



alone when it is managed by appointees of the fascist boer oppressors. The people totally reject the ill-conceived plan of the Balkanisation of our country. They cannot accept to be condemned for life in these dumping grounds for the unemployed whilst the Sebes swim in luxury afforded by their blood-wage. Our people refuse to be enticed with the illusion of 'independence' for they know that there can be no true independence and freedom without the complete destruction of the present regime and all its structures. We of the ANC call upon the people to fight against the Bantustan program, the Sebes and all their ilk.

**DOWN WITH THE BANTUSTAN PUPPETS!**

**FORWARD TO A SOUTH AFRICA OF THE FREEDOM CHARTER!**

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# PORTRAIT OF A PUPPET

## Part 1

**- EDWIN MABITSE**

As is the case with most revolutionary struggles, the Angolan revolution has gone through many a difficult period. At times the problems of the national liberation movement here, stemmed from internal contradictions borne of the heterogeneous nature of the social forces that clamoured for change. This is precisely because the anti-colonial struggle for national independence bring about the association of classes and strata whose long term interests have no common bearing beyond the immediate question of national independence. This objective character of the anti-colonialist movement creates unfortunately favourable grounds for future neo-colonialists and outright counterrevolutionaries.

In Angola, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) was no exception. Motivated by genuine patriotic objectives, the MPLA has from its inception always striven to unite Angolans of all races and social strata into a formidable movement for independence and democracy. At first it was plagued by teething problems, but more still the PIDE (Portuguese political police) on the one hand and on the other, some Angolan petty-bourgeois intellectuals who clamoured for nothing else but recognition, personal power and a name within the liberation movement. The latter explains

the underlying motive behind the struggle against Agostinho Neto's presidency and the revolutionary line of the MPLA in general, which brought about the lamentable but fortunately abortive Nito Alves coup attempt of May 27, 1977.

Worse still is the case of ambitious men whose obsession for power and a life of leisure and ease naturally lead them to positions of shameful opposition to the popular cause and direct opportunistic connivance with the colonial forces. Such is the case with 'Judas' Savimbi.

### WHO IS JONAS SAVIMBI?

Jonas Malheiro Savimbi was born into a wealthy family of a stockbreeder in Bie, Angola. Here he went to school at a mission of American Catholics. Through the mission he attained a scholarship with which he was enabled to further his studies in Lisbon where he became a licentiate in political science and law. He later settled in Lausanne, Switzerland. It is from Lausanne that Jonas Savimbi first started to show interest in the political struggle of his country and membership of the MPLA. In 1960 he wrote letters to the MPLA bureau in Conakry, stating his qualifications and professional training and expressing his readiness to hold one of the leading posts in the movement. Naturally, the MPLA had to be sceptic about this gentleman who was quick at advertising his academic achievements. Though they were ready to accept him as member, Savimbi lost interest for he could not be guaranteed a "leading post" of any kind.

Thus Savimbi turned his sights to Holden Roberto's UPA (a tribalist grouping formed to sow division among the national forces and financed by the CIA and forerunner of FNLA). In 1960 he met Roberto in Lausanne where after weighing possibilities of ascending to a position of power, offered to join UPA on condition that he is allowed to head its International Department. Roberto himself a lackey of the imperialists, was impressed. Savimbi's membership of the UPA and consequently of the GRAE (the counterrevolutionary and abortive so-called revolutionary government of Angola in exile in which Savimbi was made foreign minister) was to be shortlived. For in July 1964 at the Second All-African meeting of Heads of State in Cairo, Savimbi resigned in style - circulating a resignation letter in the meeting which was mostly held in camera. This surprise move was clearly calculated to exploit the meeting to attract attention to his otherwise unknown personality. Thus was opened the Savimbi campaign for personal power and money.

He never rested until he managed to knock together some group of Angolans into the UNITA in 1966.

### **WHY HE INTERESTS US:**

The brief background on Jonas Savimbi above might as well be the story of just another foolhardy, power crazy lunatic. Why crack our skulls over it - such people come and go. Some people might think. But an account of Savimbi's background and activity should interest South African revolutionaries not only because he is now on P r e t o r i a ' s payroll, but rather because of the number of lessons we need to draw from the dangerous activities of such elements. We are waging our revolutionary war at a time when more than ever before the most reactionary circles of international monopoly capital are baring their teeth in open concert with the fascist boers. Let us therefore be aware that our enemy is working hard to produce enough Savimbis to do the impossible, that is drowning the revolutionary effort in our own blood. Perhaps the breeding of the puppet Bantustan armies in our country serves sufficiently as warning and eye-opener. That Savimbi will never succeed in Angola should not lead us to relax our guard against others who might crop up from amongst us at some stage or another. Of course our revolutionary fight can never be left to preoccupation with energy consuming campaigns to thwart the rise of possible neo-colonists, but that we must be indefatigably vigilant and uncompromising against them is a matter of great importance.

### **U N I T A :**

UNITA was formed in 1966 by Jonas Savimbi. He brought together some UPA refugees and several disgruntled elements and injected some of them into Eastern Angola in 1966 and 67. At the outset the real activities of UNITA groups were very questionable. After 1966/67 to quote Comrade Lucio Lara, Secretary-General of the MPLA's Central Committee: "There was practically no military activity except to prevent our (MPLA - Ed) troops from operating in what Savimbi claimed was 'his' territory." UNITA was actually fighting Portugal's war. They would ambush MPLA supply columns and raid small bases and in this way exhausting the hard obtained logistics of the MPLA before the objectives were reached. In the east it was the UNITA and in the north the FNLA. In essence the MPLA had to fight the lackeys of UNITA and FNLA and yet reserve more energy for the Portuguese colonialist troops. This goes to show

that a lot of time and material was lost in skirmishes amongst Angolans. This was a deliberate ploy of the imperialists.

UNITA never interested itself in fighting the Portuguese. There is ample documentary evidence and letters which show that whilst FNLA was the Pentagon's vicious puppies the UNITA, though it had links with the CIA through James S. Cunningham, CIA agent, was basically Portugal's loyal and ferocious watchdog.

In one of the Savimbi letters addressed to the Portuguese colonial authorities and written in 1972, Savimbi after congratulating "his excellency, Professor Marcelo Caetano" and General Luz Cunha, "for his nomination to the high responsibility as commander-in-chief of the armed forces in Angola" Portuguese force - Ed), he goes on to state openly and unambiguously the ingnomious UNITA policy: "Our position is irreversible. We are no longer interested in either the OAU or today's Zambia and less still in any alliance with the MPLA. If any aspects of UNITA policy are still not sufficiently clear for the Angolan government authorities and the nation, there is one irrefutable fact: We have actively participated in weakening the MPLA in certain of the eastern regions. And we cannot entertain any sort of illusions on any type of alliance with the men whom we have fought against, and continue to fight against, without any let up. Whatever may be the intentions of the government (Portuguese government - Ed), we will never again be deluded into taking up arms against the authorities. We will use them till the end to force the MPLA one day to withdraw from the east.

"Peace in the east, in our opinion, should take into account, amongst other things, the following factors:

- (a) "The weakening, up to the liquidation, of the MPLA forces in the interior of Angola. This task can perhaps best be carried out by the combined efforts of military and paramilitary (Portuguese) forces together with those of UNITA..."

The letter is quite lengthy and very revealing, but for the purpose of brevity I close the quote here. In this letter the fundamentals of UNITA policy are laid bare. What kind of man is Savimbi as to stoop so low to the oppressors of his own people? What patriot is he who prides himself in joining hands with the colonialist in order to arrest the liberatory efforts

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