

ANGOLA, THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE INTERNATIONAL  
TASKS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

( A PANEL PRESENTATION )

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA CONFERENCE ON WAR, REVOLUTION AND THE  
INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

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COMRADES! FRIENDS!

The task of this workshop is to discuss the revolutionary struggle in Angola and all of Southern Africa. To do this, we must take up the history of struggle by the masses of people there, the over-all development of the international situation in the world today and the international tasks of the American people.

Angola is located on the Atlantic coast in Southern Africa, sharing borders with Zaire, Zambia and Namibia. Angola is twice the size of Texas. There are almost 6 million Africans mainly composed of four traditional ethnic groups:

Ovimbundu	33%
Bakongo	25%
Kimbundu	25%
Chokwe	8%

Angola is rich in natural resources, mainly oil, diamonds, iron and coffee. People in the U.S.A. are well acquainted with these resources since over half the instant coffee we drink comes from Angola, and many Gulf Oil products we use are likely to be products from Angola.

Angola is important for these reasons, but also because it is a strategic military and economic location for ships and planes and railroads. Moreover, its proximity to the industrially developed AZANIA (South Africa) makes it especially strategic. The U.S. ruling class has a billion dollar investment by over 300 corporations in Azania. So Angola is important for resources mainly oil

and coffee, and also for its strategic proximity to Southern Africa, especially South Africa.

We can sum up the last 500 years of oppression in three stages. In all three stages, Portuguese colonialism was the direct political enemy, but the material source and therefore the class essence of the national oppressions changed.

1. 1483 - 1714. Portuguese colonialism established itself in Angola based on the interests of a mercantile capitalist class interested in trading slaves.
2. 1714 - World War II. With the rise of industrial capitalism and imperialism Britain became the chief force dominating Portugal, so Portuguese colonialism became a front for British finance capital.
3. W.W.II - 1970's. The results of W.W.II, in addition to leading to revolutionary movements throughout the third world, placed the United States on the top of the imperialist dung heap. It replaced Britain and tied the U.S.A. ruling class into Angola, with Gulf Oil representing 90% of the current  $\frac{1}{4}$  billion dollar investment in Angola.

The current phase of the Angolan war of liberation began in 1961. After World War II, the Portuguese policy of assimilating a small African intellectual elite turned into its opposite. Nationalism was taken up as a progressive unity force based on an anti-colonial orientation. Out of this development came the formations that led to M.P.L.A. in 1956 and the core of what was to become F.N.L.A. in 1957. These were mainly students, intellectuals, and the small urban petty bourgeoisie. There were also organized resistance by workers, mainly in the railroad industry, and by peasants on coffee

plantations.

Armed struggle broke out in 1961 with a spontaneous attack on a political prison in Luanda. Shortly afterwards, a factional split occurred in FNLA and a new organization - U.N.I.T.A.- was formed in 1963.

Without attempting to describe the 14 year guerilla war led by these three organizations some key comparisons between them will serve as well.

A. Each of the three organizations represents itself as a united front effort representing a correct synthesis of the genuine desire by the Angolan people for independence. All three organizations have a national democratic program. There is no independent leading proletarian force inside any of them. As such, each contributed to the anti-imperialist national liberation phase, but none was able to lead the Angolan masses through the class struggle required to build socialism.

B. The leadership of all three organizations has social origins in the privileged intellectual and urban petty bourgeois class. Moreover each organization has been primarily based on a single traditional ethnic group. The essence of this is the bourgeois nationalist aspirations of petty bourgeois democrats. These are the people Cabral warned us about when he wrote that the petty bourgeois forces would have to commit revolutionary suicide after political independence.

In sum, the class character and ethnic basis for each organization define the limits of its revolutionary contribution. Only proletarian leadership of a united front, at the center of which is the worker-peasant alliance, can guide a people to socialism. The

three organizations could at best expell all foreign aggression and maintain development on the basis of diversified economic assistance but mainly self-reliance and socialist aid.

But Angola has been more complex and difficult a struggle than that. There has been superpower intervention developing since the 1950's. The Soviet Social Imperialists have supported MPLA since its inception; the U.S.A has equally supported FNLA, and then UNITA, as well. But each has contributed skimpy support, dumping inadequate amounts of less than advanced weapons. With the revolution in Portugal, it became apparent that Angola would have its independence. A meeting held in January 1975 in Alvor, Portugal, established a transittional government of unity agreed to by all three organizations and the OAU leadership. Even after violent conflict between the libertion forces, a second agreement signed June 1975 in Nankuru, Kenya, re-affirmed the existence of this United Front government toward the November 11th Independence Day.

But superpower intervention was already in full steam because the November 11th Independence Day would formally free Angola from direct Protuguese colonial domination. The Soviet Union increased the amount and quality of military aid and Cuba readied to send thousands of troops to fight Angolans--all to install MPLA as the undisputed leader.

The USA funnelled aid to the FNLA through Zaire, set up a mercenary force - both black and white - and South Africa prepared to invade the southern part of Angola to fight with UNITA--all to form an opposition to MPLA.

With the potential of a military edge in the situation, each

side with the backing of a superpower, fought to win and consolidate its hegemonic control thereby liquidating the development of a government of national unity. The seizure of control by the MPLA-Cuban-Soviet forces has placed Angola squarely in the camp of Soviet Social Imperialism.

So we are now entering what clearly appears to be a 4th stage of foreign domination over Angola, where the top dog imperialist position has been taken over by the false-faced Soviet Social Imperialists. This is a fact that stares the Angolan people in the face every day. It is acknowledged in military and economic pacts signed by the MPLA leadership in Moscow with the Breznev clique. It is spoken by Neto when he openly attacks the proletarian line of the Peoples Republic of China. It is brutally proven when the patriots inside MPLA are jailed and threatened with death for speaking out against superpower hegemonism, against the continued presence of Soviet advisors and Cuban troops.

The key question concerns the nature of the so-called Angolan independence.

Can a nation be independent when its existence is based on the presence of foreign troops? Especially when its main threat is from its own people, with or without imperialist support? Can a nation be independent when it makes economic pacts and military pacts that link it to the international designs of a superpower, that subordinate the determination of its own role by its own people to the international scheme of an imperialist force. The key issue here is self-reliance, national integrity, and non-interference in the internal affairs of another country.

There are many ways to characterize this situation, but the brutal fact comes through that the Angolan people have not ended these centuries of tyranny, but have merely changed masters once again.

So the struggles of the Angolan masses must be seen in light of the international situation. Our view is that since the mid 1950's the Soviet Union has degenerated in a capitalist country. This means that it is essentially the same as the U.S.A, though its 40 years of socialist development make a different set of tactics available. The Soviet Union is an imperialist country with a socialist con game.

What has this meant for the world? Since World War II, the main struggle has been national liberation movements versus imperialism, mainly U.S. imperialism, and the declining European forces Britain and France. But with capitalism restored in the USSR, and with most countries having either achieved independence or at least political independence, there has been a shift in emphasis.

Today, there are two trends in the world--peoples, countries and nations continue to fight for freedom, this is the revolutionary trend. But also, the two big bullies, the two superpowers, are vying for a bigger piece of the pie (The U.S.A. trying to hold onto its sphere of influence and design new tactics on how to expand, and the Soviet Union eager to flex its muscles and expand its influence). This contention between the superpowers is the basis for the trend towards war. Both trends were concretely manifested in Angola. The masses were fighting a revolutionary national democratic war against imperialism, and the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, each with a proxy, contending over whose influence would dominate Angola.

So we can directly answer the question of what happened after November 11, 1975. Was it mainly a civil war or a struggle between the superpowers. Given the low capacity of any one organization to dominate and given the great increase in military aid sent from both superpowers, the post-November 11 conflict must be understood in terms of superpower intervention, a struggle by imperialists over spheres of influence.

1. It was an unjust war because the strategic interests of the Angola masses were held by neither side.
2. It contributed to the general trend of world war.

Conflict would certainly have existed between the three organizations, but it was only with the intervention of the superpowers that the actual conflict reached such proportions, and became part and parcel of the superpower struggle for hegemony in all of Southern Africa and throughout the world. Therefore, it is necessary to assume that while civil conflict was there, the principal aspect of it was the superpower contention.

There are no deals that can be made with the wolf to kill the fox, without the wolf eating you up, too. Both are wild, hungry, and carnivorous and both must be fought and defeated. There are many short cut schemes that appear to be the easy way, but, as the masses of Angolan people will come to learn more and more as the treacherous Soviet Imperialists continue to deepen their influence, there is no compromise possible with self-determination and self-reliance.



Now what are the tasks of the American people regarding this situation?

1. As in all affairs, the <sup>key</sup> distinction that guides our action is unity with friends--the masses of exploited and oppressed people and struggle against the enemy--especially the two superpowers. In general, this occurs through political education in conferences like this, and in any way to destroy deception, hypocrisy, and camouflage that prevents the masses from making this very important distinction between friends and enemies.
2. Secondly, the main fight is here in the USA. Given our task to defeat our own ruling class, and given its international role as a superpower, the greatest international contribution would be to defeat the US. imperialist class and build socialism in the U.S.A. So, our position is for the American people to deepen our fight for socialism in the U.S.A, as our greatest contribution to the world. In addition, we have a responsibility to give political and moral support to all genuine revolutionary struggles, which will be mostly aimed at the superpowers, but not entirely. Specifically, this means hit hardest for ending U.S.A. involvement, and continue to systematically expose the hegemonic Soviet Social schemes.

The American people have a great revolutionary history, and a history of support for the struggles of oppressed people. The great struggle against the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam is so recent we can all vividly remember. Also, there is a history of support for African liberation most recently sparked by African Liberation Day protests since 1972, workers refusing to assist in illegal imperialist trade with racist Rhodesia and South

Africa over coal and chrome. We can make a difference. Our fight is a fight we can win. War will lead to revolution, or revolution will prevent war.

SUPPORT THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE ANGOLAN MASSES AND THE STRUGGLES IN ZIMBABWE, NAMIBIA, AND AZANIA

SUPERPOWERS OUT OF ANGOLA

LONG LIVE THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

PEOPLE OF THE USA UNITE TO DEFEAT USA IMPERIALISM