ON THE ANGOLAN FRONT

The Armed Forces of the People's Republic of Angola, fresh from recent victories in the north, turned their attention to the southern front this week and captured the important town of Cela, the South African military stronghold southeast of Luanda. A Reuters report in the Rand Daily Mail (South Africa) of January 22 said the MPLA forces took the town of Santa Comba and Amboiva, then mounted a drive on Cela and put "the 'white forces' - South Africans and mercenaries - into retreat." The significance of taking Cela is that it lays open the road for an MPLA attack on Nova Lisboa (Huambo), the headquarters of the UNITA-FNLA alliance.

From a BBC broadcast of January 21, Radio Luanda also reported the capture by MPLA forces of Nova Redondo, a strategic port formerly held also by South African-UNITA forces.

Heavy fighting was also reported on the central front near Luso, where the MPLA has been trying to recapture this important town on the Benguela railway. UNITA and South African troops have also been desperately trying to capture Texeira de Sousa where the railway enters the Zairean border. UNITA has been trying in a vain attempt to reopen the railway for Zambian and Zairean products. Zaire has also been trying to drive the MPLA out of its liberated territory in northern Angola by bombing and strafing towns in northeastern Angola.

In a January 22 article in the New York Times, Henry Kamm interviewed Nzau Puna, chief of staff and secretary-general of the National Union of Angola, about the collapse of the UNITA-FNLA alliance in the face of recent victories by the MPLA. "We are fighting alone," Puna said, "All the FNLA troops stay in town... They are completely demoralized... (and) we are completely disappointed with them."

UNITA leader Savimbi claimed on January 18 that "Mobutu will never accept the FNLA to be completely beaten" and suggested that an airlift of 5,000 UNITA and South African troops be made to the north to aid FNLA troops. The logistics of such an airlift were not discussed by Savimbi and Kamm suggests that the announcement was made more for its political effect since clashes between the two "allied" forces of FNLA and UNITA are well known. Three days later in press conference from the Zairean capital, Savimbi claimed "it is necessary to create an impasse on the battlefield". This is part of the FNLA-UNITA aim to create a military stalemate in order to force negotiations for a coalition government which is their only hope of survival since militarily, they have only lost ground, and politically, they have not gained any substantial amount of popular support in the areas of contest.

Evasive around questions of how UNITA-FNLA will force this military stalemate, Savimbi's response was "our eyes are turned towards you in the (U.S.) Senate."
MPLA's successes in northern Angola have put new pressures on the uneasy South Africa-UNITA alliance. The Manchester Guardian has reported that UNITA and the South African army have developed a new plan which involves a further heavy build-up of South African forces in the central region of Angola. The South African Cabinet is reported to have been holding meetings on the future of its role in the Angolan fighting. The virtual elimination of FNLA as a fighting force, and the weaknesses in the UNITA ranks, have put the South Africans in the forefront of the fighting against MPLA forces. This obviously has serious implications for the South African regime. Escalation in Angola means committing more men and more arms to a war with extended supply lines. It places a greater burden on South Africa in its conflict with SWAPO forces struggling for the liberation of Namibia, and on its support for the Smith regime in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). It must also be very much in the forefront of the South African government's policy considerations that on its eastern border, Mozambique is now an independent anti-imperialist state and a vivid example of a successful armed struggle for liberation.

All this, and the growing support which the MPLA is gaining internally, present South Africa with a dilemma. It must either increase its involvement, or effect a withdrawal - at least to its established area of control within Namibia. Increased involvement might mean the committing of a large air strike force, in the hope of achieving a sharp, quick military victory. This seems unlikely as the South Africans have probably realized the depth of popular support for the MPLA. Even short-range massive military victories would not guarantee the future - for it seems clear that FNLA and UNITA could not, neither jointly nor singly, establish a permanent stable government in Angola. MPLA, with its popular base and years of guerrilla experience, would have time on its side.

Another alternative is for South Africa to engineer increased direct U.S. involvement against the MPLA. This also seems unlikely in view of current US domestic attitudes towards American involvement in Angola.

South Africa also has to be wary of the effects of the Angolan struggle within its own borders. In a previous Angola Weekly News Summary in December, it was emphasized that Black South Africans would be identifying with the struggle for independence in Angola. Significantly, it was reported in the Johannesburg Star of December 27 that the fourth annual Congress of the Black Peoples Convention came out in direct support of the MPLA. That such a stand should be taken in the face of the prevailing war hysteria, whipped up by the white rulers in South Africa, and under the weight of the repressive laws (such as the Terrorism Act), speaks eloquently to the spirit of resistance within the ranks of the oppressed majority in South Africa.

Thus, South Africa's presence in Angola is not only related to the struggle for independence in Angola, but is also interwoven in complex ways with the liberation of Namibia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa itself.
UPDATE ON SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY STRATEGY IN ANGOLA

As of January 22, conflicting reports have begun to appear on the course South African policy will take in Angola. On the one hand, the Washington Post (January 20) carried a dispatch from Nova Lisboa (Huambo) with the lead, "Troops of...UNITA and of South Africa's regular army are preparing a major pincer movement against the MPLA." BBC reported on January 21 that South Africa will opt for total mobilization in Angola. In contrast, Fred Hoffman, an AP military reporter, said in a January 22 article, that the United States intelligence officials "have received reports that South African military units have been ordered to pull out of Angola."

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NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION IN THE PRA

Very little news has reached us from Angola concerning changes in the quality of everyday life since the formation of the People's Republic of Angola (PRA). The western press has generally ignored evidence of the PRA government's administrative ability to effectively govern and its efforts to build an infrastructure serving the needs of the people, efforts which are continuing even under extremely difficult war conditions.

However, a Sunday Times of London (Jan. 18) article on Angola includes a description of the extent to which the MPLA Government is reaching one area of Luanda with new programs in health care and community mobilization. In a "working class district," a former brothel (prostitution has recently been outlawed and prostitutes sent for reeducation) is said to now house the People's Commission of the community containing 57 elected representatives and 7 coordinators all elected by the people. Their task, according to the Times report, is to "bring some basic services to an area which before very obviously had none at all."

Doctors are scheduled to come into the community three times a week where previously there were none. A new open air gynecological clinic is in operation. A bi-weekly newspaper is published and weekly political meetings are held. Education is being given to children during the day and to adults in the evening.
THE U.S. AND ANGOLA

Next week the ongoing struggle between the Administration and the Congress over U.S. involvement in Angola will commence again in public. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger is scheduled to testify before the subcommittee on African affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Thursday, January 29th. The House of Representatives is due to take up on the 27th of January consideration of the Tunney amendment cutting off funds for U.S. covert activities in Angola which passed the Senate by a 54-22 vote just before Christmas.

Angola has been prominent for the past month in press reports and editorial comment and on radio and TV. Coverage is by no means complete or entirely satisfactory, yet public opposition to U.S. policy toward Angola is increasing. Continuing CIA activity and the presence of American mercenaries has, however, not been inhibited, despite complaints of strictures threatened by the Tunney amendment, the shortcomings of which were explained in the AWNS of Jan. 8th.

The Administration, while maintaining a relatively low profile, is obstinately pressing its position on Angola both in Congress and in the media. Despite continuing reports of a split within the State Department on Angolan policy, its press officials still promote UNITA. Kissinger, according to the New York Times of Jan. 15, "added a new element to the call for withdrawal of foreign troops from Angola. He said the United States would be amenable to discussing a phased withdrawal, with South African troops departing first and Cuban troops later." Kissinger this week is in Moscow to talk about SALT and is trying to bring in Angola, even though Russian leaders reject the idea.

President Ford in his State of the Union speech emphasized "strong central direction that allows flexibility of action" in the conduct of foreign affairs, and said directly after, "We must not face a future in which we can no longer help our friends, such as in Angola--even in limited and carefully controlled ways. We must not lose all capacity to respond short of military intervention." He criticized "some hasty actions of the Congress--most recently in respect to Angola."

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ACTIONS TO SUPPORT THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA

February 7th, demonstrations in support of the PRA to be held in Phila., Boston, Chicago, and N.Y. to celebrate Feb. 4, the 15th anniversary of MPLA's launching of the armed struggle. Contact Solidarity Com. for info.

Jan. 17, YAWF-sponsored demonstrations in NYC and other cities. In NYC 1,000 persons marched, shouting, "Out Now, CIA--Victory to MPLA."

Jan. 17, African Students for Angolan Independence sponsored a teach-in and lively debate in solidarity with the MPLA in Cambridge.

Jan. 19, Congress, reconvening, was greeted by 300 persons holding a rally on the Capitol steps, telling them to get the U.S. out of Angola. Speakers represented Africa groups, churches, academia, and former anti-war groups.
Next week the U.N. Security Council is scheduled to meet on the subject of Namibia. Almost consistently shuffled out of sight in discussions of South Africa's presence in the Angolan war is Pretoria's illegal occupation of that international territory and its use of Namibia as both staging area and corridor for its invasion of Angola.

A Washington Post dispatch from Moscow dated 21 January states that Kissinger "sought today to trade progress toward a U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms pact for a withdrawal of all foreign forces from Angola." A possible strategy designed to minimize Western losses in a situation where the forces of the PRA are growing daily in military and popular strength might be for South Africa to pull back from most of Angola while consolidating its blatantly illegal hold on Namibia.

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Within the last week, both Ethiopia and Laos have recognized the People's Republic of Angola.

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CORRECTION: The January 18th issue of the Angola Weekly News Summary incorrectly reported that Mauritania had recognized the PRA. Mauritania has not recognized the PRA and did not support the OAU resolution to recognize the PRA. Mauritius has recognized the PRA and did support the OAU resolution to recognize the PRA.

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BUTTONS:

The MPLA Solidarity Committee has run out of buttons. Our new order will arrive the last week in January and we shall fill all orders then.
The Constitutional law of the People’s Republic of Angola, headed by Dr. Agostinho Neto, is based on the following principles:

**Article 1**—The People’s Republic of Angola is a sovereign, independent and democratic State, whose first objective is the total liberation of the Angolan people from the vestiges of colonialism and the domination and aggression of imperialism, and the construction of a prosperous and democratic country, completely free from any form of man’s exploitation by man, realizing the aspirations of the masses.

**Article 2**—All sovereignty rests with the Angolan people, but the MPLA -- their legitimate representative, composed of a broad front in which all the patriotic forces involved in the anti-imperialist struggle are included -- is in charge of the political, economic and social leadership of the nation.

**Article 3**—The masses are guaranteed broad and effective participation in the exercise of political power through consolidation, extension and evolution of the organizing forces of people’s power.

**Article 4**—The People’s Republic of Angola is a single and indivisible State whose inviolable and inalienable territory is that defined by the present geographic limits of Angola, and it energetically fights any separatist attempt to dismember its territory.

**Article 5**—Economic, social and cultural solidarity among all regions of the RPA will be promoted by common development of the entire Angolan nation and elimination of the results of regionalism and tribalism.

**Article 6**—The People’s Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA), the people’s fighting arm, under the leadership of the MPLA and with its President as their Comander-in-Chief, are institutionalized as the National Army of the RPA in charge of defending the territorial integrity of the homeland and participating in production and therefore in national reconstruction, alongside the people. The Comander-in-Chief of the People’s Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) appoints and removes the top level military leaders.

**Article 7**—The People’s Republic of Angola is a lay State in which there is complete separation between the State, the church and religious institutions. All religions will be respected and the State will provide protection for churches, religious places and objects, providing they obey state laws.

**Article 8**—The People’s Republic of Angola considers agriculture as a base and industry as a decisive factor in its development.

The State directs and plans the national economy for the purpose of systematically and harmoniously developing all natural and human resources and utilizing the wealth for the benefit of the people.

**Article 9**—The RPA will promote the establishment of just social relations in all sectors of production, stimulating and developing the public sector and increasing cooperative methods. The RPA will be very particularly concerned with solving the land problem in the interest of the peasant masses.

**Article 10**—The RPA recognizes, protects and guarantees private property, including that of foreigners, provided these favor the economy of the country and the interests of the Angolan people.

**Article 11**—All natural resources of the soil and subsoil, territorial waters, continental platform and air space are the property of the State which shall determine the conditions under which they are exploited and used.

**Article 12**—The fiscal system shall be guided by the principle of progressive payment of direct taxes with no fiscal privileges of any kind being permitted.

**Article 13**—The RPA energetically fights illiteracy and ignorance and promotes the development of education at the service of the people and of a true national culture enriched by the revolutionary cultural conquests of other peoples.

**Article 14**—The RPA respects and applies the principles of the UN Charter and the Charter of the OAU and will establish relations of friendship and cooperation with all states on the basis of principles of mutual respect for territorial sovereignty and integrity, equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of each country and reciprocity of benefits.

**Article 15**—The RPA supports and expresses solidarity with the people’s struggle for their national liberation and will establish relations of friendship and cooperation with all the democratic and progressive forces of the world.

**Article 16**—The RPA will belong to no international military organization, nor permit the installation of foreign military bases on its national territory.

The Constitution also states that as long as Angolan territory is not totally liberated and the conditions for the installation of the People’s Assembly do not exist, the highest State body shall be the Council of the Revolution composed of the members of the MPLA Political Bureau, the members of the General Staff of the FAPLA, the provincial commissioners, and members of the government named for this purpose. The Council of the Revolution shall be presided over by the President of the RPA and its purpose is to exercise legislative power; define and guide the country’s domestic and foreign policy; approve the general State budget; name the Prime Minister; name the provincial commissioners; authorize the president to declare war and peace; decree a state of siege or emergency and authorize amnesties.
Fidel Speaks Out on Angola

Following are the concluding remarks of the Command-er-in-Chief, Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, and Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government, made at the closing session of the First Party Congress in Havana, December 22, 1975. Immediately after the closing of the Congress, Prime Minister Fidel went out- side to address spontaneously to the more than 2 million Cubans assembled in the José Martí Revolutionary Plaza.

We have excerpted portions of both speeches which re- late directly to Cuba’s commitment in Angola because we feel they comprise the most concrete expression of the rea- sons for Cuba’s support to the People’s Republic of Angola led by the MPLA government. To both the Party Congress and the Cuban people in the Plaza, the Prime Minister stresses that Cuba is supporting the Angolan people on the basis of revolutionary, international and fraternal solidarity, a fundamental principle on which the Cuban government is founded and has always operated since the triumph of their own revolution on January 1, 1959. In this sense Cuba is only carrying out its revolutionary duty.

(The following is an unofficial translation from the Spanish by a friend of the Committee.)

Fidel Speaking to the First Party Congress

From the very beginning of the triumph of our revolu- tion, Cuba has supported the progressive governments and movements in Africa. And we will continue to support them.

The help we have extended has taken different forms: sometimes we sent arms, sometimes we sent men, some- times we sent military advisers, sometimes doctors, some- times builders; other times we sent builders, doctors, and advice capital all three at once. We build the Revolution on the basis of this principle, which, faithful to the policy of internationalism, is to help where we can be of help, where we can be of use, and where we are asked to. Therefore, it only follows that we are now supporting the MPLA and the Angolan people, with whom we have had relations and with whom we have collaborated from the inception of their capital, for independence from Portuguese colonial- ism. There are many Angolan cadres who have studied in Cuba.

But what is happening now? Doubtless these recent stages have extended to Angola with the coming from the fact that the imperialists are angry with us. And why are they angry? Because they had everything planned to take over Angola before the 11th of November [1975]. Angola is a territory rich in natural resources: Cabinda, one of its provinces, has tremendous petroleum deposits. The country is rich in minerals—diamonds, copper, iron—and this is one of the reasons why the imperialists want to take over Angola.

History has proven again and again that the imperialists, when they realized that these colonies would one day free themselves, immediately began to organize their [the imper- ialists’] own movement. So they organized the FNLA, with the help of the CIA. It is not only us who say this, it has just been published in the New York Times, with all the details.

So when they saw that the people of Angola were on the verge of gaining independence—just as the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Cape Verde and others, in earlier times,—the imperialists planned a way to liquidate the revolutionary movement in Angola. They plotted to take over Cabinda, with its oil, before the 11th of Novem- ber, and to capture Luanda before the same date. And to bring this scheme to fruition, the U.S. government launched South African troops against Angola... While Angola was threatened from the north by FNLA, they attacked with regular troops organized into armored columns. All this they had ready before November 11. It was a sure-fire plan, except the plan worked out badly. They didn’t count on international solidarity, on the support extended to the heroic Angolan people by the socialists countries, in the first place, and by the revolutionary and progressive govern- ments of Africa, and on the support which, along with the progressive governments of the world, the Cuban people extended to Angola.

The result? On the 8th of November they began the offensive against Cabinda, and were completely repulsed. When they were walking at Cabinda as they were walking at Cuba, they were walking at the more than 100 kilometers away. The armor of South Africa, which had been un- leashed on October 23, in less than 20 days had penetrated almost 100 kilometers from Luanda, where it ground to a com- plete halt. In short, the heroic struggle of the Angolan people, sup- ported by the international revolutionary movement, has smashed the imperialist design.

And this is why the imperialists are angry with, among others, we Cubans. Some imperialists ask themselves why we support the Angolan people, what possibilities do we have there. They are accustomed to thinking that when a country does something it is because it is seeking oil, or copper, or diamonds or some other natural resources. But no, that’s not it! We seek no material interest, although it is logical that the imperialists don’t understand, because they are guided exclusively by chauvinist, nationalist, self-serving criteria. For ourselves, we are merely carrying out a revolu- tionary, internationalist duty in supporting the Angolan people. We seek no oil, no copper, no iron; we seek abso- lutely nothing. We are simply applying a policy of principle. We do not stand by and watch when we see a brother African people suddenly about to be drowned by imperial- ism and brutally overrun by South Africa. We do not stand by, and we will not stand by.

So whenever the imperialists ask what is our interest, we will have to tell them: listen, go and read a manual on proletarian internationalism and then you will understand why we support Angola.

This is the reason for the anger of the threats, and nothing else. Can you conceive of a future for Cuba in which the price for relations and commerce with the U.S. would be that we revert to what we were in the past? That this country would cease to express its solidarity with its revolutionary brothers in the rest of the world? That we would cease expressing our solidarity with the Vietnamese, Laotians, Cambodians, Africans, Yemenites, Arabs, with Syria, Algeria, Guinea, and all these countries together? Our solidarity policy is no secret. And one of the facts, one of the most beautiful elements of this Congress is the international presence in our midst. On the one hand, we have here representatives of the countries which aid us, and among them the Soviet delegation, which has given us great support and great lessons in internationalism. Because, from across great distances, they have refused to allow imperial- ism to strangle us, to swallow us up, and to destroy us.

So what does imperialism want of us? That we break from our world revolutionary family? That we cease to be a people in solidarity with all those brother peoples who struggle against imperialism? If that is the price they want us to pay, then there will never be any relations with the United States. We reiterate that the policy of our Revo- lution is one of peaceful relations and coexistence with regimes of different ideologies and different social systems. But it is they who do not live up to this, not us. To do as they do will be tantamount to our telling them that they had to implement agrarian reforms or nationalize their elec- trical giants in order to establish relations with us. So what kind of conditions does imperialism want to establish in our country? We will carry out our policy of solidarity with Angola; we are for Angola and we will continue to aid the Angolan people... (All the Delegates rise to their feet and with prolonged applause exclaimed "Angola, Angola, An- gola!")

So now the imperialists know just what it our policy and what is the political line of our country. On the other hand, however, we cannot conceive of a policy more stupid that the one which the imperialists are pursuing in Angola. It is stupid, because, hardly having extricated themselves from
their Vietnam adventure, they go right out and sink them- selves in another war. The war in South Africa is the first. Why? Why? We will have to give them some of the reasons.

South Africa, that is to say, the racists and fascists of South Africa, is utterly hated by all the peoples of Africa. To say that the United States is like saying scared in the midst of the Arab countries. The policy of the U.S. sup- porting and instigating the South African aggression against Angola, has isolated it [the US] from the irrevocable made enemies of, all the peoples of Africa.

But something else, something more, Cabinda province remains solidly in the hands of the MPLA. . . . And despite the war, production and commerce has not been stopped. And while there are North American firms that are installed there, it is the MPLA fighters who guard the installations and who guarantee the safety of the North American citi- zens working in Cabinda to exploit the oil. The MPLA, the United States arms mercenary troops, even though the United States unleashes South African regulars against Angola, it is the MPLA soldiers who provide security for the installations and safety for the North American citizens who operate in Cabinda.

To us, this policy appears totally correct. It is proof of the very serenity, the sobriety and the maturity of the Afri- can movement. . . . This also demonstrates the united spirit of the Angolans and the intelligent way in which they con- duct their policy. It demonstrates that the revolutionary African movement is in a position to negotiate on all mat- ters pertaining to any natural resources, whenever it suits them to do so.

What they will never negotiate with is with racism, with Apartheid. What they will never negotiate with is the occupation of Angola by South Africa. Because the occupa- tion of Angola by South African racists creates danger for Zambia, for Mozambique, for Zaire, for the People's Republic of the Congo, for all of Africa. And Africa is determined to support the MPLA movement, and its struggle as well. As time goes by, more and more African govern- ments and nations will come to the point where they send arms and men to fight against the South African racists. Africa, I say, South Africa, we are going to let it be swallowed up by South Africa, and together with the peoples of Africa in this struggle, will be the people of Cuba.

South Africa, taking the path it has, and in seeking to conquer Angola, will now have to engage in battle against all of Black Africa.

I do not believe that the countries of Europe would commit themselves on this day to fight against the South African and its fascist and racist crusade. And it is undeni- ably stupid for the U.S. government to associate itself with this campaign, especially in light of the fact that the Anglo- South Africans themselves are showing the world a policy that is correct and serene in the extreme—and I repeat "extreme" because it is the MPLA troops who are protecting the oil installations and North American citizens located in Cabinda.

We are unable to fathom how the Ford Administration can justify this to the U.S. public and what pretext they can dredge up that would explain their policy of aggression against Angola, in concert with the racists of Africa.

This is the crucial point of foreign policy that we wish to put forth: to the imperialists we say that we seek nothing over there in Angola, that we are practicing our traditional internationalist policy; that we are aiding the people of Angola and that we are firmly determined to [continue to] aid them. And that, after all this, we regret very much that Mr. Ford and Co., want to "embargo" hopes for improvement [of relations with us]. For we do know that these hopes, in the context of such policy on the part of the U.S., have no real basis.

Fidel Addressing the Cuban People in the Plaza of the Revolution

At the closing session of our Party Congress, we were commenting on a statement by the President of the United States, in which he said that the help Cuba has provided to the Angolan people cancels out all possibilities of improve- ments in our relations with the U.S. It is a funny way of putting it, because he wishes to cancel something which, in our eyes, imperialism has already cancelled by its own actions.

It [imperialism] would like to isolate us from the rest of the world; but we are joining with the world, with the socialist camp, with the underdeveloped countries, with Asia, and with Africa.

And now the eye of the storm is Angola. Imperialism would like to prevent us from aiding our Angolan brothers. But we have to tell the Yankees not to forget that we are not only a Latin American country, but also a Latino- African one.

The blood of Africa flows abundantly in our veins. And it was from Africa that many of our ancestors came as slaves to this land. And the MPLA are the first to say that we renounce our ideology. And they were important soldiers in the Liberation Army of our country. We are brothers of the Africans, and we are ready to fight at their side.

Determination was a fact of life in our country. Who doesn't know that? Who doesn't remember it? In many of our public parks, it was Whites over here, and Blacks over there. Who doesn't remember that Cubans of African de- scent were excluded from many places, recreation centers, and schools? Who doesn't remember that in study and work, in all aspects of the society, discrimination was an everyday affair? And who today are the representatives, the symbols of the most odious and inhuman kind of discrimi- nation? They are the fascists and racists of South Africa. And now Yankee imperialism, without the slightest hint of respect, South Africa in Africa is saying to the Angolans in the Africa to crush Angolan independence. And they are upset because we support Angola, because we support Africa, be- cause we defend Africa. It is out of a sense of duty, a sense of duty flowing from our principles, our ideology, our convictions, and our own blood, that we defend Angola, that we defend Africa! And when we say we defend, we mean it, and when we say, we mean it.

Let South Africa racists and Yankee imperialists know this: we are part of the world revolutionary movement, and in this struggle, which pits Africa against the racists and imperialists, we are, unwaveringly, one with the peoples of Africa.

It is an exercise of the greatest cynicism for the U.S. to condemn our support for Angola when it marches arm in arm with the South African fascists over these heroic people.

South Africa! An area of the world in which 3 million Whites occupy a country which would impose this policy on Rhodesia, and is doing it, and would impose it on all of Black Africa, if only it could. But Black Africa won't tolerate this, will not endure this. And such is the arrogance of the imperialists and the reactionaries to- wards these peoples; it is the old habit of mercenaries to do whatever they can get away with, to march with their tanks and guns and shoot their defenseless people. They already tried to do this here, at the Bay of Pigs, and now they are trying again in Angola. But the Angolans will not be defenseless! . . . If imperialism cannot improve relations with Cuba, it is because capitalism is incapable of adhering to international- al norms. If capitalism is incapable of respecting the liberty and sovereignty of other peoples, that is their problem. Let them renounce capitalism and the problem will be solved. But for now, don't come to us and ask that we renounce socialism, that we renounce proletarian internationalism, that we renounce our ideology.

It is not we who are intrinsically opposed to normal relations. But if capitalism—powerful and dominant—wants nothing, neither to speak nor to look upon this small coun- try, then we will wait until capitalism disappears from the United Nations. This is not about to let itself be supported by South Africa to impose its own principles of peaceful co- existence and normal relations. If they don't want to, so be it, because, fortunately, we don't need them for anything.

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