, it separated South Africa from the independent Black countries to the north. The liberation, first of Mozambique and now of Angola, has left Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) as the last remnant of the curtain.

South Africa, Britain, and the United States are concerned to see that Zimbabwe does not follow the road of real independence. They are worried that the ending of white rule will threaten their investments and interests not only in Zimbabwe itself, but, more importantly, in South Africa.

The efforts to bring about a settlement with a Black leadership prepared to compromise with White rule and accept a neo-colonial role are given continuing publicity in the media. The Smith regime is being repeatedly told to reach agreement with the Nkomo faction of the African National Council. Meanwhile the conflict with liberation forces is mounting, and the closing by Mozambique of its borders with Zimbabwe, together with the imposition of full sanctions, makes it increasingly difficult for Smith to hold onto power.

For Angola and Mozambique, the situation in Zimbabwe is of key significance. A neo-colonial regime, responsive to U.S., South African, and British interests, represents a force for "destabilization" of Rhodesia's newly independent neighbors. A long period of armed con-

Angolan women and men united in freedom quest

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BILALIAN NEWS
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By Louie Kashif
(Exclusive to
Bilalian News)

HAVANA, — "The Angolan women have liberated themselves," declared Commandante Dibala, political commissar for the Eastern Front of the new Angolan government.

Speaking to a group of Americans representing a variety of minority organizations, including representatives of the press, Mr. Dibala said that the new Angolan constitution specifically insures equality of rights for the Angolan women.

He stressed, however, that she is not being "granted a gift or favor" as such. Rather, he said, she took up the weapon in hand, and fought along side her men for the liberation of

herself and the independence of her nation in the long years of struggle.

Commandante Dibala's words were supported by the visible presence of Miss Olga Lima at his side. Miss Lima, a dark eyed woman of exceptional charm joined the Commandante as a ranking member of the Ministry of Foreign Relations for Angola at the meeting. Poised and articulate, Miss Lima demonstrated the level of consciousness among Angolans for the human rights of all of the peoples of their land.

"We realized very early in our struggle, that none of us would be free, unless all (men and women) were free," Mr. Dibala declared.

Miss Lima, in an interview with *Bilalian News*, credited the Angolan Women's National Organization (OMA) with spearheading the great advances Angolan women have made in every field of endeavor.

The OMA was established more than a decade ago and has served to instruct the women in such matters as survival — during the war years — and served as a recruitment arm of the armed forces. At present, all Angolan women between 18 and 35 are subjected to military duties.

Aside from assisting the women in survival matters, as well as domestic chores such as child rearing and medical aids, the OMA has worked to develop a "Consciousness" of responsibility among the women in regards to their obligations to the nation. The OMA efforts have extended to the male population also in urging a greater reflection on the rights or women.

Miss Lima, born of moderately wealthy parents — unlike the great majority of Angolan women — had the

fortune of the best education available in Angola, and received higher education at a university in Lisbon. This upbringing, however, failed to sever her cultural bond and sensitivity to the plight of her people, as in most cases of similar circumstances.

"I began to wonder why I had been privileged and others had not, and I began to feel a greater obligation to aid in the struggle of my people," she said.

Just one year prior to graduating, Miss Lima decided to return home and join in the struggle with the liberation forces to free Angola from the colonizers. At the same time, she and others of the OMA aided in developing the spirit of self-sacrifice among the women. As a member of the MPLA, she served in Lusaka, Zambia, as well as within the borders of Angola.

Commandante Dibala and Olga Lima were two of the Angolan delegates to the recent Havana Conference on Angola.

ANGOLA: The Revolution Must Liberate Women!

The Organization of Angolan Women-OMA- is a mass organization formed by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-MPLA. The following statement is excerpted from a speech delivered at an OMA conference just prior to independence last November 11.

How is it possible to have a revolution without mobilizing women? If more than half of the exploited and oppressed people are women, how can they be left on the edges of the struggle? The Revolution is obliged to free the woman.

The struggle of the Angolan Woman is for women from all regions and ethnic groups of the country. It is the struggle of mothers and grandmothers side by side with the young. It is the struggle of women workers, peasants, farmers, fisherwomen, professors, health workers, etc.

Angolan workers are harshly exploited. Their political rights were always denied them. Education and culture are a privilege of the exploiters. However, in our society, it is the woman who suffers the most. Who receives the lowest salaries? The Woman! Who works in the house, who takes care of

the children and the washing? The Women! It is still the woman who suffers in the house the difficulties and despair of the companion who, tired from work, worn out with starvation wages that he receives, humiliated by the injustices to which he is victim, mistreats and subjugates her.

But the struggle of Women is not a struggle that divides men and women. No! It is a struggle of men and women, both exploited, against the colonialist society, against the exploiting society. True equality between men and women can only be achieved by women themselves struggling with a truly revolutionary consciousness in the process of the liberation of the exploited classes.

Our children are a very important force in the fight. Thus how can we build in our children a love for the popular revolution? How can we educate our children in the revolutionary spirit which will make grow in them the love for the Popular Revolution if the mother, the first educator, is not integrated into the revolutionary work?

The liberation of women is a guarantee for the continuation of the revolution!

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Angola: 'We must build socialism!'

By WILFRED BURCHETT
Guardian staff correspondent

Luanda, Angola

"We are going to build socialism," said Angola's Prime Minister Lopo do Nascimento, as he invited me to share the frugal vegetarian meal sent into his home from a nearby hospital.

A tall, thin, modest man, Lopo do Nascimento, like many other Popular Movement (MPLA) leaders, has intestinal troubles after years of malnutrition from eating leaves and roots in the jungle.

"In fact, we have no choice but to build socialism," he continued. "Over 90% of the Portuguese fled the country, abandoning their plantations and enterprises; they forced our hand. Some sectors—foreign trade, for instance—we had not intended to nationalize, but the Portuguese who ran it pulled out. If the state does not handle it, who will? Foreign trade must go on. So, we find ourselves taking it over along with many other sectors that were not in our original plans. . . ."

In this, as in so many other problems in Angola, it sounded like a replay of what happened in South Vietnam, where the White House predicted "bloodbaths" and scared South Vietnam's capitalists and bourgeoisie into wholesale flight, obliging the newly established state in Saigon into either taking over their enterprises or facing a total collapse of their economy.

LITTLE OPPOSITION

I asked Nascimento whether important sections of Angolan society would oppose the building of socialism. "No," he replied, "those who would have opposed it have already fled.

"There are two sectors among Angolans which could have been expected to oppose us. The small landowning class—from which my own family comes. But they were almost entirely liquidated physically, or eliminated, as a class by the terrible Portuguese massacres of 1961-1962 [during which over 350,000 Angolans fled across the border into Zaire in 1962 alone]. The other element is what could best be described as the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which enjoyed special privileges under the Portuguese. This is an element—not a force—which opposes socialism, the prime minister said. "They could be open to corruption. To build socialism, we have to reinforce the MPLA cadres, carry on ideological work, and avoid an element of the petty bourgeoisie which could become transformed into a bourgeoisie and a natural ally of imperialism. But for the masses of people there will be no problem.

"Our real problems are that when the Portuguese left, this meant the departure of nearly all the technical and administrative cadres. We are very rich in typists," he said with a smile. "Otherwise, the Portuguese never

trained any Angolans in fields of technique or administration. We have already decreed free and compulsory five-year terms in education. But where are the teachers? We have decreed free medical services, but apart from the teaching and medical staff at Luanda University hospital, there are only 68 doctors for a population of about six million."

"How are you going to train them?" I asked.

"That is why our friendship with the Cubans is so valuable," replied the prime minister. "They are building 17 fully equipped hospitals in the provinces. In general their aid is a model of internationalism." From Cuban and other sources, I learned that there will be between 150 and 200 Cuban doctors, including specialists in all modern branches of medicine and surgery, as well as nurses and other medical workers within a very short time in Angola.

STARTING FROM NOTHING

"Our greatest contradiction," Nascimento continued, "is between what we want to do to solve the immediate needs of the masses—who had nothing—and the means at our disposal to do it. In every field, we have to start with nothing and we have to guard against trying to solve exclusively urban problems—those of Luanda, for example—and neglecting to solve the urgent problems in the rural areas.

"There has to be, for instance, a rational distribution of teachers and public health workers so that the majority of people all over the country can benefit from these measures. Above all, we're starting intensive training programs for the formation of cadres.

"Here again, we are hampered by the heritage of Portuguese colonialism. Illiteracy covers almost 100% of the countryside, for instance. And the university was almost exclusively reserved for either mainland Portuguese or Angolans of Portuguese origin."

Turning to the field of foreign affairs, I asked the prime minister how his government viewed a recent statement by U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to the effect that the U.S. might consider recognizing the People's Republic of Angola, but only if it was clear that the People's Republic was "independent."

"'Independence' for Dr. Kissinger means, in fact, being dependent on the U.S.," he replied. "We are a fully independent, sovereign state, and that means sovereign in every organ of our state power. The great aim of the U.S., now as in the past, is to liquidate the MPLA, and if they cannot do that, to change its leadership and aims. It is just as well for Dr. Kissinger to know that Cuban solidarity is not some sort of bargaining counter. No country and no government has the right to tell us how many Cubans can stay in our country.

"Dr. Kissinger seems to have elected himself to office as some sort of traffic policemen, directing the course of

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history. The term 'international solidarity' is not in the American vocabulary. They only seem to understand the language of figures. We can do without the U.S. presence here. Experience shows that they would only tend to subvert, corrupt and divide; to use their money to build up an attempt to crush our revolution. Such declarations as Dr. Kissinger's are borne of racist arrogance. It doesn't matter whether the U.S. recognizes us or not. We will never be dependent on them, and we will seek our friends elsewhere."

Regarding the operations of the Gulf Oil Company—which, in December last year, unilaterally suspended production in the oil fields in which it had exploration concessions in Angola's northernmost province, the Cabinda exclave—the prime minister said that "the company has now paid back about half of the \$200 million owed to us for back royalties and tax payments. So we have started negotiations. I understand that the oil fields fall within our recent law on the nationalization of installations and enterprises of strategic interests.

STRICT CONTROL

"What they would like—as well as Diamang, which controls the exploitation of our diamonds—is that we put up the money and they take the profit. In the past the Portuguese accepted the figures on oil production offered by Gulf and the figures on diamond production given out by Diamang. Obviously that has to change in favor of strict control by us on what is actually being produced. As for the Cabinda oilfields, just as the Americans were not able to liquidate us militarily, so they will not be able to strangle us economically. With or without Gulf Oil, we will exploit our oilfields in the interest of the Angolan people."

Regarding the continuing presence of South African troops over Angola's southern border with Namibia (South-West Africa), the prime minister said: "The South Africans were very stupid to have become involved in such an inglorious adventure. They thought that because they were white, they could do anything. They had intended to rush up to the north, sweeping everything before them with their superior mobility and firepower.

"The idea was to crush the MPLA, and impose their puppets in power from the National Front (FNLA) and National Union (UNITA) movements. It was a great error, because their intervention gave us the right to ask for help elsewhere. The South Africans will have to get out, just as the armed forces of Zaire had to get out, or they will be pushed out."

As with every other MPLA leader with whom I have spoken, Prime Minister Nascimento said that the People's Republic of Angola would give "every possible aid and assistance" to the people of Namibia to liberate themselves from South African control.