WHY WE QUITTED THE U.P.A AND THE G.R.A.E. OF MR. HOLDEN ROBERTO ROBERTO DETRAYS BOTH THE REVOLUTION AND THE MASSES

We are deeply convinced that a revolution is not a mechanical process which depends exclusively on external aid. A revolution depends, among other things, on the total support of the popular masses as well as, on just and firm leadership capable of analysing at each moment, the development of the struggle with within the country and the important changes taking place on the international plan. A resolute revolution is the expression of the all-embracing, deep and generalized political, economic and social demands of the popular masses who subjected to forms of exploitation. The correct political washed with a subjected to forms of exploitation. The correct political washed with a subject of the political, is the result of an objectiv and profound analysis of the political, economic, and social situation existing in the country.

In short, certain prerequisite conditions should exist before any national liberation war can be waged with success, that means, there should exist definite conditions which we w may classify under the terms objective and subjective. Under conditions which we shall terms objective, we shall include such things as the presence of brutal oppression which affects most sections of the people or the great majority of the masses, the masses should have endured this oppression and exploitation long enouth to realize that their salvation lies in the armed struggle and the armed struggle when it is engaged upon, must be regarded as the point of no return. The people should know that they have their own destiny in their own hands and that if they do not win in the struggle, their enemies will show them neither mercy nor leniency. There should also exist a favourable external environment — because no revolution can succed in our epoch without a whole series of international support.

Whan the people of Angola decided to wage a national liberation war against Portugese colonialists without any doubt the most savage form of 20th century slavery. It affects all sections of the popular masses. It is the cldest in Africa covering a period of we over 500 years. The African Territories under Portuguese foreign occupation are considered provinces of Portugal so that even in the distant future Portugal does not enterain an idea of their independance. That means, for our people, the only way to salvation is the way of an armed struggle. We have no other way open to us and since we have already lived many centuries under Portuguese colonial slavery, we are prepared to fight our way to freedom even if it may take another 100 years more. We have no choice. We have taken upon ourselves the burden of the struggle to the two bitter end what ever the cost in sacrifice.

Still, under objective conditions, there was when we began our struggle and there is still, a very favourable international environment, the United States imperialism which is the watch-dog of world imperialism and colonialism as well as forms of expoitation, is on the run every where in Vietnam and other parts of Asia, in several countries in Africa which have not yet regained their independence, armed struggle has been placed on the agenda, and the mystic policy of non-tio-lence has been buried for ever, in these African countries we which have already regained their independence, the struggle against neo-colonialism has begun in armest. In Latin America, revolutionary Cuba has se the whole Latin American continent ablaze white with revolutionary enthusiasm. The socialist camp, the progressive forces in the United States, Europe and other places are in a world wide anti-imperialism front, there is indeed a favourable international situation.

The subjective conditions. The support of the popular masses for the national liberation war was total and unreserved, the morale of the people was high and our people were prepared to make the utmost sacrifice in the cause of our liberation.

But very sad to say, in people like Holden Roberto our people did not find a dedicated leadership. In people like Holden Roberto, the people in fact misplaced their confidence and their hopes and whe in consequence our revolution was betrayed.

- A. (1) The absence of collective leadership at the head the G.R.A.E. does not allow an objective analysis of the situation both inside the country and outside. The G.R.A.E. has become the personal instrument of Holden's ambatious intrigues. His personal whims xx constitue the Law. The P.D.A. Led by Mr. Kouzika fight to save the face of the F.N.L.A. at the price of innumerable humiliations. We shall cite only few exemples:—
- a) The sending of the agents of the (Congo-Leo) secutity personnel to the headquarters of the P.D.A. might in June, 1964 by Holden Roberto, to search for arms which the leaders of P.D.A might hide. At this occasion, Mr. Ferdinand Ndombele, Minister of Social Affairs of the G.R.A.E. was subjected to a number of vazatious mesures.
- b) At the Minkuzu training base (Congo-Leo), used by G.R.A.E. the P.D.A. out of the total of 1000, has only 30 soldiers.
- c) Holden Roberto, in order to ensure for himself the fidelity of Mr. Emmanuel Nziki, member of the P.D.A. and Minister of Finance of the G.R.A.E. initiated intrigues between Emmanuel Nziki and his Party with the result that the latter has been eliminated from the G.R. A.E. for the misappropriation of www millions of Francs. Thus you can see where goes the money given by African States intended to help the liberation of Angola.
- d) Mr. Taden who was the representative of G.R.A.E. in East Africa has been dimissed from his podt because of the serious accusations against Holden Roberto.
- e) The students who oppose the tribalistic and dividing politics of Holden Roberto, have their scholarships suppressed and in some cases, even their travelling documents have been withdrawn. We cite in illustration the case of Orlando Fortuna, who for regusing to participate in the diving politics of Holden Roberto, now finds himself

stranded somewhere in Europe deprived of both the scholarship and travelling documents.

- f) Holden Roberto has always received cordial support from the authorities of the Congo-Leo. He has used this support against Angolan patriots. We shall cite the arbitrary arrest of Daniel Chipenda, President of the Young of M.P.L.A. We cite also the arrests of hundreds of patriotic Angolan soldiers whose only crime was that they supported our stand which is critical of and opposed to the politics of Holden Roberto. Several of these soldiers have found their death in the Congolese prisons of Ndolo, Lusumu and Thysville, many other are still incarcerated in Congo prisons. For those who are still in these Congo prisons, We request the Committee to make the necessary representations for the immediate release of the patriotic soldiers. As reference, we give a few names of some of these soldiers or officers:
- 1. Abel Alfredo, 2. Alberto Sipata, 3. Agostino Alberto, 4. Firmono 5. Paulo Cardoso, 6. Victor Benguela, 7. Domingos Guedes, 8. Albino 9. Carlos Bandeira, 10. Jose Luacio.

There are also other soldiers and patriots of the M.P.L.A. detained in Congo prisons at the instigation of Holden Roberto.

g) - Roberto sells arms and medical supplies inteded for the fighting people of Angola, to the Congolese authorities at Leopoldville. The army of national liberation must be not only a fighting army but also businesses a political army, to be a political army, its political consciousness must be raised. It is this political consciousness which should guarantee the consolidation of the national democratic revolution when the fighting is over. The army for the liberation of Angola is not political consicious. It remains incapable of winning the enthusiastic support of the masses to the national cause. It is this lack of political consciouspess which makes determined to fight resolutely against Portuguese colonialism. We shall cite yet another example of M.P.L.A. cadres who were massacred on two occasions by the soldiers of Holden's U.P.A. on the orders of Holden Roberto. We cite also the case of undreds of innocent Angolans who were massacred by the agents of Holden Roberto in North Angola. Their crime that they did not belonged to the Mukongo ethnic-group to which Holden belonged. We citealso the refusal of Holden Roberto to accept the volunteers offered by President Ben Bella as aid to our struggle. Instead of these Algerian volunteers, Holden Roberto has put at head of his army Mr. Berhardt Meinhertz, an American Officer who served in the Ameria can army in South Vietnam.

The soldiers of Holden's U.P.Z. allowed the entrance of American journalists into the interior of the country who, in addition to make publications and tape recordings, furnished precise information to the Portuguese colonialists about the location of our soldiers. Following this commandant Antoine Muandazi was arrested by the Portuguese after his interview with an American journalist in his army headquarters wat Serra da Canda in Angola. The American journalist in question was Lloyd Garrison.

The soldiers of Holden's U.P.A. use the arms and we ammunitions, furnished by African countries for hunting buffakoes in order to sell the meat at the post Matade (Congo Leo) instead of using the arms and

ammunitions to fight the Portuguese colonialists. From these we can see that the national liberation army has indeed degeration to a very low political consciourness. As regarded the flirting of Holden Roberto with Congo-Leo a quotation from the speech of Jose Kalundungu, Chief of State Major of A.L.N.A. "we are strongly opposed to Tshombe whatever support which he may eventually give to Angolans resident in Leopoldville. For us, there are not even explanatory w justifications which can absolve the G.R.A.E. for flirtation with a power led by notorious agents of the imperialisms. Certainly, Holden Roberto awaits the fullfillment of the promises of support from Tshombe. The Angolan people who are waging a struggle for their national independence should remain firm intheir solidarity with the Congolese nationalists who desire the achievement of real independence for their country along the path chartered by Patrice Lumumba. The tolerance of the activithes of G.R.A.E. by Tshombe make us have misgivings about the future of our country". Tell me with whom you associated and I shall say who jou are. "we awwait the reaction of G.R.A.E. to the sinister massacre of Stanleyville by a Belgo-American coalition, is it that this reaction will come some day whenthe survivors of Stanleyville massacre and other patriots will have taken power in the whole of the Congo? The President of the Conakat and his masters will not gain victory. They will never succeed. Peace in the Congo will be conquered by the Congolese people-without any outside imposition. The whole of Africa should realise that the heart of the continent is sick. We ask the African countries to go deep into z serious imperialists will learn in the Congo will save the whole continent.

Forward in the struggle, companions of Lumumba, forward the people of the Congo, neighbouring Angola engaged deep in the fight for freedom, is solidaly on your side. In the accompanying manifesto we charter once again our line of action and declare our resolution to fight.

Made in Dar-Es-Salaam, 15th January, 1965. Angolan Manifesto.

Jonas Malheiro Savimbi