

# THE REAL NATURE OF THE SOVIET-CUBAN OCCUPATION OF ANGOLA

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The Soviet imperialist and neo-colonialist oppression in Angola has been a nightmarish continuation of the evils we have experienced under Western colonial domination. But this time the danger of Soviet domination looms ahead for entire Africa and even Europe, unless the Cubans are militarily defeated in Africa. This is possible.

The Soviet—Cuban occupation of Angola has been profoundly destructive in our country. It has thwarted the triumph of democracy; it has imposed on Angola a regime of a lonely, unpopular pro-Soviet clique; it has paralyzed the productive forces and destroyed the economy of the country; it is perpetrating war, violence and bloodshed; it has demanded of the Angolan people a price that is extraordinarily high for their liberty, dignity and national independence; it has been promoting disunity among the people. The Soviet social-imperialists have been orchestrating a vicious, intensive propaganda campaign throughout the world to justify their expansionist imperialist adventures and to mystify our resistance to their aggression. And the wounds of bitterness and disharmony inflicted in all walks of life by this Soviet—Cuban occupation in Angola will bleed and pain still long after these forces of occupation are gone, thus rendering extremely difficult Angola's task of national reconstruction. But a historical precedent has now been established in Angola: For the first time in history, a well-structured, highly effective, revolutionary guerilla army is challenging the Soviet—Cuban expeditionary forces; a truly people's armed resistance movement is destroying the myth of the invincibility of these Soviet—Cuban expeditionary armies; the mask is falling and the real imperialist-fascist nature of USSR and Cuba is being exposed.

**The process of the cubanization of Angola is being carried out at an accelerated pace by the Luanda regime. More than 8 000 Cuban families have been settled in**

**various settlement areas — colonies — throughout the country. During the past two years, more than 15 000 children were born of forced unions of Cuban men and Angolan women. Hundreds of Angolans have been killed so that wives could be taken by Cubans.**

Cuban instructors dominate at all school levels.

Militarily, there are 25 000 Cuban troops today in Angola; this represents one fifth of Cuba's national army. (During Angola's 1975 civil war there were only 15 000.) But the Cuban military presence in Angola continues to escalate. Fresh Cuban troops have been disembarking in Luanda almost every week, eluding all western «intelligence estimates». Last March, for example, 900 Cubans of the so-called CHE GUEVARA INTERNATIONALIST BRIGADE, under the cover of «instructors», arrived in Luanda and were immediately assigned to duties in combat zones in the provinces of Cwanza-Sul, Benguela, Huambo and Cuando-Cubango. We believe that before the end of this year, Cuban troops in Angola will exceed 30 000.

Cuban engagement in the Horn did not cause a reduction of Cuban forces in Angola. At one time, there appeared to be the need to transfer some combat-experienced units from Angola, but such gaps were immediately filled by fresh contingents from Cuba to Angola.

## MPLA EXISTS ONLY BECAUSE OF CUBAN SUPPORT

In terms of manpower, the war in Angola is being supported almost exclusively by Cubans. In fact, one of the errors we made until some six months ago, was to judge the conflict almost strictly in terms of MPLA and UNITA. The MPLA forces were demoralized, disorganized, weak; entire battalions, companies and platoons have surrendered to the UNITA forces

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on many occasions. This led to a relaxation of our vigilance on our part; and when the enemy — the Cuban — launched his most ruthless offensives against our forces it was not easy to push him back to his bases. The terms of this equation are therefore UNITA and the people on the one side and the CUBANS on the other. **The regime of Agostinho Neto is controlled and propped by the Cubans. Without them, there can be no MPLA Luanda regime; MPLA officials themselves make no mystery of it when they declare: «So long as the MPLA is in power, no Cuban will leave Angola; and as long as the Cubans remain in Angola, MPLA may rule.»**

In terms of the size of Cuba's economy and population, the Cuban effectives in Angola are equivalent to the United States combat effectives in Vietnam at the peak of the American involvement in Indochina. But Cuban involvement in Angola entails no economic sacrifices to Havana. In fact the availability of Cuban troops at the service of Moscow in Africa represents a valuable source of income for Cuba. The Soviet Union spends nearly 2,5 million US dollars per day to sustain its war efforts in Angola — to finance the Cuban troops and war material. Part of the loot goes directly to the Havana government. The Cuban troops in Africa are mercenaries in the true meaning of the word: they fight at a monetary price for a foreign power in a foreign country, deceitfully utilizing the cover of proletarian internationalism. As a bonus Cuba receives also the economic assistance from the Soviet bloc in all domains. Cuban sugar, for example, is imported preferentially by the Soviet bloc countries at a price four times that of the world market.

**It is true that in its war expenditures in Angola, especially in the maintenance of the Luanda government apparatus, the Soviet Union benefits enormously from the financial contribution of the United States' Gulf Oil Corporation which pours in some 500 million US dollars annually. This covers 70% of the Luanda government's budget.** The country's economy is in ruins. Angola is a very fertile country which used to export corn, beans, wheat, fruit; but today these basic food items are being impor-

ted. In the Autumn of last year, the Luanda regime had to purchase some 1 500 tons of corn from Zaire. The markets are empty. The factories are shut down, some of them damaged beyond repair.

Coffee production is 65% below the pre-war production. Angola was Africa's second largest producer of coffee and was among the world's top ten. Diamond production fell by 85%. In 1974 Angola was the world's 5th producer of gem quality diamonds, with an annual production of about 2,5 million carats%: today Angola barely produces 350 000 carats.

The Benguela Railroad, a vital communication route for Angola and the neighbouring countries of Zambia and Zaire, is completely paralyzed.

The Soviet Union pursues vigorously in all Third World countries activities aimed at imposing its hegemony. Politico-economic domination is the Soviet goal. The method chosen for the attainment of such politico-economic objectives is military intervention, blackmail — violence. The ultimate goal, however, is world hegemony, world domination — imperialism in its most aggressive and most ambitious manifestation.

In this process of Soviet imperialist expansion the role played by Angola stands out as unique in significance and importance. There are several reasons that explain the singularly profound Soviet involvement in Angola:

1. MPLA provides for the ideal ideological base to Soviet revisionism and social imperialist expansionism. No other political organization in Africa has maintained such a long historical record of faithful and militant solidarity with the Soviet Union as the MPLA. No other political organization in Africa has maintained such longtime ideological dependence upon the Soviet Union.

**Agostinho Neto is an internationalist of the Cuban persuasion rather than an African nationalist. He eschews Pan-Africanism. In fact the entire MPLA leadership elite is made up of people of Portuguese ethnic and cultural background. Many of them were officers of the oppressive Portuguese colonial administration at the end of which they sim-**

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ply put on a new hat — that of pseudo-Marxist «rulers of independent» Angola. They cannot identify with the vast masses of the oppressed Africans in the country.

### CLASS NATURE OF MPLA

Once understood the class origin and the class nature of the Luanda government elite, one may readily comprehend Luanda's demanding acts of shipping young men and women to Cuba to far-away Cuba to harvest Fidel Castro's sugar cane under physically and spiritually degrading conditions; this is reminiscent of the forced labour of the colonial days. No leader worthy of the respect and love of his people would tolerate such affront. During the first four months of this year, several thousands of young Angolans were sent to Cuba's provinces of Camagüey and Oriente to work on sugar cane fields. In March alone, 1 600 youngsters have disembarked at the port of Cienfuegos to serve their «tour of duty». If the price of proletarian internationalism is this dehumanizing servility to the Soviet Union and Cuba, then only Agostinho Neto's MPLA can afford to pay it.

2. Angola is very rich in raw materials and other natural resources: diamonds, gold, copper, iron, phosphates, petroleum, uranium etc. The territorial waters are plentiful in fish. And the soil is very fertile. Raw materials are necessary for the survival of the economies of industrialized countries. By controlling the sources of raw materials — by dominating the raw material producing countries — the Soviet Union can choke all other developed nations to death or at least bring them to their knees.

Several Spanish fishing vessels were recently expelled from Angola territorial waters, while the Soviet Union has already become the gendarme of the Angolan coast.

A large quantity of Angolan diamonds are today ending up in Havana through black market. The Soviet Union produces diamonds, but not in sufficient quantities to warrant the establishment of its own marketing system; for this and other reasons, the Soviet Union thus far has been marketing its diamonds

through the Central Selling Organization of London, a South Africa's De Beers Corporation controlled organization which distributes about 85% of the world's diamonds. The Control of Angolan diamonds could already make it feasible for the Soviet Union to end its partnership with De Beers Corp.

The importance of the uranium ore in the manufacture of nuclear weapons is obvious.

3. Angola is the first African country in which the Soviet Union has carried out an open military intervention to install a government of its operations in Southern Africa. The Soviet Union would like to consider Angola a «liberated zone» from which it can carry out acts of subversion and hit-and-run actions against the neighbouring countries. The success of all Soviet plans in Southern Africa depends almost entirely on the Soviet ability to maintain the MPLA in power and on the consolidation of its hegemony in Angola.

In view of our armed popular resistance, the Soviet and Cubans, in their vain attempts at defending their «liberated zone» are sinking deeper and deeper in the quagmire, bringing in more and more troops but getting nowhere.

No other country in the world is waging an armed revolutionary struggle against Soviet social imperialism (the case of Erythrea being quite recent). The case of Angola, therefore, has no precedent.

Our struggle is against oppression, foreign domination, colonialism and neocolonialism; our struggle is for freedom, liberty and the dignity of the Black man; it is for progress in peace, democracy and socialism. Unfortunately many people refuse cowardly to recognize and to proclaim the Soviet Union as an imperialist, neo-colonialist superpower.

The Soviet Union has imposed upon us the pursuit of a military solution, and we shall pursue it to our full satisfaction. The military defeat of the Soviet-Cuban forces in Angola is inevitable. This will herald a new era for the Third World countries. The image of the Soviet Union and Cuba will be tarnished and their pseudo progressive-socialist mask will fall. The Soviet Union will no longer be the most powerful ally of the socialist bloc. All co-

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ountries that wish progress and social justice in peace and dignity will have to realize that Soviet imperialism is real.

For the time being, it is therefore futile to entertain the illusion of persuading the Soviet Union to participate in the search of political solutions to Southern Africa's problems. Following its brief military victory in the 1975 Angola's civil war which led to the installation of its puppet MPLA Luanda government, the Soviet Union has become the new boss, it tasted the glory of power, and the invincibility of its Cuban expeditionary forces became a myth overnight. The Soviet Union feels strong, so it opts for the use of force and violence to achieve its world domination objectives.

In Angola the Soviet-Cuban forces are confronting the well-organized, disciplined, popular guerilla army of UNITA. For each soldier of the UNITA army, there are 100 civilian men and women equally well organized and equipped to provide him with all necessary support. The Cubans may see the soldier, but there is very little they can do about the one hundred inconspicuous but omnipresent peasants and urban activists. They would have to exterminate a large part of the population of Angola in order to destroy UNITA's army.

### ANGOLAN POPULATION HATES CUBANS

In general, the Angolan population hates the Cuban soldiers. That is why the Cubans can only operate in units of battalion (450-600 men) size. The Cubans resent and distrust even the MPLA soldiers. The civilian population has on various occasions taken the initiative to kill Cuban soldiers by whatever popular methods. One full battalion of Cuban and MPLA troops was decimated in the Autumn of last year at Cuma (Huambo Province) by poisoning.

The effectiveness of the UNITA armed forces and the competence of our military commanders in operations have led many people to wonder whether there were some foreign military advisors working with us. Of course there are no foreign elements whatsoever within our armed forces. Our performance is the product

of twelve years of guerilla warfare experience on the terrain, a continuous process of self-improvement, self-discipline and the correct leadership by the most competent, most brilliant sons of Angola.

We must not underestimate the fighting capacity and determination of our people. Colonialist Portugal had solidly established its authority in Angola. It controlled all socio-economic forces. The Portuguese cultured became assimilated, etc. It possessed the formidable PIDE - the State Secret Police. The Portuguese authorities knew Angola like the back of their hand. They had assembled a standing army of 120 000 men to repress and suppress African nationalism. 10% of the country's population were Portuguese (by 1974 there were nearly half a million Portuguese out of a total population of 5,5 million). But despite all these innumerable advantages, the Portuguese colonial rule collapsed by the persistent action of the Angolan nationalists.

The Soviet-Cuban colonial rule in Angola has not as yet consolidated its infrastructures. But this internal socio-politico-military disadvantage is compensated for by an important external factor: while the Portuguese colonial regime was condemned and denounced almost universally - especially by the progressive countries - the Soviet-Cuban colonial rule enjoys support of the socialist countries, with the exception of the courageous position of the People's Republic of China and Albania. The Soviet-Cuban colonial rule in Angola benefits also from the helpless weakness of many Third World countries, as well as from the passivity of the Western powers.

We shall combat foreign domination and foreign oppression, at any stage, and no matter under what colours or ideology it comes. Just as the Western colonialists fooled the world saying that they were in Angola «to civilize and christianize the African» thereby implying that the Africans should not have fought against them, so are the Soviets and their agents attempting to make the world believe that they are in Angola «to repel the South African racist aggressors and to help establish socialism in the country ...» thereby implying that it is reactionary to fight against the Cuban

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**expeditionary forces. To us there is no «least evil» between Southern Africa's white minority oppressive regimes and the Soviet-Cuban neocolonialist oppression. Both perpetrate humiliation, misery and death for the African.**

**Both trample upon human rights and human dignity. Both represent a threat to world peace. There is no other realistic appreciation of the problem, in our view, other than what we have just stated.**