

people's movement for the liberation of angola



# MPLA



## NEWS

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"There is no freedom without independence. There is no independence without struggle."

Agostinho Neto



Dr. Agostinho Neto, president of the MPLA, leader of the Angolese people in its struggle for national independence.

Publication made by MPLA's representation in Sweden  
\* Address: Fack 104 32 - Stockholm 19  
Postgiro: 201005-6  
Telephone: 744 05 30



## EDITORIAL

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There are certain dates which decide the fate of a people. This because the actions which are giving them their importance were historically necessary.

The action which took place on the 4th of February 1961 might be considered as an adventurous gesture if only the tactical objectives are taken into account. Actually, the aims fixed by the popular masses in Luanda and the militants of MPLA were not attained: the political leaders perishing in PIDE's sinister prisons were not freed; the ferocious repression which followed has prevented the massive uprising of a huge movement of insurrection which could have brought in danger the established order in the principal towns; the revolutionaries who succeeded in escaping from the massacre were obliged to retire to the country in order to organize the guerilla.

However, the objective conditions were created which allowed this heroic gesture to become the mass catalyst for the national liberation struggle. The Portuguese colonialism had occupied the whole of Angola since the beginning of the century, and the robbery of land, the unlimited exploitation of the masses, the crimes, all the barbarian aspects of the colonial oppression proved to the people that only by the armed struggle could they free themselves from the foreign occupants.

This growing political conscience had had its corollary in the formation of the MPLA in 1956, the organization able to lead the struggle for independence to victory. In Africa, the wave of independence shook the old colonial empires. All over the world imperialism was more and more contested through the strengthening of the revolutionary forces which inflicted heavy political losses to the imperialism in China, Corea, Vietnam and Cuba, as well as through the simultaneous strengthening of the socialist camp.

In face of these favorable circumstances the strategic purpose of the MPLA militants was perfectly accomplished because the masses started to move and nothing could stop them any more. The 4th of February is incontestably the result of the slow but sure germination of the social contradictions which here and there marked the history of the colonial occupation in Angola. The 4th of February, date of the beginning of the armed struggle in Angola, is the irreversible point of rupture between the colonial order and the popular aspirations.

After the 4th of February there can be no other solution to the Angolan problem than the one decided by the force of arms. Only the armed struggle for national liberation can win over the odious Portuguese colonialism, the docile instrument of imperialism.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

:: Comrade President : you have just made a visit to Asian countries. Would you like to give us your impressions and tell us what relations there could be between the peoples of those countries and the Angolan people?

The visit I have just made, together with a delegation of five comrades, militants of our Movement, had as its objective to establish contact with the peoples of China, Korea and Vietnam. As you know, all these peoples are engaged in a war, or in a fairly acute political struggle against North American imperialism, the same imperialism which is supporting the Portuguese colonialists we are fighting, who are carrying out repression against our people's desire to achieve independence. It was therefore a visit of friendship we made, a visit of solidarity with our comrades-in-arms in China, Korea and Vietnam, demonstrating our option for a consistent struggle against imperialism, a struggle which will not be confined to political independence, but which will be carried on until the exploitation of man by man is ended. The significance of this visit comes within the framework of the general struggle of mankind against colonialist exploitation; and we, who were very well received by all the peoples in the countries we visited are glad to establish contact, to establish fraternal relations of friendship which will be fruitful in the future, fruitful in that they mean that our struggle against colonialism and against imperialism will be strengthened.

:: Because of the attacks against Portuguese barracks the enemy have abandoned some of these positions in Angola. What is the strategic significance of this retreat?

In recent times, the Portuguese have evacuated some barracks; and this is a consequence of the violent attacks we have been making this year, which has forced them to spend many days and weeks behind their fortifications, without being able to leave them. In some places they have not even been able to go to the river for water and their life in those barracks has therefore been pretty difficult. In some places their position became untenable and they

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Interview with our President, Dr. Agostinho Neto, on 21st September 1971, over Radio Tanzania, in MPLA English programme.

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have evacuated those barracks.

We think that the withdrawal of the Portuguese from those bases, from those positions they have occupied until now, means a great victory for our Movement, a great victory for our fighters, who made proper use of the arms we are now using, that is, artillery and light arms, and neither their aircraft nor their helicopters, which are their favourite weapon, could save the enemy forces from suffering heavy losses, not only material losses, but also loss of life.

And if we look at the retreat of the Portuguese from the strategic point of view, various hypotheses are possible. Of course, Portugal is not as yet convinced that it must leave Angola. It is preparing political manoeuvres such as the proposed law for changing the constitution. Portugal is trying to corrupt Angolan citizens: it is trying to get patriots to go over to its side. All these are signs that it is not yet convinced that Angola should be independent.

However, its retreat could mean a regrouping of forces with a view to a later and more violent attack, in order to do what is always done in this kind of war, which is to burn everything, to leave the earth scorched, killing, destroying every sign of life, as has already been done on a small scale in some villages. But I think that this wish of the colonialists to come back again with big attacks against the population living in the areas under our control will not be effective; and it is certain that we, better armed, better equipped and better organised as we now are, are going to completely shatter the intentions of the colonialists, who will not be able to do anything but retreat ever more until they leave our country. I think that the tactic we are using is just one of the reasons why they are getting out. The people do not support them, they are having a lot of difficulties

and they do not feel secure in our land. Because this is so, our independence will be won sooner and our children, the Angolan people, will have their land, so as to live in peace, without colonial domination.

:: The enemy have not made their usual dry season attack. What does this mean?

This year the enemy have been unable to carry out dry season attacks, or at least they have not made such attacks up to now. It is possible that they are preparing, that they intend to carry out attacks following a different pattern to those made in previous years. But the major factor preventing Portuguese enemy attack during the dry season has been the fact that we took the initiative in attacking their positions. Portugal has found itself prevented, found itself unable to make attacks during this dry season, because we destroyed all their possibilities of manoeuvre, all their possibilities of movement on the ground, and they were forced to hide in their barracks and to withdraw to the rear.

We can take the example of what happened in Zone E of the Third Region, in an area where the Portuguese had started to launch an attack. When we carried out an offensive in the Luetembo area, totally destroying their barracks, the Portuguese found that they were unable to pursue the attack, because the bridges ensuring communications between Luso and Gago Coutinho were completely destroyed.

At the same time, the guerrilla war is advancing, not only in Bie District, but also in Lunda and Malange, and the Portuguese no longer know which way to turn, no longer really know how to defend the positions they still occupy in our territory, faced as they are by such a diversity of attacks being made at different points.

We shall continue to attack and we shall attack with ever greater force, ever greater means, or rather, with more effective means, and therefore these dry season attacks are, I think, already something of the past, so that now it is our initiative which will direct operations in our country. This is yet a further defeat for Portuguese colonialism.

NEW YEAR STATEMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF MPLA  
(1 January 1972)

The beginning of 1972 presents excellent prospects for advancing our liberation struggle against Portuguese colonialism, for National Independence and Democracy.

The colonialists are going through a very difficult period, trying to introduce political and administrative measures in Angola to demobilise the fighters, weaken the liberation struggle and overcome their own isolation at the international level.

During 1971, politically and militarily important foundations were laid for our Movement to strike new and more decisive blows against the enemy.

Our military units showed greater offensive capacity, and at the same time the MPLA consolidated its position internationally, broadening the base of its political support abroad and, therefore obtaining better objective conditions for the national liberation struggle. We have the means to strike at the very heart of colonialism in Angola.

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At grips with popular armed resistance in three of their colonies, Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, the Portuguese colonialists are also having to face violent opposition in Portugal, headed by Armed Revolutionary Action. In the three colonies, considerable expanses of territory have been liberated and it is becoming increasingly difficult for the Lisbon fascists to face up to the popular will manifested on four fronts (including Portugal) against oppression and the exploitation of the peoples.

The top leaders in the Portuguese regime do not conceal the fact that they are isolated internationally, not only from socialist

countries, but also from Western European countries which have traditional ties with Portugal. Colonialism is being ever more forcibly condemned, both in the United Nations and by political organisations in various countries. The Portuguese government is constantly having to be on the defensive.

As a result of the war, the cost of living has risen enormously in Portugal, increasing the hardships of the Portuguese people, who are exploited by a handful of capitalists. To maintain the war machinery, it has been necessary to resort not only to higher direct and indirect taxation, but also to shameless borrowing from abroad, which actually means that the country is being mortgaged off to other powers.

The 1972 Portuguese budget provides for an increase of nearly 2 400 000 contos in extraordinary expenditure over the 1971 figure. Almost all of this increase is to be spent on the colonial wars. Moreover, real expenditure will, as usual, exceed the budget provisions. It is the Portuguese people and the peoples in the colonies who pay for this expenditure.

There is an ever increasing number of deserters from Portugal and Angola and the number of Portuguese refugees is a problem for the countries which take them in. Both the colonial war and its economic consequences are reasons why young people are deserting.

Loss of life in the three colonies, and especially in Angola, is increasing year by year, despite the false information put out by the enemy forces to the effect that war activity in our country is decreasing. There has been a clear retreat of enemy troops, which have evacuated a number of positions in Eastern Angola.

Colonialist manoeuvres have involved bribing certain people in countries bordering on the colonies to create difficulties for the supply of equipment and goods which are essential for the fronts.

The proposed administrative decentralisation, the demagogic formula finally hit upon to reconcile the need to present a more liberal face to the world with the ambitions of a sizeable group of settlers, will not satisfy the aspirations of the people who are fighting for true national independence.

So Portugal is finding itself at an impasse. It can find no way out of the problems created by colonialism without radically changing its political structure.

res. The obsolete inflexibility of the Lisbon politicians prevents them from leading the country to the peace and democracy desired by all.

An increasingly strong alliance is developing between Portugal and the racist regimes in Southern Africa, with South Africa assuming a predominant position through its direct intervention, both military and economic, in Angola and Mozambique.

The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola was the first movement in the Portuguese colonies to launch armed struggle and, despite the difficulties inherent in any consistent revolutionary struggle, it has never stopped accumulating victories, both military and political.

Last year, for the first time since armed struggle began in the East of the country, the enemy did not succeed in organising a dry season offensive against our positions. On the contrary, they withdrew from some positions, evacuation barracks which served as advanced posts, such as Caripande, Monteiro, Luatamba, N'rikinha and others, in order to reinforce their line of defence in the centre of the country, where the economic interests which are the *raison d'etre* of colonialism require greater protection, owing to the MPLA's steady military advance.

Having achieved a higher level of organisation, our Movement made a qualitative leap which enabled it to attack, among others, the Lumbala, Chilombo, Jimbi, Caripande, Luatamba, Mussuma, Muié, Ninda, Lutembo, Macondo, Caianda and Alto Cuito barracks.

The successes achieved made it possible for the Executive Committee, meeting in Plenary Session, to propose that the First Congress of the MPLA (to be held whenever conditions permit) discuss not only the founding of a People's Army, but also higher forms of political and administrative organisation, with a view to consolidating our gains for the effective establishment of the means for the exercise of power by the people and for the people in the liberated areas.

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However, the advance of the struggle in the First Region, north of Luanda, is not taking place as it should, owing to the systematic opposition we meet from the Republic of Zaire on the question of crossing their territory with equipment needed by guerrillas who, with the greatest heroism, are fighting for the independence of our country.

The Commission appointed by the Organisation of African Unity to try to solve

this problem has not succeeded in meeting even once. The commission is composed of Presidents Kaunda, Mobutu, Ngouabi and Nyerere.

It is a matter of extreme concern that the Republic of Zaire should have restored its diplomatic relations with Portugal. There is already a Portuguese Embassy in Kinshasa, complete with all the services required for tracing the movements of Angolan patriots in that country.

Repeated statements by the sister Republic of Zaire that they are burdened by the presence of about 600 000 refugees cannot be interpreted as an effort on the part of an independent African country for the liberation of Angola. Only the broad advance of the liberation struggle throughout our country can lead the Angolan people to Independence and, therefore, end the refugee problem.

However, the militants of the Northern Front will not remain forever without the supplies they lack. This front will advance with whatever means are available to us, with the efforts of all the militants in our Movement.

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The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola is internationally recognised as the only Movement leading the Angolan people's liberation struggle. This is absolutely just and even the enemy are forced to recognise it.

At the diplomatic level, political organisations and governments have been made aware that our Movement should be accepted as the only true representative of the Angolan people. Even in the United Nations, the specialised agencies look upon the MPLA as the only body capable of interpreting the Angolan people's desires and representing their interests. Indeed, today this is happening with UNESCO, the World Health Organisation, the Economic Commission for Africa and others.

The tendency, internationally, is to consider the areas under MPLA control as areas of an underdeveloped country of which the other part is occupied by an enemy many times condemned by various United Nations bodies. Acceptance of this principle has facilitated our relations with other countries in the world.

Even within NATO, criticisms of Portuguese colonialism are being raised more frequently and certain governments are establishing direct relations with our Movement.

The socialist countries, which are the mainstay of the national liberation struggles, have given a substantial part of the material support of our Movement. Because of the independent policy pursued by our Movement, the differences which still exist between socialist countries have not affected our relations with any of them.

Given these conditions, the Executive Committee of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola considers that all Angolan patriots should, in the spirit of self-sacrifice, take concrete steps to raise the level of the struggle, implementing our watchword: generalise the armed struggle throughout our national territory.

The duty of MPLA militants and all Angolan patriots who are still in the occupied areas, both in the urban centres and in rural areas, is to start direct action, after getting properly organised, remembering the lessons of the past and the fact that action helps to mobilise people. Repression increases the people's hatred for the enemy and facilitates revolutionary activity.

One of the lessons to remember from past experience is that of 4 February 1961. If action was possible with a few militants and sketchy organisation, today conditions in both the urban centres and rural areas are far better for attacking the enemy, who for more than ten years have proved incapable of breaking our people's armed will to achieve Independence and Democracy.

Today there is a tremendous potential in the enemy armed forces and among the settlers which can be made to serve our Revolution.

The Executive Committee of the MPLA considers that new fronts of armed struggle must be opened immediately where they do not as yet exist; various forms of struggle must be started to facilitate generalising the armed struggle.

This requires close links between revolutionary intellectuals and workers, between town and countryside, fighting the tribalist tendencies and racial discrimination instigated by the colonialists, thereby forging fighting unity against our oppressor.

Organisation must, under all circumstances, be as perfect as possible, in close conformity with local conditions. Where clandestinity is necessary, it must be rigorously observed. But improved organisation and discipline is al-

so needed in the areas under the Movement's control.

All Angolan patriots - whatever their political ideals and even if they have belonged to falsely patriotic organisations - can join the MPLA once they accept its programme of action and contribute to the national liberation struggle.

The foundations for the construction of the Independent Angolan Nation have been laid. We must inject more dynamism into our war effort, so as to break down enemy resistance.

Let us improve our organisation! Let us step up our activity! Let us attack everywhere!

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

TELEGRAM

EXCELLENCY DIALLO TELLI, GENERAL SECRETARY OAU, ADDISABEBA

HAVE HONOUR CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO NEW DEVELOPMENTS ARMED STRUGGLE IN AN-  
GOLA STOP 12 JANUARY THE PEOPLE OF CUNENE DISTRICT IN SOUTHERN ANGOLA ALSO  
ENTERED ARMED STRUGGLE STOP THIS ACTION IS FURTHER EXPRESSION OF GENERAL  
REVOLT OF ANGOLAN PEOPLE AGAINST PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM AND FOR FREEDOM IN-  
DEPENDENCE IN IMPLEMENTATION OF WATCHWORD LAUNCHED BY MPLA FOR GENERALISING  
ARMED STRUGGLE THROUGHOUT TERRITORY STOP THE ACTION IN CUNENE DISTRICT TA-  
KING PLACE WHEN NAMIBIAN PEOPLE WAGING POWERFUL STRUGGLE CONSTITUTES FUNDA-  
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OLD PEOPLE WOMEN AND CHILDREN HAVE BEEN SLAUGHTERED IN CUNENE DISTRICT STOP  
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PERSISTENCE PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM AND FASCIST RACIST REGIME OF SOUTH AFRI-  
CA STOP APPEALS OAU TAKE NECESSARY MEASURES TO HELP ANGOLAN PEOPLE AND TO  
MOBILISE ALL ANTICOLONIALIST FORCES OF WORLD AGAINST PORTUGUESE COLONIA-  
LISM SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME FOR DEFENCE HUMAN RIGHTS FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE  
OF PEOPLES AND NATIONS AND PEACE

STEERING COMMITTEE

MPLA

# PLENARY SESSION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF M.P.L.A.

The Executive Committee of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola met in Plenary Session from 27 September to 3 October 1971, under the chairmanship of Comrade Agostinho Neto.

Twenty-two members of the Executive Committee were present. Six members were unable to attend the Plenary Session for reasons of sickness or the impossibility of leaving their areas of activity.

It was confirmed that in the period of time between the last plenary meeting and this one, six members of the Executive Committee had heroically sacrificed their lives in combat.

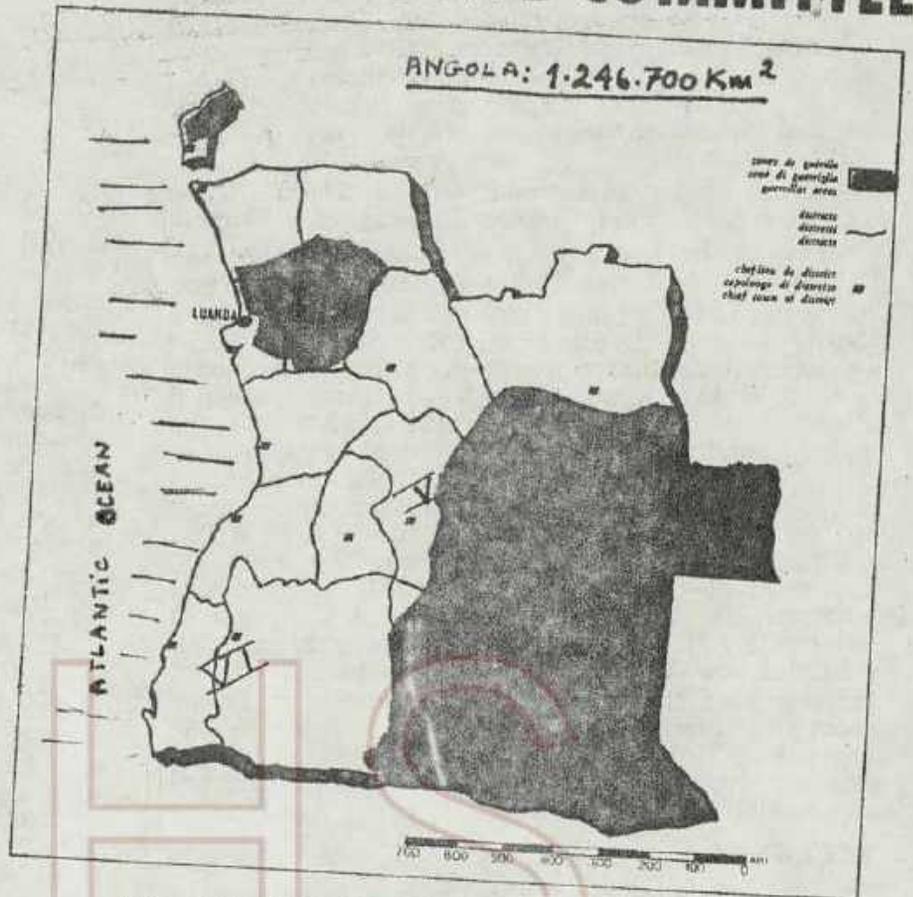
They are: Commander Hoji la Henda, beloved son of the Angolan people and heroic fighter of the MPLA; Commander Benedito of the First Politico-Military Region; Commanders Janguinda and Kimakienda of the Fourth Region; Commander Cuidado of the Third Region and Political Com-misar Levsky of the First Region.

After discussion and the adoption of the agenda, six comrades were unanimously co-opted as acting members of the Executive Committee. Four comrades were appointed candidate members of the Executive Committee.

During this same period there was a meeting of MPLA Representatives in the following countries: Congo (Brazzaville), Yugoslavia, Tanzania, Italy, Sweden, Zambia, Egypt and Algeria.

The Third Politico-Military Region Commands also met at the same time.

At these three meetings, of which the Executive Committee's Plenary Session was the most important, decisions of great importance to the advance of the armed struggle and to the controlled areas were taken.



The fact that the Plenary Session of the EC was organised and held on the Eastern Front is proof of our Movement's vitality.

All decisions were unanimously taken, and during the meeting emphasis was given to the revolutionary character of our struggle, which essentially takes into account the interests of the working classes in our country.

The situation both in the controlled areas and in the areas still under enemy occupation warranted exhaustive analysis, and appropriate decisions were taken for the progress of the struggle.

The elimination of the weak points in our activity was an aspect which prompted criticism of our revolutionary action.

The holding of the next Congress will be the culmination of the steps now taken, which range from the organisation of the armed forces to a new concept of the racial aspect of the participation of Angolans in our liberation struggle.

## DECISIONS

Decisions were taken on the following:

1. The enlargement of the Movement's leading bodies, notably the Executive Committee and the Politico-Military Coordinating Committee.
2. The holding of the First National Congress, at a time and place still to be decided, preceded by seminars of the Mass Organisations in each zone and locality.
3. The establishment of an Institute of Socio-Economic Studies as well as other bodies to deal specifically with problems of the MPLA and of organising the people.

# PLENARY SESSION OF M.P.L.A.

## CONTROLLED AREAS

Taking into account the fact that in the controlled areas the work of national reconstruction has progressed more or less successfully, particularly in the fields of agricultural production, health, education and trade, it was found necessary to increase the degree of responsibility of the organs of people's power, not only in order to carry out planned tasks better, but also, and above all, so that decisive measures can be taken to consolidate our gains.

The mass organisations -- the Youth of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (JMPLA), the Organisation of Angolan Women (OMA), the National Union of Angolan Workers (UNTA), the Organisation of Angolan Pioneers (OPA) and the Union of Angolan Students (UEA) -- have important work to do among the people in mobilising them for all the tasks. Special attention must be given to the activity of the underground nuclei throughout the country.

In order to fulfil the great tasks enumerated at the meeting, our organisational structures must be equal to their responsibilities and MPLA militants must clearly understand the strategic and tactical principles which guide our action.

It will be the task of the First Congress to review the MPLA's Statutes and Programme, but as from now, the instruments must be established for ensuring the ideological purity of our Movement's policy, based on absolute unity in the unyielding fight for Complete Independence and Democracy, against all forms of external or internal oppression and exploitation.

## THE ENEMY

In the complexity of the present international situation, the most recent events relating to Portugal reflect the embarrassing situation in which the Caetano government finds itself. Its reformist policy, which is moreover contested by a sizeable faction of his "National Popular Action" party, has met with no success whatsoever among the Angolan people in the occupied areas.

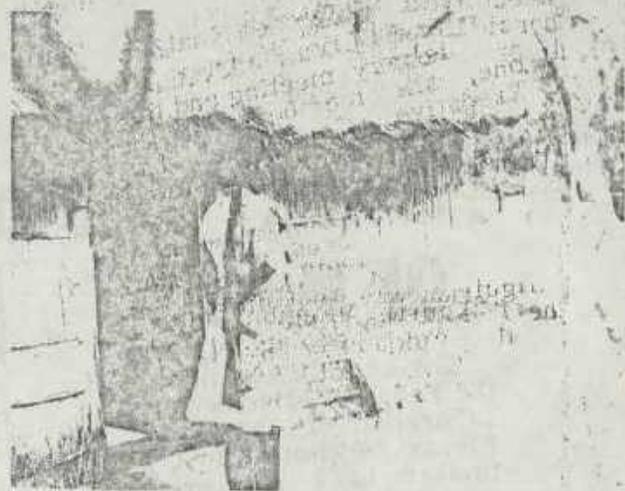
All further manoeuvres attempted by the colonialist and fascist Lisbon government will come up against the firm resistance of our people, using the appropriate forms of struggle for Independence.

As far as the Angolan people are concerned, the solution to the colonial problem can be found only by fully satisfying their aspirations for Independence.

The colonialist Caetano government is worried both by the hysteria of some settlers and monopolies which are opposed to any concessions, and by the failure of the reforms among the Angolan masses, which it sees to be a result of increased national consciousness, presaging the resounding failure of its absurd plan.

It is in this light that one must view the manoeuvre of Spiro Agnew when that American leader went from Kinshasa to Lisbon to propose to the Portuguese government that President Mobutu of the Democratic Republic of the Congo mediate in the conflict between the colonialist oppressors and the patriotic forces.

It is in this light that one must view the appointment to Kinshasa of well-known Portuguese Ambassador Marcelo Matias, up to now Ambassador in Paris. Western Europe and American imperialism are thus involving themselves more obviously, manipulating their pawns in Lisbon and Kinshasa in their struggle for the neo-colonial occupation



The NATO meeting in Lisbon was a manifestation of that organisation's support for Portuguese colonial policy. However, the MPLA appreciates the stand of the countries in that bloc which have come out against the colonial war.

More weight is being assumed in this concert of reactionary forces by the aggressive and expansionist policy of the Racist Republic of South Africa and "Rhodesia", the active protectors of Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique, where they have given sufficient evidence of their direct participation in military operations against the MPLA, while enjoying the political and belligerent support of a Western Europe which wants to preserve the gold reserves it needs to oppose the American imperialists' monetary policy.

The MPLA's answer to the launching by the Republic of South Africa of operation seduction of African countries must be dynamic armed and diplomatic action. ANY DIALOGUE WITH SOUTH AFRICA WHICH IS NOT CONDUCTED THROUGH THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT IS CONDEMNED BY OUR MOVEMENT.

The isolation of Portugal necessarily means also the isolation of South Africa.

## SOLIDARITY

The Liberation Movements in Southern Africa are united in a struggle employing all means to liquidate the colonialist and racist regimes in that part of Africa, pitting against the Caetano-Smith-Vorster alliance the indomitable will of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa to be masters of their destinies.

The Plenary Meeting of the Executive Committee of the MPLA reaffirms its fighting solidarity with the people of South Africa led by ANC, expresses its confidence that the Zimbabwean militants will restore their unity and continues to support the people of Namibia in their liberation struggle.

The Plenary Meeting of the Executive Committee of the MPLA expresses its fighting solidarity with the peoples of Indochina and other people in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East fighting international imperialism led by the USA.

Also supports the Afro-American people's struggle to win their rights.

Also expresses its full support for the progressive Portuguese forces which are continuing to advance their victorious fight against fascism and the colonial war.

The Plenary Meeting also noted an important increase in international solidarity with the Angolan people's struggle.

## CONCP.

The Executive Committee of the MPLA will make every effort, together with the sister organisation of FRELIMO and the PAIGC, to give fresh vigour to the CONCP, making it more effective in the struggle against the common enemy.

# MESSAGE TO THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE FROM DR AGOSTINHO NETO

## PRESIDENT OF THE MPLA

ON THE OCCASION OF THE XV ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE MPLA

Compatriots! Comrades!

Today our Movement is celebrating the 15th anniversary of its birth, a life of constant action, constant growth and victories.

Our People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the heroic vanguard of the fighting Angolan people, has been successfully leading the armed struggle for national liberation for more than ten years. It has won for our people not only freedom in one part of our national territory, but also the respect and esteem of other peoples, as well as new and more just relations at the international level. In a way which is today quite incontestable, it has affirmed its political personality in the world, quite distinct from that of Portugal. Our people never think of themselves as Portuguese. We are and always shall be Angolans. Never Portuguese.

The founding of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, which was marked by the clandestine publication in Luanda of a Political Manifesto on 10 December 1956, was the sign of a historic change in our people's attitude towards colonialism, and the expression of their deep-set will to struggle for independence. After four years, on 4 February 1961, the Angolan people started their armed struggle of resistance against shameful slavery, for freedom and democracy.

And national independence and democracy are still objectives.

Several years of clandestine activity, taking various forms, were needed to mobilise the most conscious part of the Angolan nation and to go over to open confrontation with the Portuguese occupiers.

After fifteen years' experience of revolutionary struggle, our Movement can pride itself on having built itself up from the North to the South of the country, embracing all classes and social strata in fraternal fighting unity for independence and dignity.

The guerrilla war is being further organised and is inflicting heavy losses in men, weapons and equipment on the enemy army.

Military activity in Cabinda, Cuanza Norte, Luanda, Moxico, Cuando-Cubango, Lunda and Bié is increasingly discouraging the colonialist generals, who think of themselves as great strategists, but who, in fact, are merely specialists in retreating, and whose genocidal acts, cruelty and savagery can never halt the advance of our military units in the field.

Since 1961, the enemy, Portuguese colonialism and some of its allies, have constantly shouted in ridiculous despair that the war has ended and that the corpses carried away by helicopters are the consequence of operations by small groups infiltrated in from adjacent countries.

Even now, when our cannon shells are destroying their barracks in the East, when they are being forced to withdraw their troops certain positions, the Portuguese generals, showing the same lack of prudence, are continuing to try to have it believed that Angola is really at peace. They have even set up "villages of peace", where there reigns only the peace of cemeteries and prisons.

But the soldier, the trader, the farmer, the landowner and the administrative official are all perfectly aware that Angola is at war, a war which will

only end with the victory of the Angolan people.

It is not difficult to understand the embarrassing situation in which the Portuguese rulers now find themselves. They are now squabbling among themselves in Lisbon, incapable of breaking with the Salazarist line and making an honorable entry into the democratic era which the Portuguese people are demanding ever more forcibly.

The fascist rulers in Lisbon were not able to solve the colonial problem in time, and they still believe that by evading it they will succeed in effacing from the hearts of Angolan patriots their indomitable will to be independent.

The Lisbon fascists were not able to solve the problem in 1960 and war broke out in Angola. They were not able to solve it in 1963 and war broke out in Guinea. They did not want to face reality in 1964 and that same year armed struggle was started in Mozambique.

In Portugal itself, since 1926 the Portuguese fascists have always failed to understand that the Portuguese people must be freed from poverty and PIDE oppression and that their demand for an end to the colonial era must be met. Consequently, they are coming up against the violence of Armed Revolutionary Action.

Today they are having to fight on four fronts solely because of colonialism.

They are obliged to fight in Angola, Guinea, Mozambique and Portugal. Such is the "peace" the colonialists and fascists are boasting about.

In our country, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola has gone from small to big, from weak to strong, and its strength will not stop growing.

Today our Movement enjoys world prestige and attention. This evolution is clear proof of the fact that, determined and firm, the Angolan people are invincible.

For this reason the Portuguese government cannot ignore the will of the Portuguese people. Both peoples want an end to the colonial war and a solution which will satisfy our aspirations.

In Angola we want the end of exploitation and oppression. We want independence and democracy.

Our political programme clearly indicates that the MPLA is opening up the way to abroad and genuine cooperation between men of different races.

We are not against the white man simply because he is white. We are against racist and colonialist whites.

For us independence does not mean the eviction of the white man from our country. It does not mean the appropriation of honestly acquired property. What independence does mean is that political power must be in the hands of our people. Our country's economy must be controlled by our people, so that they can live a better life.

There are today serious contradictions between the settlers and the colonial administration in Angola. These contradictions will become more and more acute. They will be transformed into open conflict once the interests of the settlers are increasingly subordinated to the Portuguese government's war policy.

And why this war? What is the purpose of this war? Is the aim of it to mortgage Angola off to foreign countries? Is it to make the trader pay higher taxes? Is it to oblige the landowner to maintain a military unit on his estates made up, for the most part, of demoralised soldiers? Is it so that no one should be able to say what they think about the problems of their country without the PIDE interfering?

What is the purpose of this war?

On whose behalf is it being waged? For the prestige of Portugal? For "the defence of the West"? For economic reasons?

If it is for none of these reasons, then what is the purpose of this war?

Why murder Angolan people, old people, children and women? Why destroy crops with herbicides? Why perpetrate indescribable atrocities?

Do they intend to hand Angola over to South Africa or the United States of America?

There can be no outcome to this situation other than the recognition of our people's right to independence. So long as this recognition does not happen, and so long as the Portuguese government does not hand over power to the genuine representatives of the Angolan people, there will be no peace, no respite for any Portuguese in Angola.

It is desirable that the settlers understand that it is not in their interest to throw themselves into the arms of South Africa, the United States of America, France or Federal Germany.

In such an event, they in turn would be colonised and exploited like us.

Their interests can only be protected through the establishment of just relations with the Angolan people, by their recognising that our desire for independence is just and respecting our right to determine our own affairs.

Today everyone is suffering the effects of the war because of the disastrous policy of Lisbon, which has chosen the road of repression.

The armed forces of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola are increasing their capacity. Conscious of the situation we are now passing through, they will neither retreat nor allow themselves to be fooled by the semblance of "peace" the colonialist special forces are organizing in the villages.

They will not accept any form of autonomy as a solution, nor the honorary titles on which some Portuguese rulers appear to have banked all their hopes.

No solution can be found for Angola without the concrete participation and agreement of the MPLA.

So long as shells have not started to explode in the big towns, so long as commercial firms, banks and vehicles have not started to blow up in the urban centres, so long as the soldier still has a rear, there is still time to safeguard lives and property.

Compatriots, comrades,

The MPLA militants, filled with dedication and self-sacrifices, are ever more effectively fighting the colonialist barbarian who has been exploiting us for centuries.

We still have a long road to travel and we are prepared to endure a protracted war.

We find ourselves in a new phase of our national liberation struggle. We effectively control a vast part of our territory, where enemy commandos and special troops can penetrate only with very great difficulty. Each time the enemy try to leave their barracks they suffer heavy losses.

On the territory under MPLA control we have organized our people's independent life by establishing simple forms of people's power, by organizing schools and medical care.

The colonialists' original use of chemical agents to destroy our crops has not lessened our production efforts.

Support from abroad is an important factor in our struggle. In recent years international support for our people's struggle has become considerably more broad-based. Practising an independent policy, our Movement is not subordinate to the policy of any other country or bloc.

It is due to this line that we are now able to maintain friendly relations with different countries in the world, both in the socialist camp and in the capitalist camp. One of the principles guiding our relations with other countries and political organizations is respect by each party for independence and the right to follow the road best suited to the defence of the interests of their respective peoples.

Hence, maintaining friendly relations with the Soviet Union, China, Yugoslavia, Sweden or Holland does not mean that the MPLA mechanically aligns its policy or ideology with one of those countries, although their experience may be useful to us. The campaign mounted by the enemy and their lackeys claiming that the MPLA is a communist organization, sometimes presenting it as being linked with the Soviet Union and at other times with China, can only be seen as propaganda intended to fool our people.

One thing which is certain is that Portugal is becoming increasingly isolated politically.

Because of its progressive nature, the MPLA is closely linked with the interests of the Angolan people, which it defends with vigour and courage, even demanding of its militants heroic sacrifices in armed combat. Moreover, the MPLA is authentically African in that it is defending freedom in Africa in cooperation with other African peoples.

In the meantime, the enemy is still in our country and is continuing to hatch intrigues, to bribe people and even trying to bribe neighbouring countries and mercenaries to stay in Angola. This is why our fight must be carried on and waged with even greater vigour.

All Angolans united, we must fight Portuguese colonialism. We must deal it blows everywhere and carry out ever more action, since only independence will bring us freedom. There can be no freedom without independence and no independence without struggle.

The proposals on autonomy are not in our interest. Modifications in the administrative structure and new methods of production and distribution of material goods are merely palliatives which solve nothing. The promotion of Angolans to higher posts in the colonial administration, the increase of salaries and the higher education institutions are merely consequences of the war. The enemy is trying to give the impression that they are taking these steps for the progress of our people, and steps have been taken only because the enemy is feeling the tip of our bayonets at their throats and only for that reason.

The rural reorganization campaigns are merely intended to officer and control the Angolan people to prevent their having contact with the guerillas.

In fact, most of the colonialists' actions are governed by fear. Everything is done for propaganda purposes and to demobilise the people. For example, they open schools and universities, but they immediately persecute, arrest, deport and murder Angolan students who dare to enrol in these schools.

This is understandable when one considers that since 1482 Portugal has never been interested in the progress of the Angolan people. It was, on the other hand, interested in stealing land and in the profits accruing from the wealth of our country. It was greed for material

wealth which gave rise to colonialism.

Anyhow, how can a country like Portugal where in a single night, according to the daily "O Secula" of 4 December, they had to arrest more than 200 hooligans and prostitutes in a Lisbon neighbourhood, be interested in the progress of the Angolan people?

How can a government which keeps its people in misery, in degrading subjugation, and which denies its citizens the right to choose the kind of government they want, be concerned about the progress of the Angolan people?

Compatriots, comrades,

We must liberate ourselves from colonialism. All Angolans must unite around the MPLA. There are no hatreds between us which can make us forget the enemy. All those who feel the patriotic desire to liberate the country can join the MPLA, which will give each a weapon and make them into fighters.

A few compatriots are allowing themselves to go along with reactionary and counter-revolutionary currents subordinated to imperialism which, under the cover of more or less progressive watchwords, are merely delaying our victory.

The MPLA is prepared to accept in its ranks all those who have admitted the mistakes they have made.

They will be well received and they will be able to rid themselves of anxiety which is now weighing them down.

The 15 years of our Movement's activity have taught us to adopt a policy of clemency, even towards captured soldiers or those who have come of their own accord to ask for the MPLA's protection. The MPLA will give those who leave the unjust war the necessary facilities to establish new conditions of life.

The people in the Angolan districts of Cabinda have already realised the trap they were about to fall into by accepting the Portuguese government's wily proposals. Alexandre Pati, Nzita Tiago and other traitors who still had illusions have ruined themselves through their opportunism.

Now that they fully understand Portugal's objectives, all the people in Cabinda district must rise up to a man and organize themselves within the MPLA, arms in hand, to fight the abuses, corruption and exploitation of the colonialists.

The MPLA has weapons to give to every one. The MPLA has an ideology and a policy for the liberation of the country. The MPLA is effectively the leading force of our people.

Comrades,

Let us reinforce our activity on every front. Let us organize new groups of the Movement and go into action, even without succeeding in making contact with the Leadership of the MPLA.

Many of our groups paralyse their action for lack of contact with the Leadership. They are eternally waiting for directives. But our directives are easy to derive from an analysis of the concrete conditions in each place. Political mobilisation, either through personal contact or through leaflets, contributions of money or food for the guerrilla war and other higher forms of actions are permanent directives to be carried out.

Everywhere action is necessary: in the workshops and in the factories, in the barracks and in the quarters, in villages and towns.

The road which leads to our independence is being covered on the blood

of the most beloved sons and daughters of our people. The dedication and heroism of our militants is a decisive factor for the outcome of this struggle.

On this historic date of the 15th anniversary of the founding of our Movement we are happy to be able to affirm that there are no cannon, helicopters or defoliants capable of shaking our people's will. Colonialism will be defeated, an era of cooperation between all will be attained.

OUR VICTORY IS CERTAIN !

10/12/1971

#### WAR COMMUNIQUE

THE POPULATION IN THE FAR SOUTH OF ANGOLA HAS TAKEN UP ARMS AGAINST PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM.

Following the watchword issued by the MPLA "Generalise the armed struggle throughout our national territory" our Movement's militants and our people are seeking to go into action everywhere.

Taking advantage of the favourable circumstances which have existed for some months in South-West Africa (Namibia), where thousands of Angolans recruited by SWANLA (South West African Native Labour Association) work, the population in the far south of Angola has unleashed armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism in coordination with the struggle being waged in Namibia against the South African racists

The region, which corresponds to the present new Cunene District (the southern half of the former Huila District), has been in armed rebellion since 12 January 1972.

This situation became so serious for the Portuguese colonialists that the Governor General of Angola, Colonel Rebocho Vaz, went to this new district in person on 31 January and remained there for a few days to coordinate repressions.

Thousands of troops, civil defence militia, FID-DA's agents and auxiliaries and policemen have been transported to the far south of Angola by air.

Specialists in psycho-social action are already on the spot and technicians from the Official Radio are now studying the installation of a broadcasting station in the town of Peixira d'Água (Njiva) with a view to ensuring full psycho-social action coverage.

Neither the joint repressive action of the Portuguese colonialists and South African racists, nor their psychological manoeuvres can ever halt the people of Southern Angola in their national liberation struggle.

The Executive Committee of the MPLA urges the valiant people in Southern Angola to persist in their armed struggle against Portuguese

colonialism and hails the courageous people of Namibia in their struggle for National Independence.

The Executive Committee of the MPLA here and now denounces the rabid colonialist and racist repression and vigorously condemns the collusion between the colonialist Portuguese government and the racist South African government in exterminating African people.

The Executive Committee of the MPLA calls for a vast campaign of international solidarity in order to prevent further massacres planned by the two ultra-reactionary regimes, enemies of Africa.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

7 February 1972

The Executive Committee of the MPLA

EXTRACTS FROM A REPORT SENT FROM SOUTHERN ANGOLA BY AN  
MPLA ACTION COMMITTEE

"... On 31 July 1971, the youth of all the schools in Ovamboland issued a manifesto for revolution.

On 1 August, the whole of the Ovambo population chose a flag for the struggle.

The manifesto explains to the South African racists that the people want independence. The manifest is written in English, Afrikaaner and Ovambo.

The manifesto was circulated everywhere and there were demonstrations.

The South African racists sent helicopters as a threat. But the Ovambo population was not worried, was not afraid. They are still singing in streets "Oh Namibia, we want to be delivered from slavery". However, things are getting a little quieter.

In the month of December 1971, all the workers in the towns stopped work. It was a general strike. They are rejecting contract work. They are demanding better wages and returning to Ovamboland.

In the part of Ovamboland which is in Angola, the Portuguese fascists are, as usual, starting to put out propaganda to sow confusion. The Portuguese colonialists are starting to say that the Angolans teach the Ovambo badly, that if the Ovambo follow the ideas of the Angolans they will be courting disaster. In other words, the Portuguese colonialists are starting to preach tribalism, to create divisions.

On 11 December, the Portuguese sent three hundreds Angolan soldiers to South-West Africa and to the Cuanhama region, so that they might help the South African troops.

The Ovambo population is rebelling against the presence of puppet African militiamen sent by the Portuguese.

On 12 January 1972, the Ovambo population of Honguena post, in Angola, rebelled and attacked the puppet African militiamen from other regions of Angola, killing some of them.

On 16 January, two helicopters full of policemen arrived from South Africa. The racist police had come to protect the traditional chiefs

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# XV anniversary

The 1950s in Angola were characterized by the development of clandestine nationalist organizations.

In 1956 they were numerous. This year, the 10th of December, the MPLA was founded. It was an organization which proposed to constitute, together with other existing organizations, a front against Portuguese colonialism, for national liberation.

Since then there has been for the Angolan people a political organization which has striven for the unity of the different political forces working for the conquest of total independence.

The clearly defined tactical and strategical goals have attracted the attention of Angolan nationalists and of the people in general.

Soon the biggest organizations, PENJA and MINA were merging with the MPLA, which then became a big front for the national liberation. In 1956 the repression hit hard against the nationalist camp. Hundreds of people were arrested by the secret police, PIDE, mainly in Luanda.

The exterior organization of the Portuguese colonies, the ACN (Anti-Colonialist Movement) which preceded the CONCP of today, and of which the MPLA was a member -- was denouncing the repression on an international scale.

In June 1960 the MPLA published a memorandum directed to the Portuguese government. It demanded the recognition of the rights of the Angolan people to immediate independence and made the government responsible of the blood which would be shed in case of a refusal.

The MPLA, facing the duty to lead our people to independence, launched a manifesto to our people, urging the transition to direct action against Portuguese colonialism.

Two months later, the militants of our organisation made an armed attack on the prisons of Luanda in order to liberate the political prisoners. That was the glorious 4th of February 1961, the day when the armed struggle began in Angola.

The armed struggle reached the countryside and embraced the entire North of the country.

The difficulties in engaging the population in combat, and the manoeuvres of a tribal group supported by the Americans, the UPA, gave way to the barbaric counter-offensive started by the Portuguese in the middle of 1961, which resulted in thousands of deaths.

In December 1962 the MPLA assembled its first national conference in Kinshasa (then Leopoldville). Dr Agostinho Neto, who the same year had succeeded to escape from Portugal, was elected president of MPLA. The conference fought against opportunist tendencies and insisted on the need for development of the armed struggle.

Combated by the tribal puppet group UPA which had proclaimed itself government in exile (GRAE) and by the government of Congo-Leopoldville, MPLA got orders to get out of the Congo. In the meantime, the so-called GRAE was acknowledged by the Liberation Committee of OAU in July 1963.

The Steering Committee of MPLA transferred to Brazzaville where it undertook an encompassing task of reorganization.

The month of January 1964 a conference of cadres was held where the strategy of the MPLA was traced out: a people's war of long duration.

The military operations in Cabinda were intensified during that year and became considerable in 1965. The centres of revolutionary training were created.

The year 1966 saw a leap forward in our struggle for national liberation; in May MPLA opened a new and large military front, the Eastern Front, and strengthened the Northern Front by men and materials.

During 1967, the Northern Front was even more strengthened. For the first time an enlarged conference of the Steering Committee was held in a liberated area on the Eastern Front.

In January 1968, our president announced that henceforward the Leadership of MPLA was going to work inside the country.

In February that year the regional assembly of the 1st region (districts of Luanda, Cuanza-Norte, Uije and Zaire) and of the 2nd (Cabinda) region was held, where a purge of harmful elements was undertaken as well as a clarification of the ideological orientation of the MPLA. This regional assembly was followed by another one in the 3rd region (districts of Mexico and Cuando-Cubango) in June 1968.

It was also in 1968 that the OAU-committee of 6, charged with the examination of the struggle in Angola, recommended the Liberation Committee of OAU to give aid to MPLA only and to withdraw the acknowledgement of the so-called GRAE. The Committee took the decision after a visit in the regions controlled by MPLA, after having been refused entry into the regions where the so-called GRAE pretended to fight and after having obtained concrete informations on the "bluff" of the "struggle" undertaken by GRAE.

Meanwhile the MPLA extended the armed struggle. The 4th region (districts of Lunda and Malanje) was created after the beginning of the struggle in the district of Lunda. In 1969 our forces progressed into the centre of the country. The 5th region was created.

In the controlled regions, the MPLA created centres of revolutionary training, schools, sanitary posts, people's stores.

The action committees - the first institutions of people's power - were created.

From 1970 on, the international recognition of MPLA is growing. The progress of our struggle inside the country - by the way confirmed by numerous journalists - is attracting the attention of international public opinion.

A big international solidarity conference in support of MPLA (Angola), PAIGC (Guinea-Bissau) and FRELIMO (Mozambique) was held in Rome. The Pope Paul VI received the leaders of these movements, Agostinho Neto, Amilcar Cabral and Marcelino dos Santos.

Our president was received in the Scandinavian countries by the governmental parties and by the Swedish prime minister.

In 1971 our leaders were received in the socialist countries of Europe, and in People's Republic of China, Corea and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Also in 1971 the conference of the heads of State of OAU decided finally to withdraw the acknowledgement of the so-called government in exile, GRAE, in this way settling an ambiguity which had only existed to long.

In September-October the Steering Committee of MPLA assembled in plenary session. Decisions of fundamental importance to our organization and to the development of our armed liberation struggle were taken.

The 10th of December 1971 was the fifteenth anniversary of MPLA. For 10 years we have been engaged in the armed struggle. In the end of this period of armed struggle, the MPLA is in combat in

10 of the 15 districts of Angola, on an area of more than 500 millions of km<sup>2</sup>. One third of the surface of our country is under our control.

15 years of existence, 15 years of devoted struggle against the sanguinary Portuguese colonialism. 15 years of struggle against the puppet groups working for imperialism, and of internal struggle for the ideological clarification of our revolution. 15 years of work mobilizing the people, of politization as well as instruction of the people, leading to the conquest of total independence for Angola where the power should be in the hands of the exploited classes, for their benefit, for the development of our country and for social progress.

At the occasion of this 15th anniversary of the vanguard of the Angolan people, the MPLA, we want to pay homage to the memory of all Angolans who have fallen for the liberation of their native country, among them first and foremoste to the militants of the MPLA.

MESSAGE FROM THE NATIONAL UNION OF ANGOLAN WORKERS  
(UNTA) ON THE OCCASION OF 4 FEBRUARY, ELEVENTH  
ANNIVERSARY OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE IN ANGOLA.

Eleven years have indeed passed since the launching of the armed struggle by the PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (MPLA).

The Great Revolutionary Trade Union Centre, the National Union of Angola Workers (UNTA), looks upon 4 February of each year as historic day which marks a decisive stage in the struggle of the oppressed workers against all forms of exploitation, for the recognition of individual freedom, in accordance with Convention 87 of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and with trade union rights.

On the conclusion of eleven years, we should like briefly to sum up the achievements of the socio-economic activities undertaken by UNTA since its headquarters were transferred to the Eastern Front. This retrospective glance at its activities will also make it possible to review past shortcomings.

The successes achieved up to now in every sphere, and especially the politico-military developments, have been truly brilliant, but even more brilliant is the future opening up before us.

All this is closely bound up with the programme of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and of National Union of Angolan Workers (UNTA) for developing agriculture, hunting, fishing, handicrafts, trade and other socio-cultural activities in which particular importance is given to raising the level of political consciousness of the masses.

The draft plan drawn up by the Agricultural Workers' Union for the 1972/1973 period provides for the most advanced new methods of work. Above we can anticipate an increase in the production of maize, cassava, millet, vegetables, meat and fish...

All this has been made possible by the steps also include the Movement is taking to modernise agriculture and to organise it better on the basis of production brigades and committees. These steps also include holding seminars to train cooperative cadres and trade union activists who will make it easier to put the plan into effect.

It goes without saying that, after five centuries, the retrograde concepts of Portuguese colonialism in the field of agriculture had prevented our people from progressing as in other countries of the world. The land was expropriated from peasants by Portuguese administrators and settlers and by the introduction of policy of removing Africans from their land and families to work elsewhere. At the present time, considering the new conditions which have arisen for prolonging the war and generalising it to the whole of our national territory, UNTA is constantly having to face countless difficulties, or it at least lacks the essential means for satisfying the requirements of the present situation in the liberated areas. Despite the numerous difficulties encountered in our work, however, during the 1970/1971 period the population in the liberated areas increase the production.

The members the agricultural brigades are now in a position to act and to understand the ways of settling basic problems on which the advance of the armed revolution depends.

Below is an extract from the report on the activity of three Regions in the field of agriculture, covering the 1970-71 period:

REGION	COOPERATIVE FIELDS UNDER CULTIVATION
Third.....	187
Fourth.....	68
Fifth.....	59
Total 314	

Here we wish to point out once again that we are short of agricultural implements, seeds and goods for the people's shops. We also condemn with the greatest indignation the attitude of the fascist Portuguese forces, the Katangese and South African mercenaries who slaughter our people, spraying chemical agents on vast areas of the land cultivated, by the peasants. And now these same bandits are cutting young cassava (manioc) and sorghum plants and mango tree branches, leaving the population in misery.

In the regions still under enemy control, the population is forbidden to cultivate individual plots. For purposes of support for the colonial war effort, the people are forced to receive their agricultural implements and seeds from the local administrator, and it is he who takes charge of the harvest, not the peasant who has sowed. We have now started trade union action, and the number of clandestine missions and committees is increasing. Many people in these regions are joining the national liberation struggle.

On the occasion of 4 February 1972, UNITA reaffirms its attachment to the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola and its President Comrade Neto, to the People's National Liberation Forces and all the production brigades.

The sole task facing us is that of pursuing the war against all the forces of evil and for the development of the war economy. We shall never lay down our weapons so long as Portuguese colonialism and the counter-revolutionaries are not beaten and driven out of Angola.

The National Union of Angolan workers, UNITA, as in the past, will be unsparing in its efforts to step up trade union activity appreciably, both nationally and internationally. It is, and will continue to be, the sole Revolutionary Trade Union Centre, and the most representative, of the workers and peasants in Angola. "Victory is Certain" - that is our motto.

For the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

H. MBEMBE  
ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL  
RESPONSIBLE FOR RELATIONS  
INTERNATIONALES

Speech of O. M. A. at the meeting celebrated in Dar-es Salaam to commemorate the 2nd March-ANGOLAN WOMEN'S DAY, in 1972

Your Excellencies,  
Comrades,

On behalf of the ORGANISATION OF ANGOLAN WOMEN, which groups together all the Angolan women in arms, I should like first to thank all those here today who, by attending this meeting, have wished once again to show their active solidarity with the fighting Angolan people, and especially with the heroic women of Angola.

I also wish to make special mention of the UMOJA WA WANAWAKE WA TANZANIA, whose President, Mrs. KAWAWA, is also here today, giving irrefutable proof of the solidarity of our Tanzanian sisters and of the Tanzanian People as a whole with our people's heroic struggle against colonialism, racism and imperialism.

Your Excellencies,  
Comrades,

The Angolan people's struggle, launched on 4 February 1961 and led by the MPLA, is an integral part of the struggle of the peoples against the loathsome imperialist front embracing Africa, Asia and Latin America. Through the ORGANISATION OF ANGOLAN WOMEN OMA, the Angolan women is actively participating on the battlefield, as well as in other activities related to the struggle, contributing to liberation of our country and to the restoration of her dignity as a member of the Angolan society of the future.

We are devoting all our efforts to the struggle for the independence of our country, side by side with our husbands, brothers and sons, so that happiness and peace may return to our villages and towns. We are prepared to make any sacrifices to achieve this is why we have taken up arms.

There are two aspects to the tasks that OMA, always in close cooperation with the MPLA is called upon to perform in the ANGOLAN REVOLUTION: work inside our country and work abroad. Both require of the Angolan woman intensified activity. Inside our country, the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism, to which women are making a valiant contribution, is being increasingly strengthened as the war is generalised and advances throughout our national territory. Today the MPLA has six regions subdivided into sectors with their respective military commands, action committees, Centres of Revolutionary Instruction and Medical Assistance Services, all of them fighting and working for the Liberation and progress of the Angolan people. In all these regions where our people are already living a life of independence and freedom from colonial slavery, there are thousands of women who, together with their husbands and children, are for the first time in five centuries experiencing the feeling of being human beings with rights and not suffering colonial repression.

For the first time the Angolan Woman is wholly involved in the life of her people under conditions of full equality. Apart from the tasks that she always performs, today the woman in the ranks of the MPLA is a valuable fellow-worker with an active voice who is listened to and respected at meeting, in action committees and at our Movement's Assemblies. She cultivates the fields in the liberated areas and carries food, medicines and ammunition, covering hundreds of kilometers to bring them to all the fighters. The place held by women in literacy work and at the Centre of Revolutionary Instruction is no less important. She is also to be found as a doctor, chemical analyst and nurse in our Assistance Service. In addition to the hard and risky tasks we have to carry out inside ANGOLA, which are directly related to the national liberation struggle, there is the work which has to be done abroad, where O M A is now an internationally recognised organisation.

The fact that the ORGANISATION OF ANGOLAN WOMEN is a member of the ALL-AFRICAN WOMEN'S CONFERENCE and of the WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION enables us to inform the women of the whole world about the Angolan people's struggle against Portuguese Colonialism and, especially, to mobilise feminine public opinion to give us political and material support.

Our present major concern is the liberation of our country, regardless of all the sacrifices we have made, so that our children may be free and never again humiliated so that they may play an active part in the progress of mankind, winning the place which is their due. Angola is resisting one of the oldest and most barbarous forms of colonialism. Its people are fighting with determination and audacity to put an end to all injustice. Among the fighters of this heroic people there are also to be found women whose blood has already been shed on Angola's martyred soil. Since that dawn of 4 February 1961, suffering from hunger and sickness and facing all the horrors of war and colonial oppression, Angolan women have always stood firm, prepared to make every sacrifice.

It was in this same spirit that on 2 March 1967, our heroic comrades DEOLINDA RODRIGUES an OMA leader and former member of the Executive Committee of the MPLA and of the Administrative Council of the Angolan Volunteer Centre for Assistance to the Refugees, IRENE COHEN, TEREZA AFONSO, LUCRECIA PAIM and ENGRACIA DOS SANTOS, enthusiastically carried out our Movement's watchword "EVERYONE INSIDE THE COUNTRY".

Their minds wholly consumed with their steely determination to liberate our country, our heroic and sorely-missed compatriots entered Angola to carry out a mission they had been entrusted with, braving every danger. They covered kilometers and kilometers on foot, exposing themselves to enemy bombs and bullets. And they accomplished their mission.

On their return, they were spotted and basely seized by Holden Roberto's counter-revolutionaries on the Congo-Kinshasa border, and taken to the Kinkazu concentration camp. There they were subjected to inhuman torture and the most terrible interrogation. Steadfast and determined, they said nothing. For these young comrades the words "VICTORY OR DEATH" had very real meaning. They preferred to die rather than reveal our Movement's secrets to the enemy.

OMA and the MPLA strongly protested against their imprisonment, informing the world about the obstacles to our struggle created by the counter-revolution. Progressive women from all the continents raised their voices in loud protest. But the counter-revolution in the pay of imperialism remained unmoved. Our five comrades were vilely murdered in the Kinkazu camp.

DEOLINDA, IRENE, ENGRACIA, and LUCRECIA died for our country's freedom. They are an example of courage to us Angolan women and to all our people. The blood they shed is for a balm to give us increased energy and a greater sense of responsibility in accomplishing our duty. This is why we direct our lives towards a single aim: FREE ANGOLA!

Your Excellencies, Comrades,

On behalf of the ORGANISATION OF ANGOLAN WOMEN, O M A, I wish once again to thank you for attending this meeting in tribute to our five comrades who were murdered by the counter-revolution. They symbolise the Angolan Women. They symbolise our entire people, determined and firm in pursuing their right to be free. Our experience has shown us that revolutionary violence is the only way to defeat the enemy. The Angolan Woman is firmly resolved to defeat the enemy.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN !

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES FOR INDEPENDENCE !

DOWN WITH COLONIALISM !

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM !

DOWN WITH RACISM !

UNITED WE WILL WIN !

# Colonialism and chemical warfare in angola - by António Alberto Neto

First of all I want to thank those present for their participation in this teach-in which is meant to be a study of environment and ecology. We think that this problem is very important and that this kind of studies should be made on a world scale. The purpose is to evaluate the real nature of the transformation of the environment and to let those peoples speak who are the victims of the changes imposed here and there by the ferocious rapacity of the capitalist exploitation system, in some places by the means of a criminal aggression war as in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Vietnam.

We cannot speak about environment or ecology without asking who are the victims of the disastrous actions of pollution of the sea, the air, the towns, the diseases (malaria and cholera), the destruction of the vegetation by the use of strong concentrated quantities of defoliants, the chromosomic alterations and the congenital malformations caused by chemical warfare, the projects of Kunene and Cabora-Bassa. To talk about pollution in an abstract way, without integrating it in the socio-economic context of the society, might lead to seeing only a technical problem that a conference could solve on a state level.

The use of chemical products by the Portuguese colonialists is situated in a clear political context to-day; it is the colonial aggression war that we must denounce and against which we must fight in order to put an end to it.

Why is the Portuguese government using chemical products in Angola? Will the chemical warfare in Angola and in Vietnam be discussed at the United Nations' conference on human environment? It would be absurd and unfair that only the aggressors of our peoples should participate at this conference. Thus they would find a justification for their criminal actions. At a moment when the specialised organisations, FAO and UNESCO, decide to have direct contacts with the liberation movements (MPLA, FRELIMO, PAIGC) in the Portuguese colonies, when the Security Council is dealing with the problem of decolonization and when the commission of the 24 plan to send an inquiry commission to visit the liberated areas, we think it is time that we should also be heard at this conference, having a status of observer.

## I. - PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

### 1. The political system

To-day the Portuguese colonial system is collapsing. Nothing can stop this historical process. In Angola the Portuguese colonialism practice a cruel domination in the areas still under its control. The banditry becomes a law; the Portuguese army is the last rampart of the colonialist and fascist presence, it is defending the interests of the big foreign capitalists and the twelve bourgeois families who controls Portugal. At the same time the aggression against our people has been multiplied: prisons and concentration camps are being constructed, radio emitters are established for psycho-social actions in order to perpetuate the domination of the colonists. Portugal still wants to conserve the structures of domination in Southern Africa and for that reason it cooperates openly with the South African racists and the cowboys in Rhodesia. The masque of the so-called multiracial society in Angola

has cracked.

In spite of the brutal political and social repression in Southern Africa (Angola, Namibia, Mozambique, etc.) our people have never stopped the struggle against colonialism and racism and their are gaining still great victories. This part of the world, the "Third Africa", has been chosen by the imperialism because of its strategic importance and because of its economic resources. Southern Africa possesses enormous resources of oil, gold, copper, iron, uranium, chrome, coal, diamonds and a considerable energetical potential. Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa will put an end to this colonialist and racist system before too long.

## 2. The economical system

The international imperialism going from one crisis to another stick obstinately to Southern Africa. All the countries in the capitalist economical system strengthen their domination in Southern Africa by helping Portugal and South Africa for instance by selling them arms (France, USA, England, Italy, Belgium, Germany, etc.). In exchange these countries allow a privileged tourism, and the exploitation and robbery of the economical resources by the establishment of private firms.

This policy has got only one purpose: the brutal assertiveness of our peoples. Experience has taught us that the countries of EEC, EFTA and OCDE have no consciousness when it comes to investing and taking profits. It is cold economical exploitation. When the population resists they don't hesitate to cooperate with the racist and colonialist minorities. Capitalists of all sorts compete in order to invest in South Africa and Angola.

## 3. The aggressive character of the enemy

The Portuguese, South African and Rhodesian "governments" have created a long time ago a racist and colonialist "holy alliance". The last news says that a military commission from NATO has made a visit in South Africa in order to study the possibilities of integrating South Africa in NATO. South Africa is sending troops into Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia and Namibia.

Here and there colonialism and apartheid are being condemned, but it is mainly in order to conserve the good consciences, and in spite of the so-called military and economical boycott, good relations with the with the fascist-colonialist troika (Caetano, Vorster, and Ian Smith) continue. This is the reality of today.

West Germany, France and others are secretly helping South Africa to get nuclear weapon. These countries and Israel deliver large quantities of weapons to Portugal and to South Africa.

## II-CHEMICAL WARFARE AND NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN ANGOLA

### 1. The nature of chemical warfare in Angola

The chemical warfare in Angola is a reality since two years ago. Portugal supported military by the aggressive NATO, use in Angola, planes like C-125, DC-3, Fokker 27, Helicopters PUMA, Allouette II, III, F 86, Fiat 91, and others, in order to spread chemical and for bombing with napalm, our liberated areas.

Large surfaces have been affected by the same defoliants that the U.S. imperialism are using in Indochina. The aims of the Portuguese colonialism are the same: they destroyed food crops (cassava fields, the main target of chemical warfare). Cassava or manioc is the main staple diet in our country as in other African countries. 2/3 of our food crops have been destroyed in 1970/71. Chemical agents quickly destroy fleshy

# Colonialism and chemical warfare in angola - by António Alberto Neto

First of all I want to thank those present for their participation in this teach-in which is meant to be a study of environment and ecology. We think that this problem is very important and that this kind of studies should be made on a world scale. The purpose is to evaluate the real nature of the transformation of the environment and to let those peoples speak who are the victims of the changes imposed here and there by the ferocious rapacity of the capitalist exploitation system, in some places by the means of a criminal aggression war as in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Vietnam.

We cannot speak about environment or ecology without asking who are the victims of the disastrous actions of pollution of the sea, the air, the towns, the diseases (Malaria and cholera), the destruction of the vegetation by the use of strong concentrated quantities of defoliants, the chromosomic alterations and the congenital malformations caused by chemical warfare, the projects of Kunene and Cabora-Bassa. To talk about pollution in an abstract way, without integrating it in the socio-economic context of the society, might lead to seeing only a technical problem that a conference could solve on a state level.

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tuberous roots which cease to grow, change their light colour to black and make them look charred. They poisoned also the lakes and rivers. Using mainly the helicopters they terrorise the rural population and practice all abominable crimes. The forests are also affected in the areas in which we are operating. Journalists, TV reporters, photographers who visited us could appreciate the extension of the destruction of the agriculture fields and forests.

## 2. The consequences of chemical warfare and imperialists projects

The consequences should be considered in short and long terms. There are actually cases of women affected who have given birth to malformed babies and to monsters. Portuguese colonialists and U.S. imperialists are attacking not only the present generation but the future generation as well. Regarding the fundamental principles of the international law and the disposition for international penal sanctions, Portugal is committing a crime against Humanity. This crime is punished according to the Statutes of Nuremberg International Military Tribunal, and the 1948 International Convention of Genocide. Last year, the General Assembly of the United Nations, condemned Portugal for using the chemical warfare in Angola.

The United Nations' Conference on Human Environment or the parallel conference has to establish the criminal responsibility of the Portuguese government and to condemn the chemical warfare.

Portugal use more than 59 % of its national budget for the war. The imperialists help Portugal by trading with it and by giving direct loans like USA who decided to give 435 millions dollars by the canal of the US Export - Import Bank. The others are ready to match ....

"The simple answer is that the UK authorities and institutions were and are willing and ready to provide facilities like those provided for the US Export - Import Bank", declared the English ambassador David Muirhead in a letter sent to the president of the British Portuguese Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Cecil Crookers (cf. Standard, February 7/72). Since 1969, Portugal is buying more and more chemical products. The most important providers are USA and West Germany.

As for the threat to human environment posed by the two schemes of Cabora Bassa and Kunene the Portuguese and South African governments want to make these transformations in order to accentuate the domination. The scheme of Kunene exceeds by more than 700 millions DM that of Cabora Bassa. It has even been foreseen the possibility of importing Italian settlers and expulsing the Angolese population from their land. Though less known than the Cabora Bassa project, this scheme is equally ambitious. It is an established fact that such mammoth projects are potentials of catastrophies that can result from faulty design, engineering construction (e.g. Vafont, Frejus etc.). However, apart from constituting potential disaster areas, both projects are bound to cause the following phenomena with their inevitable consequences:

- a) rupture of hydro-graphic
- b) rise in earthquake frequencies
- c) effects of industrial pollution
- e) effects on periodical flooding areas, and last but not least
- f) direct effects on human populations

## 3 - The people's reaction on chemical warfare and imperialism

We drew the attention of the international public opinion to the chemical warfare waged by Portuguese colonialism in May 1970. Since this date our country has become an application field of this kind of war in Africa. But by mobilising our people we are defeating the Portuguese colonialism. To day, better armed and equipped we extend our liberated areas, and in spite of the use of chemical products

we have liberated more than 1/3 of our territory (500.000 km<sup>2</sup>) where are living more than 1 million people. The only alternative left for us is to increase our armed struggle and to take the power. According to our generalisation of the armed struggle all over the territory we opened on February 12 our VIth political and military region by intensifying the struggle in the district of Huila, and at the same time increasing the military pressure on the border of North Namibia. This area is economically vital for our enemy and we are decided to make their economical war too..

Portuguese colonialism is more and more isolated. In our struggle against it we are not alone. We have the support of the peoples desirous of peace, justice and freedom all over the world. All socialist countries give us also a political, material and direct support. Our liberated areas should be considered as underdeveloped countries so that a direct support could be given. Finally, facing this criminal war we appeal to all governments not to have only pious wishes, but to increase and to give us a direct material support in accordance with our needs.

Determined to win we shall continue the struggle until the final victory.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

antonio alberto neto  
representative of MPLA in Sweden



ALBANY

1844

AHS

ALBANY

1844

FOR COMMUNISM  
(3rd Region - District of Mexico)

Violent struggles have taken place in the north of the district of Mexico, in the vicinity of the city of Luso.

Our forces have inflicted heavy losses upon the Portuguese colonialist troops.

At the beginning of December 1971, two groups of puppet militia men and mercenaries from Katanga, which had left the post of Léua for patrolling the north of Tchonga, opened fire against each other believing that they had surprised an MPLA guerilla patrol. Six puppet militia men and one Katangese were killed and one militia man was wounded.

Because of this incidence there have been conflicts between the puppets in the strategic village.

Through landmines and sabotage actions the enemy has suffered several losses.

Thus, on the 4th of December, a Portuguese soldier was wounded when an anti-personnel landmine exploded on a path near Mukolongo.

On the 5th of December, and at the same place, another group of enemy soldiers set off an anti-personnel landmine which killed a non-commissioned officer and wounded a soldier.

On the 7th of December, a colonialist soldier set off an armed trap on the river of Luachi, close to Mukolongo. He was seriously wounded. On that very day, a group of enemies set off a landmine at an abandoned base, whereby they suffered one dead and one wounded.

On the 12th of December, at 11<sup>30</sup>, on the road between BUCACO and LUMJE, a group of MPLA guerillas ambushed a column of 6 "Unimog", which transported colonialist troops and people who were forced to go and destroy the maniock crops of the regions that were liberated by the MPLA. Our fighters destroyed 2 "Unimog" and killed or wounded 28 colonialist soldiers.

On that very day and hour, a group of enemy soldiers attacked an outlying post of an MPLA detachment.

After the first surprise, our comrades reorganized and drove back the Portuguese colonialists, who left behind a tent, a G3 loader, two FAJ loaders, 35 pieces of 7,62 mm ammunition from NATO and one bazooka.

On the 16th of December, a section of MPLA guerillas attacked an enemy bivouac at the old post of MUKOLONGO. The attack took place at 1 o'clock p.m. and lasted for 10 minutes, causing the enemy 12 dead and 5 wounded who afterwards were transported to LUMJE in a helicopter.

Surprised by the strength of our attack, the colonialist troops withdrew towards LUMJE seeking assistance.

## ANGOLA

The health authorities in the south of Angolan port of Lobito, 24 miles north of Benguela, face the cholera that spreaded to the north, in spite of immunisation programme. In Benguela in January 14<sup>th</sup>, there have been nine suspected cases, raising to 131 the total of suspected cases. Several people died in Luanda and Lobito e Benguela. They have not been treated in the hospital

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The economical situation in Angola become more difficult for the colonialists. Our people under the portuguese rule know today a situation of misery.

If the oil exploitation is increasing, is very difficult to find butter and milk for the people in the principal towns. The cost of living are increasing as consequence of the war of aggression, in Portugal and in Angola.

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Products thus being sprayed over liberated zones proved to be herbicides and defoliants of the following nature according to the MEDICAL ASSISTANCE SERVICE OF THE MPLA

- 1) 2,4-D (2, 4 dichlorophenoxyacetic acid)
- 2) 2,4,5-T (2,4,5 trichlorophenoxyacetic acid )
- 3) cacodylic acid
- 4) picloram (from Dow Chemical Company, with the commercial name of Tordon)

These products, are well known to been used in the VIETNAM war.

who were siding the Portuguese authorities.

But the rebellion is spreading to the other side of the frontier, embracing the whole of the Cuanhama region. Furthermore, on 18 January, the people at the Honguenn post in Angola and the Ochicango post in South-West Africa started to burn villages, to cut the barbed wire around sheep-pens and to burn cattle vaccination stations.

That same day, South African troops appeared, well armed. But the revolutionary population is also armed, with machettes, spears, clubs, arrows, axes and other weapons, and they started to fight.

That day four South African racists were grievously wounded and two killed. On the side of the revolutionaries, one was killed by a bullet in the head and two were wounded.

The South African troops asked for help from the Portuguese puppets. The following day, a batallion arrived at the frontier. They opened fire, but there were no victims. There were many arrests. One of their soldiers was wounded. The Portuguese fascists arrested people and threw them into prison.

Comrades, there is a great struggle here and we all place our trust in the Voice of Fighting Angola and the MPLA.

The Portuguese fascists have already dotted the whole frontier from high up on the Cunene River with their dirty troops. The "Voice of FIDE" and all the other broadcasting stations are already doing their topsy-turvy propaganda, taking the road to hell and not that which leads to peace.

Comrades-in-the-struggle: it is amazing how the fascists' propaganda completely distorts everything. We members of the MPLA Action Committee hail you and await your instructions.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN !

Action Committee Leader  
Siliveli Eci Ndinga

NEWS

TELEGRAM

Excellency  
Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim  
Chairman Committee of 24  
United Nations  
New York

Have honour call your attention to new developments armed struggle in Angola stop 12 January the people of Cunene district in Southern Angola also entered armed struggle stop this action is further expression of general revolt of Angolan people against Portuguese colonia-

lism and for freedom independence in implementation of watchword launched by MPLA for generalising armed struggle throughout territory stop the action in Cunene district taking place when Namibian people waging powerful struggle constitutes fundamental step to end colonial domination in the region stop particularly direct threat to imperialist project construction Cunene Dam by South Africa and Portugal stop this explains why Portugal and South Africa reacted promptly and simultaneously and jointly in such desperate and barbaric way stop incapable of facing the armed forces of MPLA Portuguese and South African troops engaged in systematic attacks and massacres against population of villages people women and children have been slaughtered in Cunene district stop MPLA denounces these new crimes against Angolan people which are result of persistence Portuguese colonialism and fascist racist regime of South Africa stop appeals committee 24 take necessary measures to help Angolan people and to mobilise all anticolonialist forces of world against Portuguese colonialism South African regime for defence human rights freedom and independence of peoples and nations and peace.

#### STEERING COMMITTEE

#### MPLA

Brazzaville: A transport plane C-123 from the Portuguese air force tactical command was shot down by the people's armed forces of MPLA as it sprayed poisonous matter on the river Luele in the Cuando-Cubango region, South East of Angola, on January 4th. A dozen of people aboard were killed. (4 January 1972)

Addis-Abeba: Comrade Pascal LUWUALO represented the MPLA at the meeting of the Security Council in Addis-Abeba. There will not be peace in Angola as long as Portugal does not recognize the principle of self-determination and complete independence for our people. Portugal also has to recognize MPLA. He also declared that without help from western powers Portugal would already have been expelled from the colonies. He rejected categorically the so-called theory of Portugal representing Angola. (2 February 1972)

Lusaka: In the course of an official visit to Zambia the Danish Foreign Minister, Mr. K.B. Andersen, met on 13 March with the President of the MPLA, Dr. Agostinho Neto, in the presence of the Zambian Foreign Minister, Mr. Mudenda. During the discussions, which lasted one hour and thirty minutes, the Danish Foreign Minister reaffirmed his government's decision to support the African national liberation movements and to finance MPLA projects related to Education and Medical Care. During his prior visit to Tanzania, the Danish Foreign Minister stated that his government would grant 6.63 million shillings to the African national liberation movements this year. (15 March 1972)

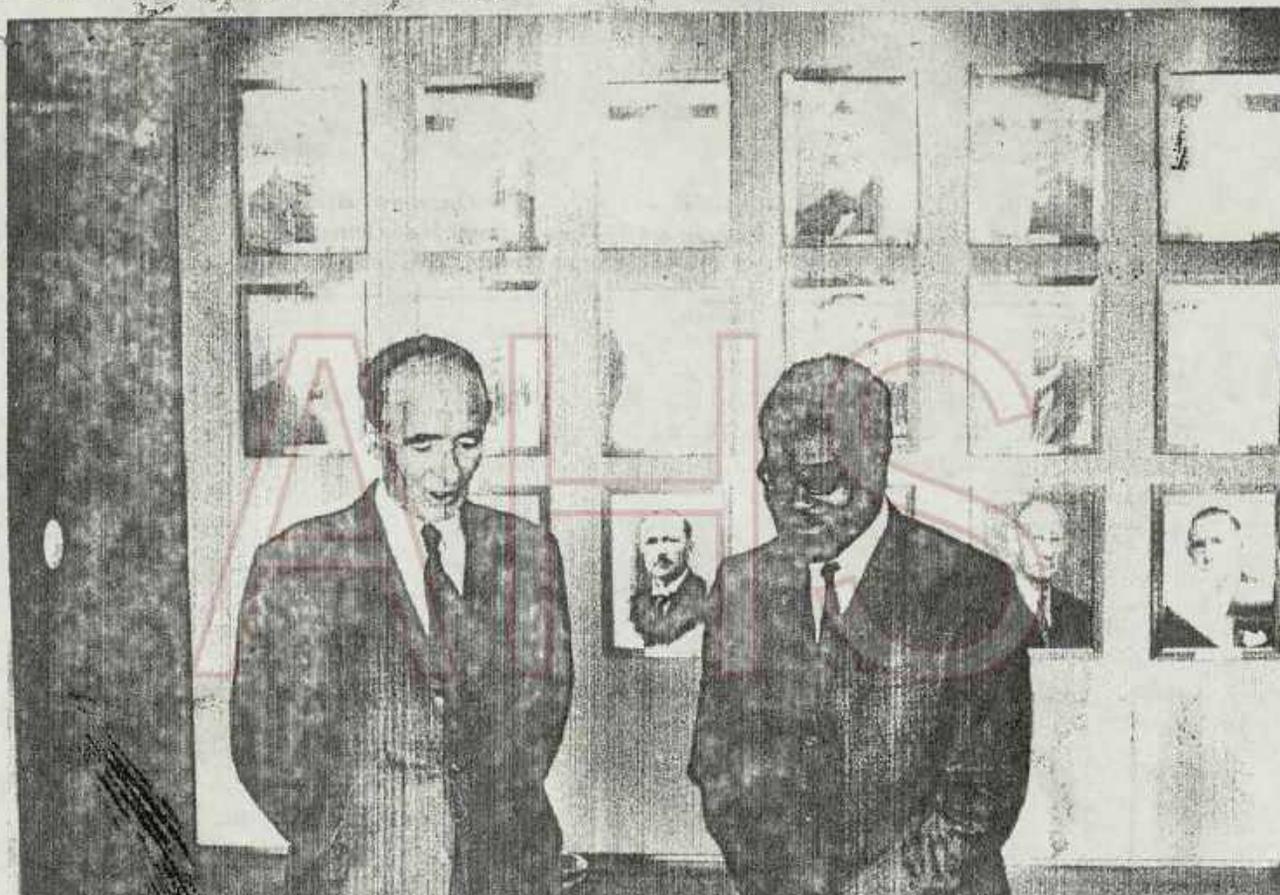
Copenhagen: The Danish government has decided to give direct assistance to the MPLA.

Luanda: An epidemic of cholera is haunting the regions which are still under Portuguese control. Several deaths have been the consequence in Luanda, Lobito and Benguela.

Lisbon. Since 1 November over 100 persons have been arrested in Portugal by the fascist police, PIDE. Some have later been released. Three Angolan students at the Financial and Economics Institute were arrested in Lisbon last April.

Milan. Dr. Aniasi, the mayor of the city, received the MPLA Delegation attending the Congress of Liberazione and Sviluppo. The Congress voted to reinforce the solidarity work for the Angolan people and our Movement among the Italian people. Italians demonstrated against the participation of Portuguese colonialists at the Milan fair.

Forli-Como. The Solidarity Committee at the hospital of this Italian has decided to establish a twin-hospital arrangement with a hospital in the liberated regions of Angola.



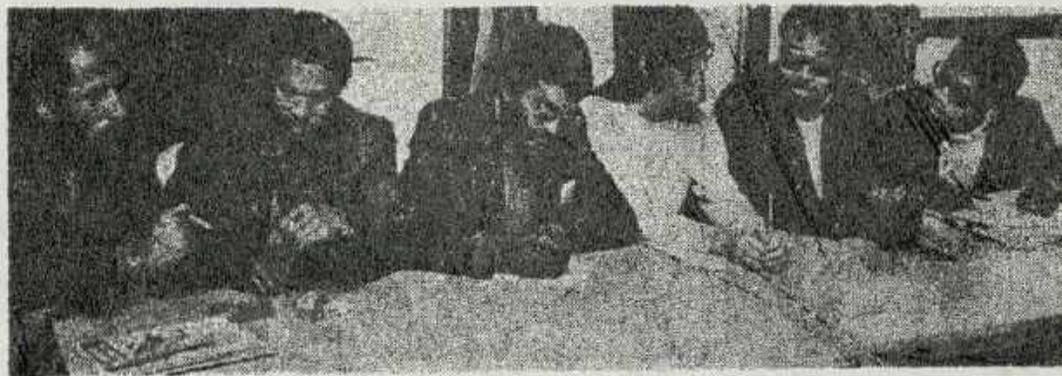
OSLO THE NORWEGIAN PRIME MINISTER M. BRATTELI RECEIVED OFFICIALLY ALBERTO NETO, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MPLA.

Copenhagen. The Danish government has decided to stop granting credit to firms wanting to invest in Angola, South Africa, and Mozambique.

New York. The UN Special Political Committee has in resolution asked the Security Council to condemn the continued and increasing cooperation by certain states and other economic interests with South Africa. The US, UK, France, Belgium, Portugal, and Australia voted against.

Reykjavik. MPLA representative in Scandinavia and the Nordic countries visited Iceland March 1-10. He was officially received by the Prime Minister, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Industry, and Education. Problems concerning the relations as well as direct Icelandic assistance to the Angolan people were discussed. Iceland will reinforce her contribution to the anti-colonialist struggle by political and diplomatic pressure within NATO and the UN, and by giving direct assistance to the MPLA. A lecture was given and a film shown at Reykjavik University.

## LUND CONFERENCE



The representatives in Lund  
*Fernando Cabral (PAIGC), Oscar Monteiro (Frelimo), Janet Mondlane (Mocambique Institute), Antonio Alberto Neto (MPLA)*  
*Onestma Silveira (PAIGC), Jorge Manuel (MPLA)*

Invited by the Africa groups in Sweden (Stockholm, Arvika, Lund, Uppsala) a delegation from MPLA, led by the representative in Sweden, participated in the conference of support groups from Europe, USA and Canada, which was held in Lund from 1/4 - 3/4.



**reykjavik:** The prime minister Olaf Johannesson, to the left, received officially the representative of the MPLA, Alberto Neto.

## PEOPLE'S WAR IN ANGOLA

By Antonio Alberto Neto

The 4th of February 1961, the weaponed struggle for liberation of the Angolan people started under the guidance of the Mouvement Populaire de Liberation de l'Angola, M.P.L.A. (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola). Since more than 10 years of weaponed struggle against the Portuguese colonialism, the M.P.L.A. has never ceased to define people's war concretely as a movement of political and military mobilization of the masses of the Angolan people who have decided to rely on their own forces in order to free themselves from the abominable Portuguese colonialism and create an independent, democratic and supreme state.

What is the present situation like in Angola? The interest of this question is undeniable. Facing the different campaigns and manoeuvres from the part of the Portuguese colonialism, facing the silence of the press, bourgeois as well as left-wing, especially in France, about what is happening in Angola, it is more necessary than ever to point out the situation, to give such information to revolutionary activists and workers all over the world that can make it possible for them to realize the true character and the context of this people's war, so little known by certain people, a fact that has maintained the confusion "in a certain press", which was not well informed earlier about the situation in the Portuguese colonies in general, and in Angola in particular.

### A BRIEF HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The Portuguese colonialism is by nature reactionary, it is the principal enemy of our people, which fought and still fights to get rid of it and has done so all through our history. For the actual presence of foreign troops and a foreign administration on the Angolan soil is not just caused by chance. The Portuguese occupation of our territory was not done without a fight, without resistance against the foreign penetration, disguised as it was in the beginning to what was called a crusade against the unbelievers, from whom they robbed their land, took away all their natural riches, plundered openly and at last transformed into slaves. All this realized in the name of christianism and....of the Western civilization. By force of arms, by the military or civil administration and by the foreign religion-three fundamental elements of the occupation-the colonialists carried out the real purpose that had brought them to Angola and the colonies, that is the economic plundering of our country. By these means and by its rapacious nature, the Portuguese colonialism showed in practice that it was up to the Angolan people to organize and to fight against the presence of the colonialists in order to drive away their weaponed aggression.

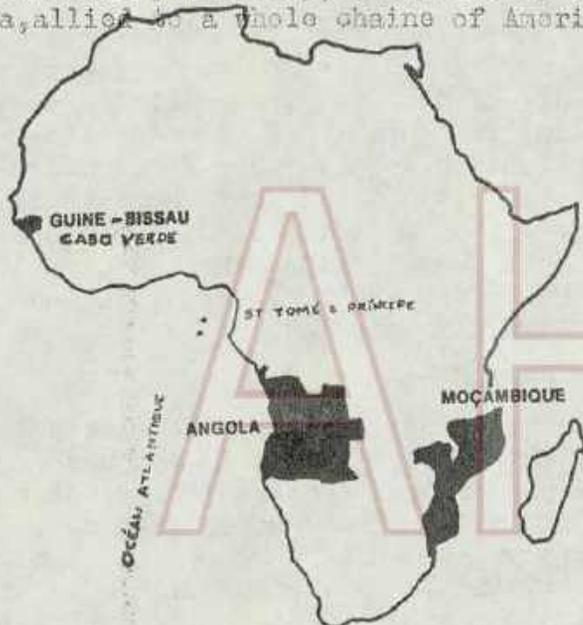
Innumerable sources describe the historical process of the trade, which is underlying all conditions of production and all relations of forces up to the present capitalist stage which exists in the Portuguese colonies in particular and in the neo-colonized countries in general. The aim is the same. That is the suppression of the African peoples and other, of the masses of the people, of the proletariat of these countries by imperialism.

As a colonial power, Portugal is a part of the worldwide system of capitalist exploitation against which the peoples struggle for their complete liberation and for socialism.

Angola is a rich country, whose economical and strategic importance has since a long time been subjected to the avidity and the exploitation of different imperialist trusts, which objectively joined the different political bourgeois regimes of Portugal, in order to exploit together the richnesses of our country.

It is because of this very fact that the imperialist strategy in the south of Africa was born, that is strengthen the marionette and racist regimes of the Angolan district Cabinda, north of Mozambique in order to maintain the supremacy of the racist minorities in Angola, in Namibia, in South Africa and its African satellite states, in Zimbabwe and in Mozambique. The Portuguese colonialism assures in this system "the maintain of order" to make possible the exploitation of iron by Krupp and his Japanese and Danish allies, of oil by Cabinda Gulf Oil Company (a simple renewing of the name) and also by Petrofina that exploits oil in co-operation with the Royal Dutch and La Compagnie Française de Pétrole, of aluminium by Pechiney, of diamond by the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, allied to a whole chain of American, Belgian and Dutch capital, of copper,

of asphalt, of manganese, of gold and of certain strategic products and minerals, exploited by German, American, Belgian, French, British, Italian (and other) capital.



The Portuguese colonialism also puts our country into the disposal of the financial capital of the countries, which are members of the CEE, of the EC and of the CEEA. They invest directly or export their goods. They are since a long time installed in the agriculture, in the industry of transformation, in the wholesale and the retail trade by the consulates, the local enterprises, alone or in co-operation with the Portuguese enterprises. The principal is clear: exploit rapidly and withdraw as much profit as possible by investing little capital. The highest profit has in several cases amounted to more than 600%.

In order to realize this classical form of plundering, the Portuguese colonialists make sure to get a cheap staff by exploiting the working-power of the workers and the villagers to the only and exclusive profit of the colonialists and their trusts. They keep the forced labour in this part of Africa, which is only explained by the objective need of the world imperialism to reserve the south of Africa as a preserve for the cheap accomplishment of materials necessary for their survival as an economical system.

For the transports the Portuguese colonialism constructs strategic roads (Luanda-Preteroria). The railway of Bonduela, which crosses our country, is totally controlled by the British capital. In order to make the troops of aggression more mobile, they enlarge the principal tracks of the air ports and develop the system of telegraphic communication.

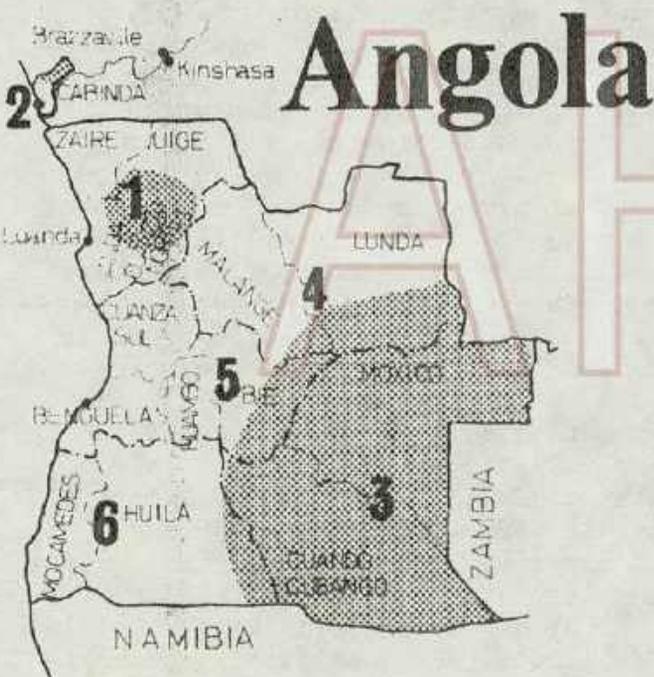
The construction of barrages on the river Kuene south of our country directly associates the imperialism with the Portuguese and the South African regimes while giving them an electric potential indispensable for their plans of aggression against the Angolan and Namibian peoples. This project surpasses by more than 700 million Dutch marks that of Jabara Bassa. The aim is to make it possible for South Africa to better annex Namibia, to possess nuclear weapons by the exploitation of the natural layers of uranium in Tsomb. On the other hand, one seeks to keep the Portuguese and Italian colonies south of Angola according to an ambitious plan of irrigation, which would affect the Angolan populations of the region by a systematic expropriation of their land.

We shall now enter an other aspect of the strategy in the south of Africa, that is the war of aggression and the militarization of this region. The fact is certain: the imperialism has, in consideration of the richnades and the reserves of raw materials in Angola in particular and in the south of Africa in general, carried out a whole serial of tactics, as for example: constitution of neo-colonized buffer states, repeated violation of the borders of the progressive states, attempts of coups d'états in Zambia, Congo-Brazzaville and Tanzania, maintenance of spies of every kind in order to sabotage the economy of these countries and hinder the support that these governments are giving to MPLA.

Moreover, there is the creation of marionette movements of liberation, whose principal objective is to sabotage the struggle for liberation of the Angolan and Mozambique peoples, directed by the progressive avant-gardes, the MPLA and the Frelimo.

#### PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA

The struggle for national liberation of Angola against the foreign penetration has long traditions of resistance. Our people count heroes and historical leaders as Ngola Kiluanji, Nzinga Mbandi, Bata, Mandume and Nwe Mbandu. In the 1920's, a group of intellectuals, such as Silvério Pereira, Paixao Franco, Bordeiro da Mata, Assis Júnior were the first to question the colonialism by



writing books and articles in the papers, by establishing the outlined of a modern form of nationalism.

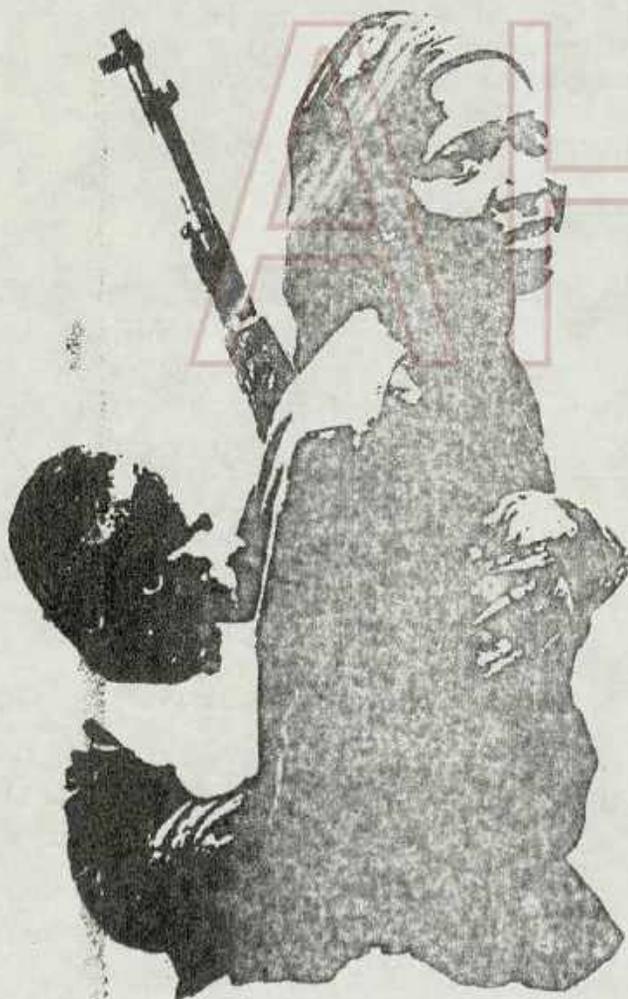
It is in this spirit that the Ligue Nationale Africaine has been created in 1929. The avant-garde element of this struggle recognized already the necessity of abandoning the legal methods of struggle against the colonial system.

But it is only after the second world war, especially after 1953, that the first secret political formations transformed the political life in Angola.

In 1953 the first political formation was born. The Mouvement Populaire de Libération de l'Angola was created on the 10th of December 1956. It reorganizes different political parties, such as the Parti de la Lutte Unie de l'Angola PLUA (The Party of United Struggle for Angola) and the Mouvement pour l'Indépendance de l'Angola, MINA (The Movement for the Independence of Angola). Later, in 1958, another organisation, the Mouvement de l'Indépendance Nationale de l'Angola also joined the forces of the MPLA.

The MPLA is a liberation movement which since 1956 reorganizes the progressive elements, the masses of workers and villagers and all those eager to fight against the Portuguese colonialism.

After this follows a period of intense preparation of the cadres in order to strengthen and enlarge the political work and the mobilization of the masses. City schools and libraries are created secretly. Activists spread secret propaganda by all means at their disposal. The only effective opposition that expresses itself within the country is that of the MPLA which mobilizes the agricultural workers in the strike in the Cassanga bassin, which influences the strike of the fishermen at Porto Alexandre south of the country, which forms political activists in other towns, and which develops the political propaganda as well in the religious militias as with the workers of the textile and oil industries of the capital.



Facing this development of the national consciousness, the Portuguese colonialists attempt, all since 1957, to organize a massive repression to assure its abominable domination by installing the PIDE (the Portuguese Gestapo), thus strengthening the repressive apparatus. During this period came the first arbitrary arrestations, the sending of Angolan militants to the concentration camps of Silva Porto, Moçamedes and Baía dos Tigres, militants that were deprived of their freedom on the most fallacious pretexts. During the same time, the building of prisons is increased and the most reluctant militants sent to the islands of São Thomaz and Lo Príncipe and Cap Verde. From March 1959 dates the first big mass arrestations against the militants of MPLA. It is in the first place workers, students, officials of the colonial administration, schoolteachers and medical attendants that one finds among the arrested. The aim is clear: it is a question of demolishing the secret nets of MPLA: organization of a whole system of spying by the systematical division up into squares of the African quarters of Luanda and other towns and villages of the country. But that does not stop the continuation of the political work under original forms of mobilisation, such as periodic meetings during the people's balls; in every place where it is possible one tries to distribute sheets, to inform about and to popularize the struggle.

to be continued in the next issue..



**SAM-MPLA's medical assistance**

SAM, the MPLA's Medical Assistance Service, is the organisation which has been given the task of providing medico-social care not only for the fighters and all militants, both inside Angola and abroad, but also for the huge population living in the liberated areas of Angola.

Founded in 1961, at the very start of the armed struggle, this organisation has been closely associated with all the events in the history of our liberation movement; led by the MPLA, SAM is a practical expression of the overriding pre-occupation of President Neto and our revolutionary leadership to create a new type of social organisation, at the same time as advancing the armed struggle, in order to provide the liberated people with the benefits of progress and well-being. Although our resources in technical cadres and material means are not very great, rational organisation combined with good criteria for improvement have enabled this organisation, which has been manned exclusively by national cadres up to now, to gain in scope and extensiveness and to establish itself definitively inside Angola, where it is providing inestimable services.

At present, SAM activities are co-ordinated by a doctor who is its national director and who is directly responsible for SAM to the Politico-Military Co-ordinating Committee. Then there is a regional director or doctor in each of the existing politico-military regions. Other doctors are directors of hospital centres set up along the frontiers, their main job being to care for the seriously wounded and supply equipment and medicines to the areas and regions in the interior. At regional level there are Regional Medical Centres entrusted with co-ordinating

and directing the activities of the doctors in the various areas and the First Aid Posts attached to all the detachments. These posts are run by medical assistants, qualified nurses and first aid assistants. Apart from the medical care it provides for the sick and wounded, SAM's present objectives are as follows:

1. The rapid training of

first aid assistants and nurses;

2. Further training of the existing personnel through theoretical and practical courses;

3. Launching a vast hygiene, preventive medicine and vaccination campaign among the masses;

4. Mounting a mother and child care campaign;

5. Setting up large medico-surgical units in neighbouring countries.

## TRIBUTE TO

## DR. BOAVIDA

The executive Committee of the MPLA, expressing the feelings of all its militants, pays a high tribute, full of emotion, to Dr. Americo Boavida who died in combat in Angola as a result of a bombing raid in one of the combat areas, where he worked as Director of the Medical Assistance Services.

Americo Boavida came from Luanda, where he was born on 20 November 1923. Overcoming all difficulties of a racial nature, he successfully completed his primary and secondary schooling and was one of the first Angolan graduates of the Liceu de Luanda, where Agostinho Neto was also a student. He presented the local athletics club as an athlete and made an effective contribution to the sporting successes carried off by that group.

In 1952, he obtained a degree in Medicine from the University Medical Faculty in Porto and Lisbon, followed by degrees in Tropical Medicine and Hygiene. In both 1954 and 1958 he worked in the clinical hospital of the Medical Faculty of the University of Barcelona and in 1955 he specialised in Gynaecology and Obstetrics at the institute for Post-Graduate Medical Studies in Prague.

He practised his profession in Angola, in the town of Luanda, where he lived from 1955 to 1960, becoming well known for his qualities, both professional and nationalist. He earned enormous prestige and the esteem of his compatriots.

His nationalist feeling led him to give up his professional activities and to devote himself entirely to the struggle for the national independence and freedom of his people.

In August 1960 he joined the MPLA, where he worked as a member of the Department of Foreign Relations, as President of the Angolan Volunteer Corps for Assistance to Refugees (CVAAR)



**Dr. Americo Boavida.**

in Kinshasa and as a member of the National Committee. He was one of the first Angolan doctors to respond to our Movement's call to go and fight inside our country.

Throughout his life as a doctor and fighter he had the affection and friendly counsel of his wife, a teacher of Portuguese nationality. The just nature of our struggle made her support and accompany him with courage in all his activities. His widow has made an active contribution to the development of our struggle and devoted herself with all possible enthusiasm and effort to the liberation of both the Angolan people and the oppressed Portuguese people.

Deeply concerned about the evolution of the social and political problems of the Third World, Dr. Boavida made a profound analysis of the Portuguese colonial system, strongly condemning it in various articles published in the international press and in his outstanding book

# Dr. Boavida

ANGOLA CINCO SÉCULOS DE EXPLORACAO PORTUGUESA (Angola, five centuries of Portuguese exploitation), published in Brazil by Editora Civilizacao Brasileira S.A., Rio de Janeiro.

The Executive Committee of the MPLA considers that Dr. Americo Boavida gave services of inestimable value on the Eastern Front, making himself especially noted for the setting up of a number of dispensaries there, for the way in which he ensured the medical care of the local population and also for the scientific analysis he made towards a solution of the health problems in Angola.

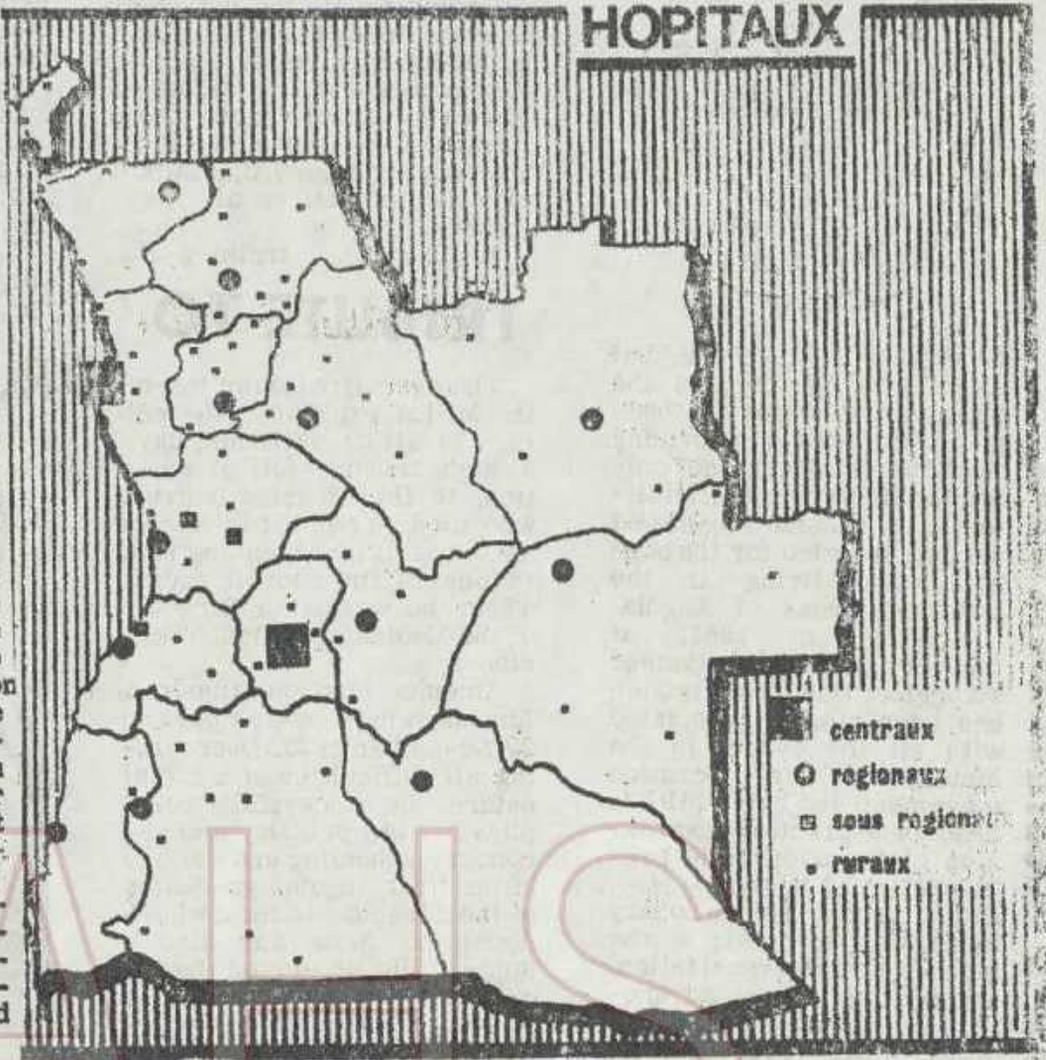
A well known figure internationally, Dr. Americo Boavida stands immortal at the side of all the heroes who have died for the liberation of Angola from Portuguese colonial domination. His example will not have been in vain. Paying with his life for his feeling as a nationalist and revolutionary Dr. Americo Boavida will remain a symbol to all Angolan patriots who are wholly dedicated to the task of transforming Angola into an independent, democratic and free country.

*From his blood  
which has been  
shed will spring  
flowers for  
independent  
Angola*

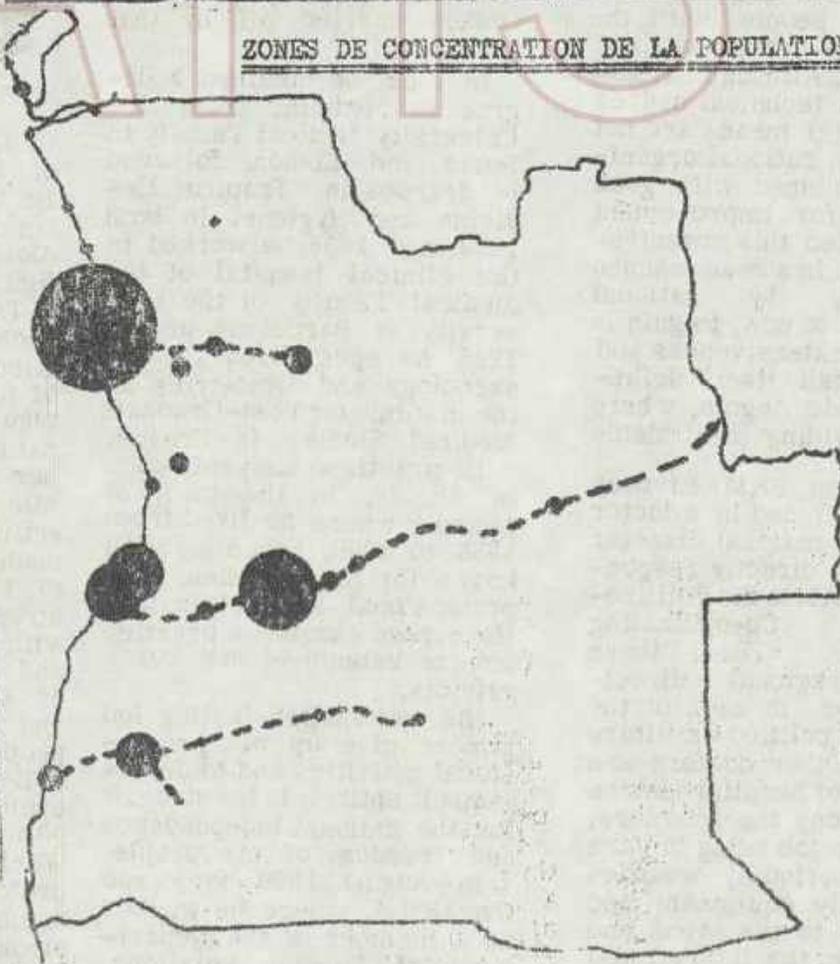


**Dr. Americo Boavida  
inside Angola.**

## HOPITAUX



## ZONES DE CONCENTRATION DE LA POPULATION EUROPEENNE



Moreover, since the best facilities for diagnosis and treatment are always concentrated in the central hospitals and private clinics, which have the services of the best medical personnel, the civil servants being treated there, the rural hospitals and dispensaries lack not only skilled personnel but also the most elementary facilities for diagnosis (radiological and biological examinations) and treatment.

The health policy pursued by the colonial government in Angola, despite all its efforts to fool public opinion and international organisations, is selective and racist. Quality is for the European and mediocrity and deficiencies for Angola. Hence the life expectancy of the African is 35 and that of the Portuguese settler 60.

#### IN THE AREAS UNDER MPLA CONTROL

The MPLA has made available to the Angolan people its medical service (SAM). Its activities date back to 1963, a year of great advance in the armed struggle. The need to provide medical care for the guerrilla detachments obliged SAM to adapt its structure to that of the armed forces. It therefore

carries out its activity in the regions, zones and sectors where the war is in progress. At regional level, SAM is directed by a doctor or a medical assistant. The zone comes under a medical assistant or qualified nurse and, finally, the sector under a nurse or nursing assistant.

SAM's cadres are also guerrillas and they take part in combat against the colonialist army. It is very short-staffed and far from meeting the needs of the population in the regions. SAM's present medical personnel is as follows.

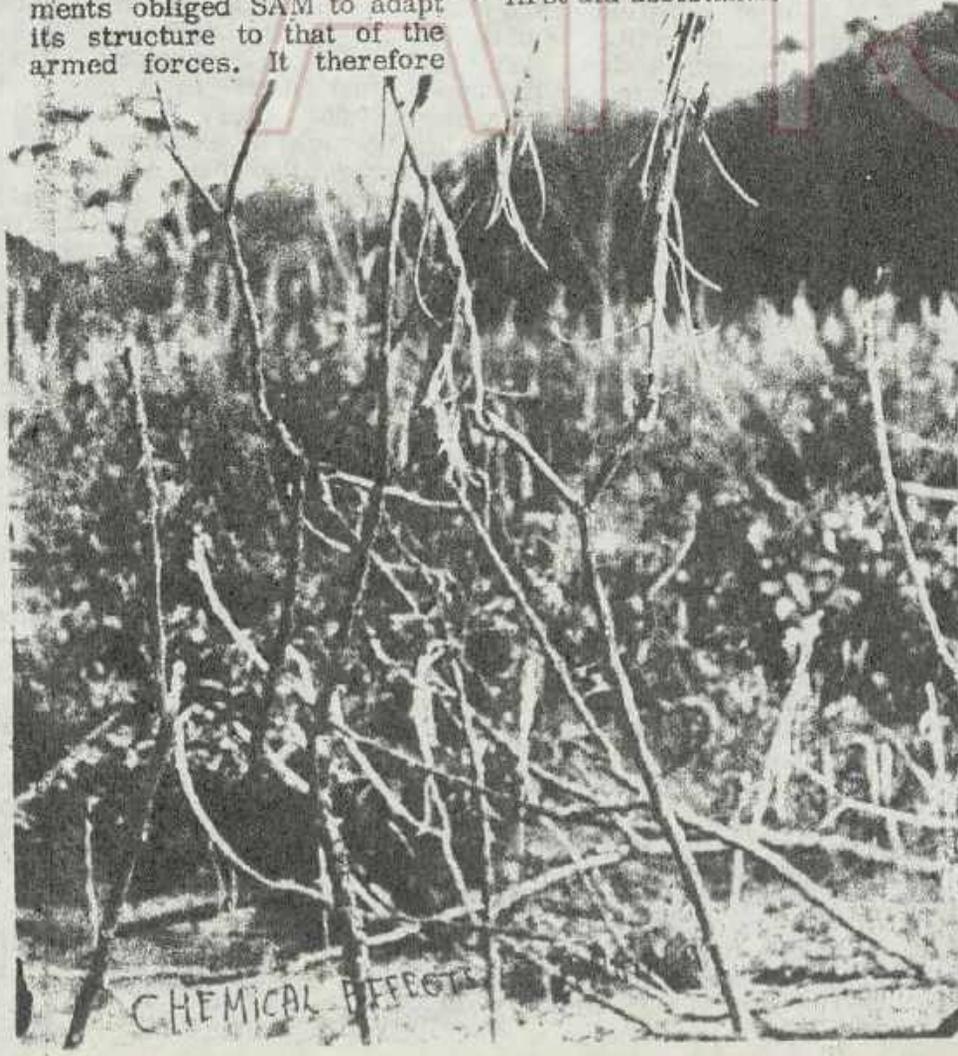
- 6 doctors
- 2 medical assistants
- 7 qualified nurses
- 1 pharmacist
- 2 midwives
- 2 laboratory assistants
- 18 first aid assistants
- 3 nursing assistants

In 1969, therefore, cadres had to be trained. To meet this need we set up a school of elementary medical care, which imparts general knowledge on anatomy, physiology, first aid, pathology and hygiene. The first course enabled us to train 14 cadres, 1 nursing assistant and 13 first aid assistants.

We hope to be able to increase the numbers, because the course has been a success and has aroused the enthusiasm of the villagers, even in places still under Portuguese occupation.

As regards health centres, a great deal still remains to be done. At present we have only one somewhat rudimentary hospital in operation at Dolisie (Congo Brazzaville). This hospital has only 12 beds, a small operating room, 2 consulting rooms, 1 rudimentary laboratory and adjoining treatment rooms. We have therefore been able to treat fighters from the Cabinda front and the Angolan population living close to the frontier or on the territory of the People's Republic of the Congo.

On the Eastern Front (third and fourth health regions), which borders on Zambia, the difficulties are tremendous. Transporting medical supplies from Dar es Salaam port is very difficult, owing to the great distance (3,000 kilometres) and SAM's lack of transport facilities. Beyond the frontier medical care is provided by mobile teams accompanying the military columns and in dispensaries set up at our bases. Some villages still cannot have our services because of the shortage of staff and medicines. With the steady advance of the liberated struggle the population and fighters to be cared for are becoming increasingly numerous. The constant bombing raids with fragmentation bombs and napalm are causing a consistent increase in the numbers of people burned and wounded. The surgical equipment at our disposal is very limited. Furthermore the need for more advanced training of our technical assistants and nurses, especially in the field of war surgery, is making itself felt.



CHEMICAL EFFECTS

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# MEDICAL FACILITIES IN THE REGIONS UNDER

# PORTUGUESE OCCUPATION

Portugal's health policy in its African colonies, and particularly in Angola, since it is most especially a settler colony, has always had as its prime object caring for the health of the European settlers as a means of ensuring administrative, military and economic control. Any problems which had to do with the health of the indigenous population were always looked upon as secondary.

Over the past years since the launching of the armed struggle for national liberation, the Portuguese government has been doing its utmost to show that health services in Angola have improved. The perceptible increase in medical and para-medical personnel is partially a response to this political need, although due especially to the growth of the military forces of occupation, as well as to the pressure of world opinion.

The health position of the vast majority of the Angolan people is still, however, as precarious as it was at the beginning of this century. The appalling infant mortality rate and what has been noted in the zones under our Movement's control by the doctors in our Medical Assistance Service, more than refutes the ludicrous figures put out by the Portuguese occupiers.

The establishment of the colonial health services followed the geographical distribution of the European population, most of which is to be found in the towns along the seaboard (82%), in the rich coffee region in the north and along the three major railways (see maps 1 and 2). The African population, on the other hand, is essentially rural, only about 10% living in the shanty-towns which surround the European population centres.

In 1963, the numbers of doctors and para-medical personnel were, respectively, 261 and 985. In 1967, this number rose to 414 "government" doctors, 21 doctors attached to religious missions and about 1,566 para-medical personnel (nurses, midwives, laboratory assistants etc.)

This increase in the number of medical personnel is due essentially to the growth of the Portuguese military and para-military forces (which rose from 7,000 to 70,000 men in the regular army, plus more than 20,000 security agents and settler militiamen). Doctors and other

para-medical personnel in the military forces are called government staff (civil servants) in the statistics, for obvious reasons....

One of the sources from which we have taken our information ("Angola -- Curso de extensao universitaria", Instituto Superior de Alto Estudos Ultramarinos) points out that there are 3 central hospitals with 300 beds, 15 regional hospitals in the district capitals, 57 sub-regional (i.e. rural) hospitals and 26 leper hospitals, involving a total 5,180 beds. In addition to these health centres, there are 304 dispensaries

in suburban and rural areas.

An examination of the geographical distribution of these health centres shows that they are concentrated in the maritime zone which represents the one-quarter of Angola's territory where the European population is most dense. Towards the interior, in the vast region which embraces five districts (Malanje, Bie, Lunda, Moxico and Kuando Kubango), with an area exactly that of France, the number of health centres is infinitesimal: 5 regional hospitals, 16 rural hospitals and 60 field dispensaries. Yet the Angolan population in that re-

gion of the country numbers about 2,000,000.

When one studies both Portuguese and international statistics, one finds that there is 1 doctor for about every 13,000 people, which would put Angola in quite a comfortable position, fourth in Africa in the field of health. But let us take a closer look at the situation.

In each rural hospital there are, in principle, 1 doctor and 1 or 2 nurses, and the field dispensaries are run by 1 nurse or medical assistant.

These are the doctors and health assistants who care for the health of the 18% of the Europeans who live in small towns in the interior and on plantations, and of the vast majority of the rural (90%) and suburban (10%) African population. Therefore, there are 60 doctors (13.5%) and about 400 nurses (25%) to tackle the health problems of this huge population. On the other hand 86.5% of all doctors (375) treat 80% of the European population and the African minority admitted to the central hospitals and private clinics.

A Portuguese doctor divides his activity between the hospital, his practice and private business (industry, mines...) Monthly incomes range from 1 to 3 million old francs. Military doctors also engage in private business.

It can therefore be said that there is 1 doctor for about every 1,000 settlers (which is excellent) but, on the other hand, 1 doctor for about every 75,000 Angolans, which is catastrophic and puts Angola last among the African countries. The horrifying infant mortality rate among Africans (about 125 out of every 1,000), compared with the low rate among the children of Portuguese settlers (45 out of every 1,000) is a further reason for reflection on the nature of Portuguese medical care in Angola.

It is surprising that the United Nations should see fit to publish the figures issued by the Lisbon government, because they are so absurd. In the period from 1960 to 1964, according to the United Nations Statistical Bulletin already cited, the infant mortality rate in Angola was 19.2 out of every 1,000, whereas in Portugal itself the number amounted to 77.4 out of every 1,000. There is no need to comment on the reliability of the Portuguese government's statistics.

Oslo. The MPLA representative in Scandinavia visited Norway last April. He contacted progressive and democratic organizations and political parties, including the Norwegian Council for Southern Africa. On April 12 he was officially received by Prime Minister Bratteli. The Prime Minister reaffirmed his solidarity with the Angolan people under the leadership of MPLA in its struggle against Portuguese fascism and colonialism. The press reported his visit in Oslo, Kristiansand and Volda. He attended seminars on the liberation movements.

The Hague. The fascist foreign minister of Portugal, Rui Patricio, paid a secret visit to the Hague two weeks ago in a vain attempt to change the opposition of the Dutch to colonialism. The Portuguese radio has started a campaign against the direct support given to MPLA by the governments of Denmark, Holland, and Norway. The isolation of Portugal and the bankruptcy of its diplomacy are increasing.

Lissabon. The fascism admits - or the impossible is not Portuguese.

In an official communique published on 30th April by the ministry of internal affairs in Lissabon demonstrations were forbidden on 1st May all over the Portuguese territory. Furthermore, it was announced that several persons had been arrested suspected of being in connection with the ARA.

In an interview in the Swedish newspaper "Svenska Dagbladet" Caetano admits that a prisoner in Portugal is tortured only 4 days .... after that he is released.

1st May 1972. Long live the workers' international struggle.

On 1st May demonstrations took place all over the world for international solidarity with the working class and the liberation movements.

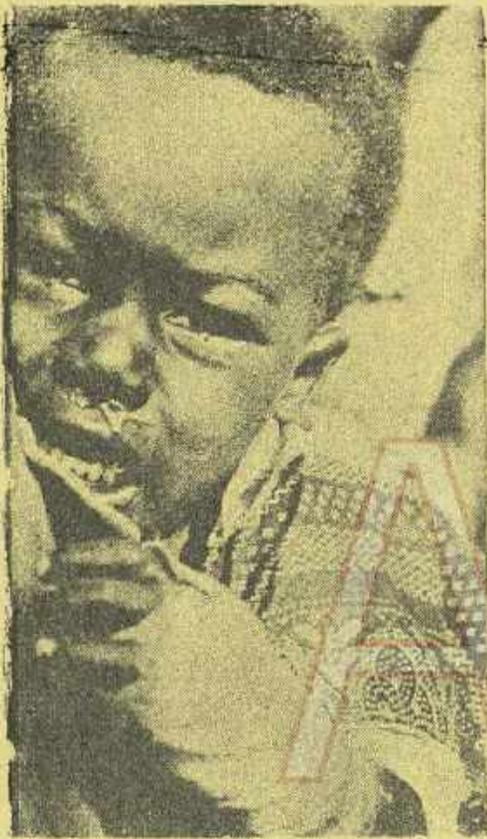
In Göteborg the representative of MPLA, Alberto Neto, spoke to more than 3.500 persons at the united demonstration for solidarity with the peoples of Indochina and Angola. A resolution condemning Portuguese colonialism and supporting the just struggle of the Angolan people under the national leadership of MPLA was adopted.

Other demonstrations supporting the struggle for independence took place in Reykjavik, Oslo, Copenhagen, Helsinki, Rome, Moscow, Alger, Lusaka, Congo-Brazzaville, Dar-es-Salaam, Havana, Santiago di Chili, Paris etc.

What you should know:

Aeroplanes used by the Portuguese:

<u>Type</u>	<u>Entreprise</u>	<u>Nationality</u>
Aeroplanes for transport Nord 2502	Nord-Aviation Société Nationale de Constructions Aéronau- tiques	France
Helicopter Alouette II and III	Sud-Aviation	France
Helicopter Puma	Società per	Italy
Fighter Fiat G.91R	Azioni Fiat	
Recognition planes		
Boeing B-17D	The Boeing Corpo- ration	U.S.A.
Boeing 707		
Training planes Lockheed T-33	Lockheed Aircraft	U.S.A.
Lockheed PV-2 Harpoon	Corporation	
Helicopter Sikorsky VH-19 etc.	Sikorsky Aircraft	U.S.A.



THE NAPALM WHICH BURNT HIM IS "MADE IN USA"  
THE HELICOPTER WHICH SHOOTED HIS PARENTS  
IS "MADE IN FRANCE"

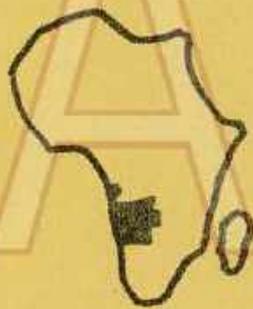
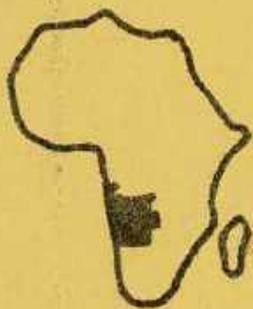
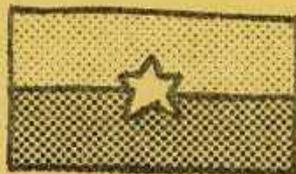
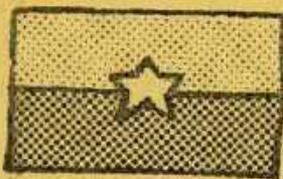
*SUPPORT MPLA*

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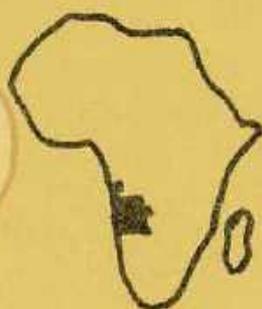
*STOCKHOLM*

# MPLA

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE  
LIBERATION OF ANGOLA



ANGOLA



3-4

1972



"NO SOLUTION CAN BE  
FOUND FOR ANGOLA  
WITHOUT THE CONCRETE  
PARTICIPATION AND  
AGREEMENT OF THE MPLA."

( DR AGOSTINHO NETO  
PRESIDENT OF THE MPLA )  
10/12/1971

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# editorial

Antonio Neto

The Portuguese colonial authorities have again increased the oppression against our people. they have built the concentration camp in St Nicolau close to Mocamedes; it will compensate TARRAFAL, the camp of death at the Cape Verde Island.

Hundreds of people have been killed by torture and by deficient treatment. Others have been shot in Tarrafal. It has mostly been members in Portuguese resistance movements or people sympathizing with MPLA, PRELIMO and PAIGC. These "administrative prisoners" as the fascist law calls them, never tried before court. What should the use be of that? The fascism condemns them to torture in jail untried.

There are 2.000 Angolans in Tarrafal. Several of them have already died. The international Red Cross is not doing anything. More than 5.000 Angolans are in the concentration camp of St Nicolau in Mocamedes. It is the most perfect thing the Portuguese fascism has been able to construct. The prisoners' food are per day 1/4 kg of peanuts, 1 hg of dried fish and stinking water to drink. The camp is equipped with crematory ovens in which the Portuguese burn Angolans prisoners alive. The Portuguese fascism wants to have a copy of AUSCHWITZ or DACHAU on the African continent. All the prisoners are black and are living under very hard conditions of forced labour. The last news from the camp tells that hundreds of women and children are kept prisoners in the camp for the crime "of wanting to separate Angola from the mothercountry". The life in the camp is unbearable. Children and women are forced to carry heavy stones and are tortured. They are working in the gardens and in the fields, together with men they are forced to work in the canning-

-factory where they make preserved food of fish, fishmeal, fishoil and dried fish. Those products are exported to Europe. Fishmeal and fishoil to Holland, West Germany and Polen, frozen fish, fishmeal and fishoil to Portugal and South Africa and dried fish to Mocambique and Zaire.

The oppression in the ST NICOLAU CAMP is very intensive. One more concentration camp is being built in VIANA, about 25 km from LUANDA. To this place the Portuguese authorities are going to send the prisoners from ST NICOLAU whom they earlier sent to TARRAFAL. This camp take 500-5000 prisoners. They will have to work mostly in the foodproduction to supply the capital LUANDA with for example vegetables. They will also be forced to work in a factory, which assemble American cars and to work on the cotton fields. Otherwise they will be killed.

When you remember the victims from the concentration camps in Nazi Germany you just can't sit with folded arms and let something like that happen again.

Our days axis powers are Portugal and its racist allied South Africa and the implicated imperialist countries. Over the crematory ovens in St Nicolau the international Red Cross in Geneva keeps silent... the UN secretariat doesn't want to know anything. The importers of fishproducts are waiting for the next transport from St Nicolau.

We demand that an international campaign should be launched in Africa, in Europe, in Asia and in America.

- to stop the import of fishproducts from Angola.
- to stop the oppression in Tarrafal and St Nicolau and above all to destroy the crematory ovens.
- to release political prisoners in Angola, Mocambique, Guinea-Bissau and Portugal.

**Victory Is Certain!**



# MESSAGE TO THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE FROM OUR PRESIDENT AGOSTINHO NETO

Compatriots,  
Comrades,

Without risking any facile exaggeration, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola can affirm, with satisfaction and optimism, that the Angolan people are continuing to accumulate victories which are totting up to equate to the promise that the longed-for day of our beloved country's Independence is coming ever nearer.

The mere fact that in eleven years of struggle the well-equipped and technically well-outfitted Portuguese colonialists have not been able to liquidate the various military combat fronts or to break the resistance of the people in the areas under their control, is in itself proof of the vitality of a movement which is constantly growing and changing. But, most important is that the enemy, who are being attacked on every side, feel it would be satisfactory to be able to contain the progress of the guerrilla war in given areas for a while, and not to have disquieting disturbances in the urban areas for the time being.

However, the enemy should have learned their lesson in Cunene, the area to which they had to send large forces to put down the rebellion of the people in that region. This phenomenon will be repeated and the colonialists' few remaining hopes will be extinguished by the realities of our country.

The frail coexistence which still reigns between the enemy, with whip still in hand, and a part of the people who keep silent out of terror, cannot continue for much longer. And the more intelligent colonialists are well aware of this.

**The colonialist enemy are isolated and the MPLA's prestige is tremendous**

Just as it has done inside our country, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola has been able to consolidate its position internationally, to such an extent that the Portuguese government is bowing under the weight of all the humiliations of every

kind inflicted on it by its former friends.

To cite just a few recent events, I can refer to the honourable attitude of the Danish, who are going to help the MPLA to build an Institute of Secondary Education, in addition to undertaking projects for medical care and increased production.

An important Dutch political personality has, like others, turned down a Portuguese invitation to visit Angola, on the grounds of not recognising the fascist Lisbon government's right to make such invitations. And it is quite possible that, like so many other foreigners, this same personality will accept an MPLA invitation to visit the areas under our control. The fascist Portuguese government's former friends are understanding increasingly on which side justice and right are to be found.

For most of the countries in the world, for most of the people in any of the continents, the Portuguese government no longer represents and indeed cannot represent the Angolan people, and it cannot put itself forward as being a part of a people of whom an appreciable percentage are oppressed on our national territory. The only true representative of our people, of the Angolan people, personifying their aspirations and their most just interests, is the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola.

This historic truth is becoming a legal reality to the extent that, regardless of how one interprets the form adopted at the Security Council meeting held in Addis Ababa, the whole world attentively followed the report made by the MPLA delegate who presented our problem before that high international body. The specialised agencies of the United Nations Organisation have rejected Portugal when it comes to the representation of the peoples of Angola and the other colonies. UNESCO is helping us with education. The World Health Organisation is helping in the field of medical care. FAO is helping us to minimise the effects of the criminal use of defoliants and herbicides.

Countries which are members of NATO are more and more openly acknowledging the rights

of our people and the authority of the MPLA, the sole body they seek out when dealing with Angolan problems.

At present the Portuguese government still gets some foreign capital to carry out the hastily conceived economic development plans with which it hopes to throw sand in the eyes of the world. However, five centuries of colonisation, obscurantism and oppression have made it impossible for anyone to be fooled as to Portuguese designs. For this very reason, given our people's heroic resistance, no one can doubt Portugal's inability to maintain its present domination. For this very reason, some of those interested in investing capital in Angola are already coming to contact the MPLA to ensure the future co-operation that will take place in accordance with the decisions made by our people on these matters and with the provisions of our Programme.

**The conditions exist for further developing Revolutionary action.**

No one is unaware that political independence is inevitable. Neither is anyone unaware that it is only through their true representative — the MPLA — that the Angolan people can make their voice heard.

Therefore, comrades and compatriots, we have solid foundations, both at home and abroad, for continuous progress in our national liberation struggle. We have the foundations for pursuing our action, for carrying out the revolutionary tasks facing us, which can be summed up under two broad headings: unyielding struggle against colonialism, and national reconstruction in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres.

Our enemy are already unable to admit to the tremendous losses they always suffer when their barracks are attacked, as happened, for example, at Chlume and Lum-bala, in Moxico district. They are unable to admit to the growing unrest among the population in the hot areas, like Menongue and Luso. They now confine themselves to

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arguing that we have not made any large-scale attacks on positions in the centre of the country or on the seaboard, or that there have been no big operations in urban centres. As any one of our people could tell them, I can assure them that they need only wait — there is nothing to lose by waiting: shells will fall on them in places where they can still sleep peacefully now.

Each criminal act of the colonialists has its appropriate riposte which throws them into despair. The use of chemical agents, for example, exposes whole peoples to the bitterness of hunger for a certain time, but, on the other hand, it permits an even more generous demonstration of international solidarity. Industrial goods are flowing in in greater quantities than before to help our people to face an enemy which is fighting with superior weapons but is incapable of taking a single step forward.

**The MPLA, an invincible force.**

There is therefore one fact that we cannot ignore. This is that the MPLA is an invincible force. It is the hope of all Angolans and the politico-military foundation for winning our Independence. There exists in the consciousness of the men and women of our land, and even in the attitudes of children and the aged, the certainty that we will win independence for our land, that we will overcome this heroic phase of our history. There can be no other outcome to the protracted struggle we are waging, with all its vicissitudes, than the complete victory of our people.

The consciousness of independent man is something every Angolan has already acquired, even at this time when the physical presence of the Portuguese occupier is still a fact. This presence is temporary and we all know it.

**The Portuguese colonialists have to find a political way out.**

Conscious of its responsibilities both at home and abroad, the MPLA has more than once addressed itself to the Portuguese government, the settlers and all those who support colonial rule, calling their attention to their lack of

realism. It is high time that Portuguese face the problem of Angola outside the ossified and narrow view of Lisbon, without at the same time succumbing to the embrace of South African expansionism.

Everyone knows perfectly well that bloodshed is not our essential purpose. The blood already shed by young Angolans and Portuguese, and all the cruelties of a war ill-controlled from abroad, are already a high price paid by our people and the Portuguese people to make the Lisbon rulers realise the need to seek a more humane and rational way of finding a solution to the problem.

All Portuguese know that it is not through war that they will gain peace and calm. The war is daily increasing the hatred between two peoples and in future this could jeopardise the very existence of little Portugal in the Europe of the Big Powers. The war is deepening the hatred between two races, between two nations. Future co-operation may become difficult.

The only possible way that the Portuguese can find a solution to this problem, which involves lives and is arousing feelings throughout the world, is to try to find a political way out which satisfies the Angolan people.

The MPLA, which has made statements to this effect on a number of occasions, will do so unfirmitly in the interests of the Angolan people, in the interests of the Portuguese people and of mankind as a whole.

I am once again going to emphasise the growing difficulties apparent in the life of the Portuguese settlers in Angola in respect of their relations with their metropole. These difficulties are expressed by the balance of payments, the unequal terms of trade with Portugal, the constant rise in the cost of living and the suffocating atmosphere on the foreign exchange market and as regards the transfer of capital. The future holds in store even more difficult conditions for the businessman, who is essentially the settler.

The constitutional change of legal names aimed at camouflaging the shameful word "colony" under a flimsy veneer of administrative structures which, to the outside world, amount to the word "state", cannot solve the problem. The much publicised "administrative decentralisation combined with strong unifying centralism" is a bluff which only those who suffer from political myopia can still accept as a solution to Angolan problems. All these reforms will be rejected wholesale by the Angolan people.

In fact these plans seem to be aimed less at keeping Angola under Portuguese rule than at putting the settlers under the "white" Southern African influence, under the sway of countries which are more industrialised than Portugal and hungering to control Angola's resources.

In that event, and given the international situation, the military struggle will take on more violent aspects and will have more serious consequences for the Portuguese settlers.

**Only with the MPLA can there be a political solution**

Although it might appear contradictory, the only useful solution for the Portuguese, the only way out of the labyrinth of war, is a political solution found with the MPLA, so as to establish the foundations for better future understanding and the kind of relations one would wish to see between independent and sovereign peoples.

The whole logic of the national liberation struggle and the staunch support and growing solidarity the MPLA is getting from the four corners of the world comply with my expressing myself in these terms. History will prove those who become convinced of this fact to have been right.

**Unite all Angolans**

Com patriots,

Comrades,

It is true that the Portuguese colonialists and a few people, either misled or out of bad faith, still have doubts about our country's independent and radiant future, in which our people will be free, have democratic institutions and be the masters of their own destiny.

At this time the colonialists and their allies would like to weaken the Angolan people's revolutionary force by dividing them, playing on the ambitions of some and the incompetence of others.

Yet "divide and rule" is a maxim which even children in our schools learn is a colonialist rule to be fought against.

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**Factionalists, Divisionalists, are always exposed, isolated and rejected.**

Our people are achieving ever greater genuine unity in the struggle. THE MPLA has provided the necessary conditions enabling the people to wage a united struggle against their enemy, Portuguese colonialism, and making use of all anti-colonialist trends in the country to this end.

**Do away with all misunderstandings and struggle in unity**

We do not wish to, we cannot conceal certain difficulties which still exist, not so much in consolidating the foundations of the united combat front on Angolan soil, but principally in doing away with certain misunderstandings within the African family.

A united front is what all Angolans want. The MPLA supports it and is actively working to achieve it. For the MPLA, a united front is a factor essential to winning independence.

**Neighbouring countries should assist our struggle.**

At the international level, the MPLA pursues a policy of independence and for the establishment of just relations with all peoples in the world. We are in a position to guarantee to all African countries whose territory can serve as a base for our national liberation struggle full respect for their sovereignty and their internal social standards, and we guarantee non-interference in their internal affairs, in accordance with OAU principles. The MPLA wants help for its activity and nothing more.

On this basis, it continues to place its hope in the farsightedness of all African leaders, especially those in neighbouring countries, trusting that, showing a reciprocal attitude, they will create the conditions for our Movement's formidable military potential to be used effectively by all Angolans, on Angolan territory. The Independence to be shortly won will not be solely for the Angolan people, but for all of Africa too.

We give our most heartfelt thanks for the asylum granted to Angolans who have taken refuge in



M.P.L.A. President inside Angola

neighbouring countries, but we wish just as sincerely to express our desire to be able to return to our country organised, in order to fight there, to live or die there, but fighting for our independence. This is the MPLA's supreme wish.

**Unity and struggle.**

The MPLA is at this moment capable of removing all the obstacles which still stand in the way of our rapid advance to freedom. The united combat front must become a reality, for it alone will put victory within our immediate reach. We must not weaken the idea of unity with ideological, ethnic, racial or other considerations. Unity first. The common enemy must be fought first.

The MPLA is prepared to take the necessary steps for establishing ways and means of achieving joint action. The MPLA will waste no more time on useless quarrels. For the good of our people, we are ready to meet and solve our problems within the Angolan family.

The subtle activity of the colonialists must, however, be neutralised. The intrigues and constant psychological action carried on among us must be laid bare, for it is through this action that difficulties arise in the liberation struggle.

We can state without fear of error that where there are dif-

iculties in achieving unity, where there is factionalism, there is always either the immediate or distant presence of the colonialists or of other countries.

Because our people, all of us, are united in our desire to fight for Independence, those who do not give proof of consistently adhering to this desire may be rejected by the struggle itself. It is the struggle that will throw them out.

**Defend revolutionary principles  
Advance because the time is excellent.**

Therefore, in our Movement and in our liberation struggle we are not afraid of consistently defending revolutionary methods of action and principles. In defending them, we are defending our people.

Let us concentrate our united efforts against the enemy, the Portuguese colonialists.

The time is excellent to take strides forward. We are therefore going to use the foundations we already have to deal the enemy blows everywhere and with even greater force.

Wiping out all the sources of differences will be a victory for our people.

The time is also excellent for the colonialists to allow themselves a few minutes for reflection.

**VICTORY IS CERTAIN!**

# Peoples War in Angola

(continued from the last issue)

To this campaign of mobilization the Portuguese government responded with armed repression and massacre and burnt down seventeen villages in the Cassange basin and brought death over 20,000 people. It also used armed force against the peaceful demonstration waged by the people of Icolo e Bengo village. This resulted in 30 deaths and more than 200 wounded. That was massacre of Icolo e Bengo.

Since 1960, martial law has been enforced in the capital. The repression in cities and countryside only confirms the exacerbation of existing political and social contradictions which provided the objective and subjective conditions for the MPLA militants to pass to direct action, that is to say, to respond to reactionary violence with revolutionary violence. As a matter of fact in the early morning of February 4, 1961, the MPLA militants attacked the prisons and other military installations of the enemy and began to take the road of armed struggle for liberation.

By this example and for the first time in history the Angolan people showed that the way of liberation is possible by engaging armed struggle. MPLA came to this conclusion after having asked the Portuguese government to open deliberations (the 30th of June 1960) in order to solve the colonial problem in a peaceful way.

Our first political-military region was then established despite of the repression which followed. Certain correspondents of the western press estimated the casualties of the colonial power in this repression at more than 50,000 deaths. Despite of this, the MPLA militants were sent to the districts of Cuanza-Norte and Uize, regions traditionally favourable to the MPLA, to continue the struggle.

Our people and MPLA denounced already then the occurrence of a plot led by imperialism in order to turn the struggle from its real purpose.

Holden Roberto and his "Union for the Population in north Angola" (UPA) didn't stop to proclaim from Kongo-Kinshasa that the tribal- and racebelonging should be the leading principles for their "struggle for liberty"; at the same time they developed a close collaboration with imperialism.

The imperialism engaged itself seriously and gave them order 1962 to form "the National Front for the Liberation of Angola" (FNLA) and after that to form an "exile Government for the Republic of Angola" (GRAE), a puppetgovernment which saw it as its first task to obtain recognition in exile from Adoula's pro-US puppet government and soon after from the O.A.U.

They also called themselves a "revolutionary government" with the purpose of increasing the confusion and their prestige. However, this facade did not deceive anyone.

From everywhere came USA advisors, even those who had been in Vietnam, like certain officer called Bernard Maientz and other specialists, whom CIA have sent out to work with GRAE's communication system. Other agents known from CIA also were doing several study trips and became advisors to Holden, like a certain John Marcus, professor at the Lincoln University of Philadelphia. Other agents recruited from anticuban circles in the USA were sent to help Holden. In the same way certain trade union transferred advisors to him. Israel, which delivered weapons to Portugal(machin gun UZI) is helping him to form "technical" cadres. A trade union, the so called "General Ligue

of Angolan Workers" (LSTA) was established.... on the paper.

The puppet governments in Kongo-Kinshasa (IO) forbid the MPLA's presence under pressure from the imperialistic USA thus rendering difficult the provisioning of MPLA's first military region. Marcos Kassanga, chief of UPA's so called general staff didn't hesitate, at a pressconference on the 3rd of March 1962 in Leopoldville, to confess that more than 8.000 militants and sympathizers from MPLA had been massacred by Holden's troops in the northern part of the country. It is clear that this puppet-group, instead of fighting against the Portuguese colonialism, has been formed in the purpose of fighting first of all against MPLA thus sabotaging our people's struggle. The list of MPLA militants who have been murdered by CIA-Holden's butchers is long. It is a real chase on MPLA militants living in Kongo-Kinshasa. Responsibles from OMA (The Angolan Women Organisation), members of the steering committee, young people and students have been eliminated by the puppet-government or have been kept in jails in the military base of Kinkouzu (Kongo-Kinshasa). UPA has become a filial to the Portuguese embassy and the Congolese government.

Its defeat on the battle-field where it has pretended to engage itself is due to the fact that they haven't been able to perceive the people's great hope when it worked out its plan for inside politicizing and gave it a structure built on tribe solidarity. Crises arose inside this group of puppets and the dissolution was emphasized with Jonas Matheires Savimbi's "retirement". He was by this time "foreign minister" in the puppet-government.

This ambitious opportunist imitates Holden by also become an agent for CIA (II) and for the enemy to be able to better guard the imperialism's interests. At order from the imperialists he resigns his "resignation" to GRAE and appear in Katanga, in Zambia and on the east front there our movement just (1966) had opened its third political-military division (districts of Moxico and Cuando-Cubango). In order to oppose the presence of MPLA in this region, Svambi, who was financed by the Anglo-Saxons and USA, tried to make people believe that he had 3.000 men and that he already controlled half Angola by using some guns.

Thanks to the affluence of his patrons he imitated Holden, making another tribal group of puppets, which he pompously



calls "Union National pour l'indépendance Totale de l'Angola" (Nation Union of total independence of Angola, UNITA). His principal object was to systematically sabotage the struggle of our people, trying to demobilise the fugitives in Katanga and Zambia with tribalism and low racial slogans quite contrary to the correct orders of MPLA in the same way that Holden did and inspired by the same persons.

That's why he is looking for reactionary friends in newspapers of Zambia who are going to be his mouthpieces. The Angolan puppet students of UPA who are financed by the COSEC-CIE-CIA change course and become allies of Savimbi. The journalists are sent to Zambia, where they make a tour and make films about the guerilla in Zambia.

In 1967 he was expelled from Zambia by the government because of his activities so disastrous to the Zambian and Angolan people.

He tried to deceive the progressive opinion in the world by publishing false declarations, fantastic and startling news, communiqués about military victories of MPLA, diffused by the English milieux of Lusaka and the massmedia of Paris and London. Certain newspapers and reviews on the left have not hesitated to be mouthpieces of Savimbi, who has become a marxist-lenist (I2) in exile, looking for sensations while being mixed up with the conflict between China and USSR.

The desperate act, however, is falling through owing to the interior plans and Savimbi cracks, on the paper that is a so called "government of the republic of Soviet of the guerilla" and he is humbugging the central bases of the staff-officers about a ridiculous magazine, which has made the skeleton of the false propaganda in capitalistic Europe. These institutions and other communiqués have had no reason for our resolving upon continuing our interieur struggle and for being the only legitimate representative for our people.

By and by you can see, in fact, that the defeat of his policy has made our people and MPLA refuse to play the game of imperialism once more. The defeat of "UNITA" is the defeat of a bluff, which our people by its revolutionary actions have unmasked. "UNITA" has gone into bankruptcy just like the activity of "UPA" in the north and has been smarting defeat for the contrarevolution and for imperialism.

Other political carcass, a lackep "minister", who also comes from the late "FNLA" is Alexandre Taty, ex-minister of justice and defence of Holden(I3). He also manoeuvred by the imperialists in order to sabotage our struggle in the 2nd political-military region (the district of Cabinda). Deriving his origin from FNLA he makes, in 1965, a puppet movement and sends arm and baggage on behalf of the Portuguese colonialism in order to organize unitary of the contra-guerilla, called "special groups", incorporated with the Portuguese army. He was even made a colonel in the very bosom of the Portuguese army! Today he is put in a Portuguese prison.

But the English puppets are condemned to defeat everywhere. Standing up against the Portuguese army and the puppets, the liberation forces of MPLA have succeeded in mobilizing the masses and in fighting the bands of Taty. In this way we have been able to break the plot of sabotage against our struggle in the 2nd political-military region (the district of Cabinda).

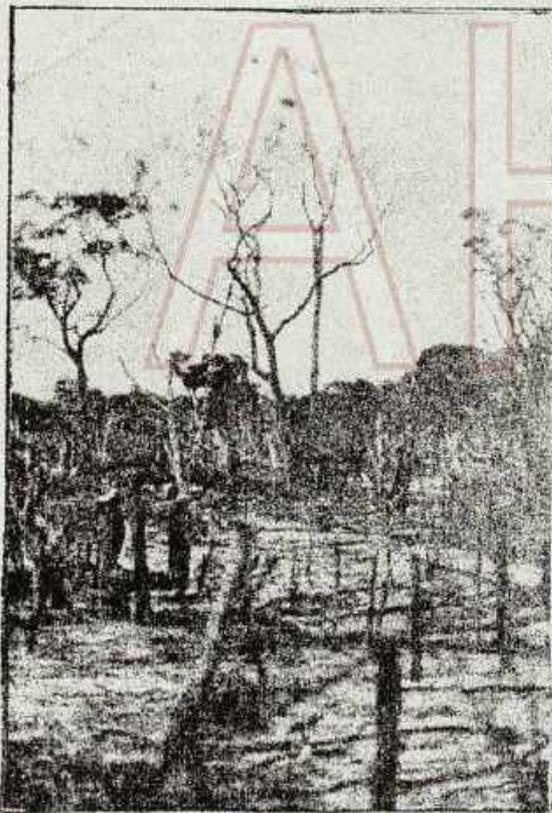
These three agents of imperialism, Holden-Taty-Savimbi (I4) brought much trouble upon our people, but they have not been able to stop MPLA from continuing the battle and from appearing as the only and authentic force of vanguard carrying the liberation-battle on in Angola.

## What does the Portuguese Colonialism mean to Angola?

*The Portuguese colonial-fascist government carried on a war on three fronts. The war of Angola is the most important one because of the strategic-military and economic facts. In Angola the Portuguese government concentrates most of its troops, more than 130,000 men, of which 60,000 soldiers belong to the army, navy and the air force. The rest are puppet soldiers, mercenaries from Katanga (ex-servants of Tshombe), mercenaries, soldiers and pilots of the regular South-African army, political Portuguese police, PIDE, the fiscal guards, the puppet militia and militia of armed colonists, called "Provincial organisation of volunteers for civil defence" (OPVDC).*

*Angola has about 6,000,000 inhabitants, of which 400,000 are Portuguese colonists. There is no justification at all for the Portuguese presence in our country: it is only most important for the Portuguese government and its bourgeoisie to command our people at any price and to draw profit from our national wealth.*

*The Portuguese government has often given prominence to the strategic position of Angola, attending to that the allied from NATO necessarily have to defend the South-Atlantic way*



Result of the Portuguese bombing.

*which a view to discern a greater expansion of its power concerning to the plan of "defence" of the South-Atlantic. What the Portuguese government really wants-and it doesn't conceal that - is to receive more military support, with a view to extend its plan of aggressive war in our country. Inside the country it increases the suppression of our people and has built more prisons than schools. Using its deceitful propaganda it tries every time to fool the Angolan masses, at the same time as its aeroplanes and helicopters are spoiling the harvests of manioc, buckwheat, maize and various fruits in our liberated region, using chemical products, which are stripping the leaves off. These products have been given from the partners in Nato.*

*But the Portuguese government can not master our popular struggle. Thus it organizes in October 1969 so called legislative elections for the national*

assembly in Lisbon. Less than 1% of the Angolan population are joining this farce. The 7 Portuguese persons who have come forward as candidates for Angola considered themselves as chosen already before the election-comedy. On the conditions of the colonial Portuguese regime, the Angolans are not permitted to vote. These elections were a real masquerade. It also was a defeat for Caetano and the very beginning of his famous liberality, a "dismal cookery" which fooled nobody.

MPLA knew very well the cynical manners of the Portuguese colonialism and has asked our people not to participate in this action. The result made known afterwards has been another victory for MPLA, turning towards, in the right direction.

In 1969 hundreds of Angolans were arrested in Luanda, accused of having collaborated with the first political-military region of MPLA. Some of them were deported to the island of Cap Verde and others into concentration-camps in the south of the country. Their only crime is that they want our country to be independent and the Portuguese colonialism to be completely brought to an end on our ground. Facing the determination of our people, the Portuguese colonialism intensifies its allied with South-African and Rhodesian racists at the same time as they propose a dialogue with certain countries in Africa, officially asking the members of Nato to organize military bases in the Angolan territory and to place the ports of Angola at the disposal of the navy of the NATO-countries.

Facing the smarting defeats according to the political plan, violent military offensives from our armed forces have forced the enemy to take more support from the South-African forces, at the same time as they try to provide himself with most modern material of war. They multiply the purchases of helicopters, armours, aeroplanes etc. Today more than 59% of the national budget of Portugal is devoted to war expenses. The number of desertions is increasing in the enemy ranks. The Portuguese government executes its plan concerning constructions, new strategic routes, modernizes and extends the ground for the aviation (Serpa, Pinto, Luanda for example) with a view to admit more mobility to its armed forces, which since 1970 are provided with helicopters PUMA and guns US M16.

The military operations during the dry season, such as "ACUCENA", "HORA H" and others are so organized that they are counterbalanced by the defeats. The enemy are forced to abandon the barracks at the same time as they discontinue the administrative and civil activities in these regions. Our armed forces have made progress on various fronts. At the end of 1970 we have crushed the Portuguese position of defence, established on the plateau of Bié and Malanje, crossing the Cuanza river. The enemy begin more and more to show indications of weakness. In 1971, the enemy have succeeded in organizing no offensive operation during the dry season.

The opposition is increasing in Portugal, especially among the students and the young workers in Lisbon and Coimbra. The enemy is profiting from arresting Angolan students in Portugal on pretext of their being members of MPLA (among these is the president of honour of MPLA, the reverend Pinto de Andrade) accused for wanting to separate Angola from the so called Mother-Country. They are organizing an process in the view of applying imprisonment during one to four years, followed by taking steps of safety-measures for an unlimited period.

Isolated from the international point of view and longing to give their services to the imperialism, the government of Caetano draws together, organizes and finances mercenary com-

mands in order to attacking Guinea-Conakry and instal a reasonable puppet government. The attack on the 22nd of November 1970 fails and Portugal has been declared an assailant of Guinea-Conakry by a resolution given by the security council of the United Nations. In July 1971 the Portuguese colonialist have made efforts to attack also in Zambia, but they failed in their undertaking, thanks to the determination of the African people to defend their independence.

## MPLA as a vanguard irreplaceable to the armed Angolan people

*Wherever there is a Colonial-Empire oppression the resistance has necessarily to be organized by a vanguard movement. Under these circumstances MPLA has succeeded in organizing, in our country, the popular power, fulfilling its historic role as a vanguard organization on the ground of the political-military battle.*

The inhabitants living in these liberated regions are organized under guidance directly elected by the people. This is very important. The people are, as a matter of fact, taking part of the right of democracy and independence by the voluntary training. The committees of action are occupied with the production, with organizing the self-defense of every village as well as the administration of justice.

The organizations of the masses are also active: the organization of women in Angola (OMA), National Union of Angolan workers (UNTA), Popular Youth Movement of the Liberation of Angola (JMPLA), of which the organization of pioneers (OPA) is one branch and the Union of Angolan Students (UEA) is another.

In the fields of education, we have built elementary schools in the liberated zones. The teaching and the practical work is adapted to the conditions and practice of our country. We created the Revolutionary Education Center (C.I.R.) in order to achieve the practical education of the militants. For ideological orientation we created the study ideological groups to implement and orientation for the political debate inside our organisation.

In the field of Health assistance settled the Medical Assistance Service (SAM), to give the necessary help to the wounded fighters and to overcome the diseases. The Angola Red Cross have been created in order to assure the contacts and received support from their brother organisations, according to the Geneva convention.

## Military situation

The offensives of the MPLA are now carried out in the framework of spreading the struggle all over our country. At the same time, we are consolidating our control in the liberated areas, doing away with the traces of colonialist regime. This is done by mobilizing the masses giving them better national consciousness. The colonialist troops are now scared thinking that they have already lost the war. Our guerillas are now causing the colonialists ever greater losses in all regions. The fact that we are spreading our

struggle all over our country has framed our eliminating of enemy soldiers as well as mercenaries. They still use methods of terror, genocide, forced resettlement, etc. against our people. In our liberated areas there are still some enemy garrisons which are attacking. The enemy can't move with infantry any more. Shut-up in their garrisons they have to wait for support from aeroplanes. The enemy has been forced by our artillery to evacuate many garrisons: Monteiro, Samaria, Luatamba, Karipande, Lumbale etc. The enemy is now politically and militarily finding himself in a defensive position. The armed forces of the MPLA continue their attacks against the enemy in order to defeat him finally and in order to liberate our country and the people in the "strategic hamlets" (in Angola usually called "ndandandas").

More than 1/3 of our country (500 000 km<sup>2</sup>) has been liberated. In this area there are about 1 000 000 inhabitants. This is the biggest area that any African liberation movement for the time being has been liberating. Our liberated areas constitute a secure refuge to those Angolans who are still living in areas controlled by our enemy. In those enemy areas the colonialists are inflicting institutionalized violence. They are making crime into a legal thing and they are committing genocide in order to be able to stick to their positions in Africa. Slavery, corruption and violence are everyday things in the areas controlled by the Portuguese colonialists. And in the streets of Lisbon certain officers are walking around decorated with the ears and the fingers etc. of mutilated or killed Angolan patriots.

In spite of this criminal policy our people is understanding that the only way of defeating the Portuguese is a better political consciousness among the freedom fighters as well as the Angolan population.

Our movement is above all getting its support from the peasants (80% of the people), from the workers in the cities and at the countryside and from revolutionary intellectuals. But we are also in the cities mobilizing middle-class people opposed to the colonialists. The political struggle in the cities is a clandestine one, preparing the final stage of our national liberation struggle.

The MPLA has always been in favour of revolutionary unity. To Holden Roberto we have given lots of calls for cooperation in order to strengthen our struggle.

But in vain ... Mobutu denies the militants of the MPLA the right to pass Congolese area, which means that he is breaking against the resolution of OAU in the transit question. His equation: Mobutu equals to Holden minus MPLA is going to be strongly opposed among the Angolans. Our liberation struggle is aiming at the building of a socialist society - which is the right of our people as of other peoples. (15)



Give us  
helicopters!

## National reconstruction and international solidarity

The development of Angola is revealing that the Portuguese war of aggression is bound to bring about disaster to Lisbon. The shift of power to Caetano couldn't change the fact that Portuguese colonialism is getting to a pretty pass. The only solution is unconditional end to colonialism as well as the aggressive war against our people.

The Portuguese regime has lost every chance to persuading the Angolan people. Marcello Caetano insolently stated (April 1970) that "self determination" by no means could be given by handing over any responsibility to "the wild men of the savannahs". This proves the racism of colonialist ideology. The forces of the MPLA are meeting the colonialist tricks by intensification of the armed struggle. This is elevating the struggle into more advanced levels. The leadership of the MPLA categorically has refused that false "independence", which the Portuguese regime wants to introduce in Angola in order to give way to a new Rhodesian-styled regime. The steering committee of the MPLA on February 4 1971 made the following historically important statement: "We have to create suitable structures in order to continue our struggle until our people could achieve complete freedom - complete independence, benefitting all our people. We carry on our struggle."

In fact our people is already working to build a new society in our liberated areas. In those areas the power of the people is practiced in all fields: political, economical, social and cultural. That's why you have to consider our liberated areas as a developing country into which you ought to canalize all aid given.

We are reconstructing our society in the fields of medical care, education, agriculture, handicraft and small scale industry. Several journalists (16), film directors, foreign correspondents, delegation of international organizations and military research teams of the OAU (Organization of African Unity) have been visiting some twenty or thirty villages, situated at a distance of many miles from each other, in our liberated zones. They have enjoyed the traditional hospitality of our people and they have seen the enthusiasm shown by our people and our guerrilla to fulfil their tasks of reinforcing the people's power, of working in the agricultural field, of educating themselves politically and militarily and of teaching children as well as grown-up people to read and to write. They have also seen the colonialist oppression and the unmeasurable suffering of our people.

Our reconstruction is guided by the principle of relying upon our own forces. In that way every day life of our people is thoroughly transformed. The power is taken from the colonialists, given to the MPLA and then to the people. That's how our movement has become the legal representative of the people of Angola.

International solidarity means a lot to the acceleration of our victory and of our national reconstruction. Politically, diplomatically, materially and morally this support facilitates the solution of different practical problems that are great obstacles to our people.

Almost everywhere in Europe there are already support groups or committees in favour of the MPLA and the Angolan people. In Europe some support is also given by humanitarian organizations, political parties and some social organizations, mobilizing the opinion of their countries to give some aid for our national reconstruction.

Certain movements, allies of Portugal through NATO are more and more openly criticizing the support granted by NATO to the Portuguese colonial war in Angola. This support, given by NATO explains why the colonialists are still able to suppress our country.

## Foreign policy of the MPLA

The struggle of our Angolan people against Portuguese colonialism is not an isolated one. Portuguese colonialism has been condemned everywhere and is now getting isolated. It's important to stress the peculiarities of our struggle, but still that struggle is part of the common struggle of all peoples of the world against colonialism, neo-colonialism (headed by US-imperialism). The MPLA considers as necessary the building of a broad united front of all peoples, combatting imperialism, trying to stop the war schemes of imperialists and racists, trying to win independence, peace and social progress.

In Africa the imperialists are using Portuguese colonialism as a means of exploiting our national resources. The war waged by Portugal in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau constitutes an important element in the global strategy of imperialists.

We vigorously support the struggle of our brothers in Mozambique. The FRELIMO is guiding the Mocambiquan struggle against our common enemy: Portuguese capitalism in Southern Africa. We also support the struggle of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and Cap Verde, guided by the PAIGC. We grant our determined support to the struggle against racism and neo-colonialism in Southern Africa.

In Asia US-imperialism is controlling Taiwan, rightfully the property of the People's Republic of China. US-imperialism militarily is also controlling the Southern part of Korea, is acting aggressively against the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and is impeding the reunification of the country.

In Indo-China the US-imperialists are waging quite openly an aggressive war against the people of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. US-imperialism is using Japanese militarism to expand its attacking projects and its seaching of more puppets willing to be obedient tools of the US-imperialists and their war in Asia.

We vigorously support the national liberation struggle waged by the Indo-Chinese peoples against US-imperialism and puppet regimes. The three peoples of Indochina are united under the guidance of their organizations: NLF and PRG in South Vietnam, FUNC with Norodom Sihanouk in Cambodia and Pathet Lao in Laos. They are constantly defeating the US-imperialists and their lackeys who are getting more and more isolated.

We express our respect for the People's Republic of China, which constitutes a great support to the socialists revolution of the world. We give our strong support to the decision taken by the Chinese people of the liberating Taiwan.

We also express our respect for the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and we vigorously support the eight point program put forward by its government and worker's party in order to reunite

the country and put an end to the illegal wielding of power by the US-imperialists and the Pak Jung Hi-regime.

In Latin America the masses are making preparations against the fraudulent policy of the US-imperialists, using local puppets to maintain their neo-colonial dominance. We vigorously support the struggle for independence and freedom which the peoples of Latin America are waging.

But American imperialism is weakened by its internal contradictions and by the opposition that is growing in the United States as well. We appreciate the struggle of the Afro-American people against the bourgeois, bellicose, racist system which is exploiting the workers - particularly the black workers.

The internal contradictions of imperialism are developing in Europe. The masses of Portugal have a growing consciousness that the war of Caetano is not the war of the masses. They are beginning to understand the causes of their misery and illiteracy, the causes of discrimination and lack of freedom in Portugal. Portuguese workers now have to emigrate and they are being transformed into the most enslaved workers in all developed countries of Europe. At the same time as the workers, the peasants and the students are achieving political consciousness, there is also potent opposition against colonial war of aggression that the Portuguese fascist regime is waging against our people. The people of Portugal is now through armed actions and secret democratic organisations developing the struggle against the war.

We salute those victorious actions as ours, hoping that this kind of actions will be developed from Minho to Algarve in order to paralyse the machinery of war. We support the struggle of the Portuguese people against misery, exploitation and illiteracy in order to arrive at social progress and democracy in Portugal.

We are also supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people in the Middle East. Their right of existing freely on their own ground is obvious. We condemn the Israeli aggression and occupation of Arab territories.

We express our sorrow that the majority of workers in European capitalist countries are not yet conscious of the different weaponry delivered to the Lisbon regime. Panhard-tanks, helicopters models Alouette 2 and 3, SA 330, Sikorsky, Augusta, naval ships and submarines, vedettes, aeroplanes models Dornier Fiat, G 19, machine-guns model Breda etc - all these weapons are produced by workers of West European countries to be delivered to Portugal. We are hoping for an international solidarity campaign against these deliveries of weapons.



The principles guiding our foreign policy are distinct. The MPLA has got - you can't repeat that too often - a program directed against all forms of imperialist, colonial or neo-colonial oppression and exploitation. During our struggle we have always untiringly - despite lots of different difficulties - taken an independent attitude to the benefit of our people. We really appreciate the understanding of this attitude, shown by all true friends.

Our independent policy adapts itself very well to the reality of our struggle. An independent line of our policy and of our positions in regard to international problems and matters of solidarity does harmonize with our international interests.

For the time being the African countries and all socialist countries and some other countries do understand our policy, based on independence and international solidarity. The support for the struggle of our people is growing everywhere, our independent policy is getting more well-known and more respected.

## Conclusion

Ten years of armed struggle have brought our people to understand better and hate more Portuguese colonialism and to fight with determination against the "natoization" of its war. Portugal's troops are suffering bitter defeats in its war of aggression in Angola. In the 500.000 square kilometres of liberated areas a new life has emerged and a nation is recovering its dignity in building a new Angola.

The Angolan people are more determined than ever to fight the enemy until final victory.

*Victory is Certain!*

### Notes:

1. Cf articles by Gilbert Comte, Le Monde Jan. 4-5-6 1972.
  2. Articles in Chinese papers (Peking information 4/1971).
  3. Cf Perry Anderson "Le Portugal et la fin de l'ultracolonialisme", Maspero, Paris, pp 164.
  4. Vorster has stated that the frontier of South Africa is extending from northern Angola into northern Mozambique.
  5. Cf the Cunene project.
  6. Malawi, Zaire, Botswana, Lesotho, Ngwame.
  7. Cf the program of MPLA.
  8. 98 % illiteracy in Angola, Mozambique and Guinee-Bissau, 46% in Portugal.
  9. Observer, May 5 1961.
  10. Mobutu - growingly Bonaparte-styled - was installed after July 1960, when the US-imperialists under the flag of UN invaded Congo-Kinshasa.
- II. One exiled "representative" of the UNITA Jorge Valentim was an agent of the CIA already when he represented Holden-CIA in Katanga. He has been the "secretary general" of COSEC-CIE (CIA-influenced

organization of students) residing in Leiden (Holland). Thanks to his excellent services there he became the representative of the UNITA in Belgium.

12. Cf "Report of a visit to the liberated areas of Angola" ed by SYL (Finnish organization of students) Febr 4 1971, Helsinki pp 61, Mikko Lohikoski and Börje Mattsson: "...Our visit to the eastern provinces also helped to clarify another important aspect. It is claimed that there are three active liberation movements in Angola: besides the MPLA, the so-called FNLA and the UNITA claim to hold large parts of the country. It was possible for us to verify the accuracy of the claims of the latter, in particular. The UNITA does maintain that it is active precisely in the regions we visited. Our observations about it clearly prove that its propaganda is not based on facts. It has no organised activity in the eastern areas of Angola, nor elsewhere in the country."
13. The MPLA is still combatting every attempt (however imaginative) of counter-revolution. Eg Holden proved his great imagination when he (after the recognition by OAU, May 1963) stated that he had liberated 40 000 square kilometres in Cabinda. Geographically this is impossible as the area of Cabinda measures only 6 000 square kilometres.
14. Neo-colonialism is their common denominator.
15. Interview with president Agostinho Neto, Sunday News, Tanzania, Aug 20 1972: "About the organisation of the economy we say that the Angolan people must have the riches of our country, we must give fair wages to avoid exploitation of the workers, and so on. This is what is normally called the socialist way. It is socialist because we don't intend to allow either Angolans or foreigners to exploit others in the country. This is our orientation, our line. We think that ideologically we follow not necessarily the communist or Marxist line but we follow the socialist line, with justice for everyone."
16. Stefan di Stefano, Basil Davidson, Cécile Huguel, Der Spiegel, etc.
17. Some governments still guide a policy of support that is inconsistent. They are economically, financially and militarily granting their support to the Portuguese regime at the same time as they give humanitarian aid to the MPLA, the FRELIMO and the PAIGC. The two kinds of support of course are incommensurable.



# Declaration on Vietnam

## from the MPLA executive committee

Facing the heroic determination of the Vietnamese people to fight the American imperialists until the final victory, facing the unyielding and successful resistance of the other Indochinese peoples, and also facing a condemnation, that grows stronger and stronger, from peoples all over the world, the president of the United States, Richard Nixon, has been forced to put forward a so called "peace plan" of eight items, to solve the Vietnamese conflict.

Mr. Nixon's proposal does not bring anything fundamentally different to the position already taken by the American imperialists. It is nothing but a smoke-screen to hide, from the American people and the other peoples of the world, the deliberate intention to keep South Vietnam under neo-colonial regime, dominated by American imperialism.

As a matter of fact no date-limit has been fixed for the total withdrawal of the American troops, which is the first condition for a solution of the problem. Moreover, according to the American plan, the elections in South Vietnam would take place in a country in which the detested presence of an intervening army, like a cancerous pest, would prevent the elections from being democratic.

The American peace-plan has no other aim than to gain time, in order to intensify the vietnamisation of the war, increase the political and military puppet-structures, only to create definitely the imperialistic domination of all Indochina.

The character of mendacity of this Nixon-plan has been clearly shown by the Revolutionary Provisional Government of South Vietnam in its declaration of the 2nd of January 1972, which in an objective way makes clear that only the seven points plan of the RPG and the nine points plan of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, can be serious basis when solving the Vietnamese conflict.

The Mpla executive committee brings the total and militant support, from the people of Angola at arms, and from its vanguard, the MPLA, of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, which sets an uncomparable example for the revolutionaries of the world.

The MPLA executive committee supports the peace-scheme put forward by the RPG and by the government of the DRV, underlining the importance of the declaration from the RPG of the 2nd of January 1972.

The MPLA executive committee reassures you its unyielding confidence in total victory of the Vietnamese people together with all the peoples of Indochina, over the American imperialism.



US plane shot down by MPLA armed forces.

## The Cunene Project

### *Why an agreement about the Cunene?*

The part of the river running east-west serves as border between Angola and Namibia (South-West-Africa). This is one of the reasons why the racist republic of South-Africa is concerned also about the future of the part under Portuguese control.

In fact, water rights on the Cunene have been a source of dispute since the 19th century. In 1886, the German Emperor and the King of Portugal reached an agreement; but after W.W.I. the dispute flared up again, this time between Portugal and South Africa which had been entrusted by "The League of Nations", with the mandate of the ex-colony of Germany. In 1926, a compromise was reached giving South Africa the right to construct, with or without the participation of Portugal, a dam on the Cunene river to guarantee the water supply of Ovamboland (northern part of Namibia). The negotiations were interrupted and resumed only in 1962.

### *What are the reasons for the revival of the project?*

The outbreak of the armed struggle of the Angolan people the 4th of February 1961, directed by its leading organization MPLA; the intensification of the liberation struggle among the brother peoples of Namibia and South-Africa; and the international public opinion, particularly the United Nations (condemning the Pretoria government for its racist and annexationist policies): these main factors made the colonialist Portuguese and the racist South Africans put aside their previous disputes in their need for rapid action against the liberation movements of that part of Africa. As we shall see further, the Cunene project will contribute, in the present politico-economic context of Angola and Namibia, to the strengthening to the power of the settlers, to increase profits on foreign capital invested in that region, and consequently to the maintenance of the status quo; i.e., never to the socio-economic benefit of the African people. This the defenders of the project cynically affirm.

Despite the presence of common objectives the economic contradictions between Portugal and South Africa delayed the final signing of the contract until January, 1969, although a preliminary agreement was signed in 1964.

The Portuguese colonialists wanted the Cunene negotiations to depend on those concerning the Cabora Bassa project which they held more important because:

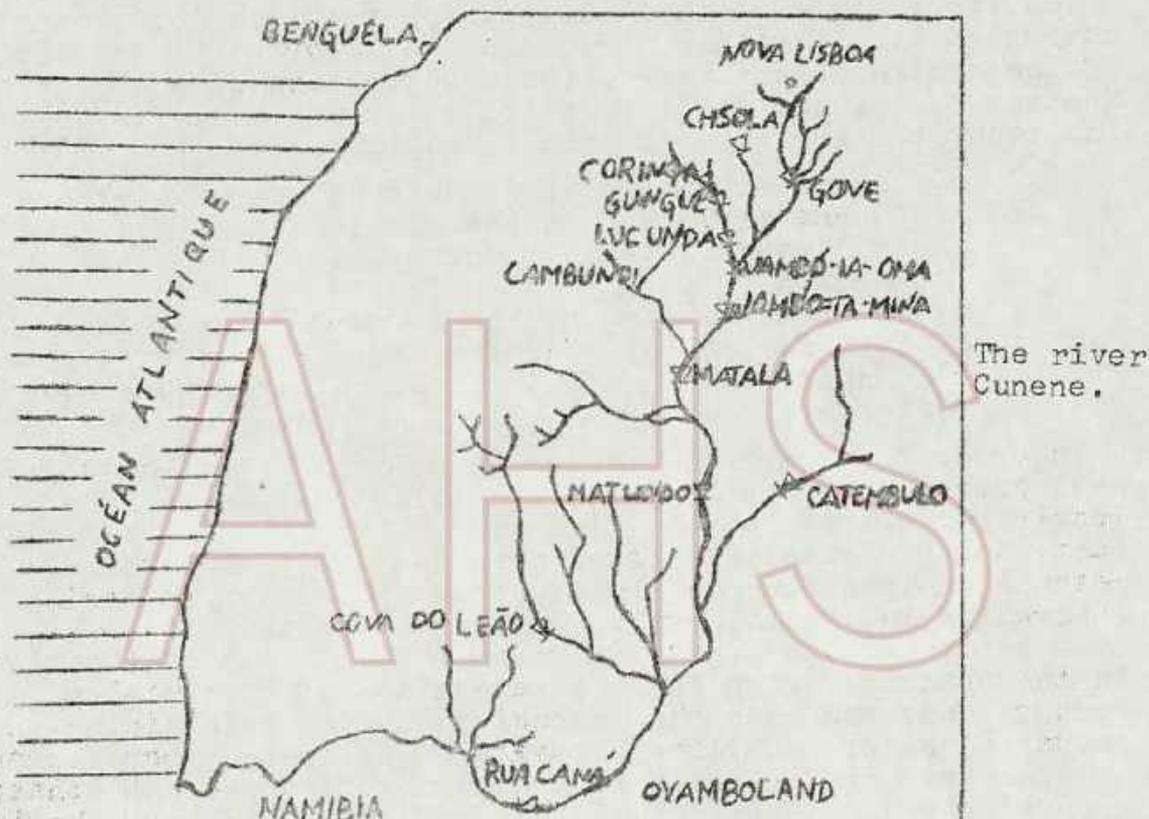
- the Cabora Bassa would be profitable only on the conditions that electric power could be provided on a long-term basis, and
- South Africa, on its side, used Portugal's agreement to the Cunene project as a condition for its import of power from the Cabora Bassa.

### *Geophysical data*

The Cunene river takes its rise in the Huambo region and parallels the coast-line at a distance of about three hundred

kilometers, traversing highlands up to the point where the heights recede to the West. The river-bed then takes a bend towards the Atlantic Ocean, leaving on its way a whole network of intermittent rivers from the nearby veld - some losing themselves in the desolate expanses of the so-called "Salted Pond" to the South-East.

The course of the river is 830 km. It crosses on its way four different zones of rainfall. Firstly, the central region with abundant and regular rains, extending in the North to the Nova Lisboa region; secondly, the precipitation zone of 50-100 mm further to the South; thirdly, the precipitation zone of 25-50 mm covering half of the river's course towards the sea; and finally, the zone pertaining to the desert with a precipitation of less than 25 mm.



## II. THE PROJECT

### General

The entire Cunene scheme will be developed by stages involving the construction of many dams, a number of power plants, and irrigation facilities such as pipelines and canals. The cost of the project is estimated at 17,48 billion escudos, the equivalent of 2,2 billion DM, thus exceeding the Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique by about 700 mill. DM.

### Construction and financing

Construction is administered by the "South-West African Water and Electricity Commission" (SWAWEC) which is composed of: the Department of Water Affairs, Windhoek and Pretoria, directing water installations; the Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM), Johannesburg, responsible for the generation and distribution

of electric power, and the Industrial Development Corporation (IDCW, Johannesburg, a semi-state enterprise that will be responsible for the fiscal coordination and financing. The latter has extended credit to Portugal equivalent with the country's participation in the project, that is 50%.

On the Portuguese side, overall direction of the project is the responsibility of the "Gabinete do Plano do Cunene". One of its offices is in Sá da Bandeira, capital of the province of Huila. It is in charge of the work and the studies dealing with the establishing of an agrotechnical research center set up near Rocadas, capital of the district of Cunene.

### ***The first stage of the project***

The first stage of the construction requires investment estimated at 314 million DM. Plans call for total regulation of the entire Cunene river, the construction of a dam at the Ruacana falls, and the irrigation of Ovamboland. The most important construction of this stage included:

- a) the Gove Dam, in construction, near the rise of Cunene river and at the confluence of the rivers Kanhanguma, Etembo and Cunene. It will cost 50 million DM;
- b) the Ruacana Dam, at the border of Angola and Namibia, is intended for hydro-electric purposes;
- c) a small earth dam, 15 km north of the Namibian border.

In order to secure the financing of this first phase, Portugal will borrow from South Africa 21 million DM, carrying a long-term interest of 5%. Financing is supplied by IDC. In fact, South Africa will cover more than half the scheme; meanwhile, investments are expected from other countries interested in the pillage of Southern Africa.

In return, South Africa is given the full use of the river in the Ruacana region for the generation of electricity. Portugal assumes also the responsibility for maintaining an amount of water equalling 6 cumecs (cubic metres per second).

To assure this volume, the scheme will involve the construction of the dams Gove, Jamba-Ia, Oma, Jamba-Ia-Mina, Chamingo, Cambundi, Catembulo, Calueque etc. By the constructions of these and others of minor importance the amount of water will be raised from the level of 5 cumecs to 150 cumecs.

South Africa agrees to pay the Portuguese colonialists a compensation of I.800.000 FF for the lands flooded by the creation of the 10 km long Calueque lake.

### ***Gove Dam***

This is the most important dam of the first phase of the project (about 80 million FF). The dam was designed by a Portuguese engineering office and a Portuguese firm started work in 1969.

Situated 100 km from Huambo (Nova Lisboa), it will be 58 m high, and will create an artificial lake 178 km long holding 2,6 million m<sup>3</sup> of water. It will also increase the output of electric power of the Malata Dam, which actually supplies electricity to two cities, Sá-la-Bandeira and Mocamedes. The latter serves as the loading place for iron ore from Cassinga (L) mines exploited by the "Companhia Mineira do Lobita" (CML).

A high-voltage line and the necessary transformers will

be built from Malata-Jamba to Tchamutete to supply this mining center with power. The Portuguese colonialist authorities, by the intermediate "Junta Provincial de Electrificacao de Angola", have granted a loan of about 12,5 million of FF for the execution of the project. Presently, thermo-electricity is used at the Cassinga mines.

The Gove Dam, thanks to a network of pipe-lines, will provide water for farming and cattle ranching over an area of 80.000 hectares as well as the irrigation of an additional 20.000 hectares of arable land between Quiteve and Humbe. The establishment of plots of 60-180 ha are planned for the Quiteve-Huambo region. The Portuguese colonialists hope to increase the number of settlers in Cunene by putting up 33 settlements between 400 and 1.200 hectares each.

### ***The Ruacana Dam***

This dam will have a generating capacity of 240 to 300 megawatts per hour at 125 cumecs with a 134 m fall. High-voltage lines are planned to the mining centres of Tsumeb and Grootfontein, and to Walvis Bay, centre of the fishing industry. For the project to be profitable, it is scheduled in the contract, that the racists of Pretoria will pay their accomplice an indemnity for the surplus water, i.e., in addition to the minimum KWh fixed by the contract.

The Calueque Dam, located 40 km to the north of Ruacana is designed to control the flow of Cunene and to divert water for use in Ovamboland. Construction has started on a pipe-line and a power plant capable of 2,5 MW, both destined to supply a pumping station for diverting water (6 cumecs) to the northern region of Namibia.

According to the Portuguese colonialists, the completion of these works was scheduled for the end of 1971. It represents 50% of the estimated production.

Two pipelines of 1,5 m diameter and 2.500 m long will bring the water to a pond and from there to the border of Namibia by 12,5 km canal. This sandy-soiled region of 5,6 million ha is at an attitude of 600meters and has a population of 270.000. Its green landscapes are suitable for ranching; but, the water shortage prevents large settlements, since under present conditions the cattle must frequently move from one pasture to another.

The rivers forming the border to the North, Cunene, Okavango, Kuando as well as the Zambeze on the Caprivi strip, and Orange to the South, can provide a constant supply of water. Consequently, during the 8 months of dry season, the farmers have<sup>at</sup> their disposal only the water reserv from the Oshana, filled in the rainy season. Water, previously flowed naturally to the area from Angola is becoming more and more scarce as the natural water courses (Oshanas) have been clogged with silt. Thus construction of canals.

### ***The remaining phases of the scheme***

The general plan for hydroelectric development involves the construction of 12 dams to the north of Calueque with a total capacity of 227,5 MW, totalling annually 1006,36 W.(2)

In the agricultural sector, development of the following regions is scheduled thus: Malata (3.000 ha.), Matuno (92.800 ha.), Katembulo (13.800 ha.), Chibia (1.000 ha.) and Cova de Leao (17.900 ha.) for a total of 128.500 ha.

Finally, the project will create favorable conditions for

large scale cattle ranching, especially in Matuno, Katembulo and Cova do Leao, over an area of about 350,000 ha. As for ranching and meat production, Angola would become another Argentine.

### III. THE CUNENE SCHEME AND THE IMPERIALIST STRATEGY IN

#### SOUTHERN AFRICA

As mentioned, the Cunene scheme is closely related to the common strategy of Portuguese colonialism and the racist régime of South Africa in their struggles against the liberation movements of the African territories they occupy. However, this scheme, together with that of Cabora-Bassa, cannot be separated from the stragedy of imperialism for Southern Africa; its economic, political, and military support (e.g., sale of arms) has become a prerequisite for the existence of Portuguese colonialism as well as the racist régimes of this part of Africa.

Therefore, to strengthen this holy alliance, we find in Angola, as in Namibia, the undertaking of projects which directly strengthen the economic power of the colonialists and racist minorities on one side, and on the other side the development of the economic sector under the control of foreign capital; American, English, West German, French etc. And now, let us look at:

#### South Africa

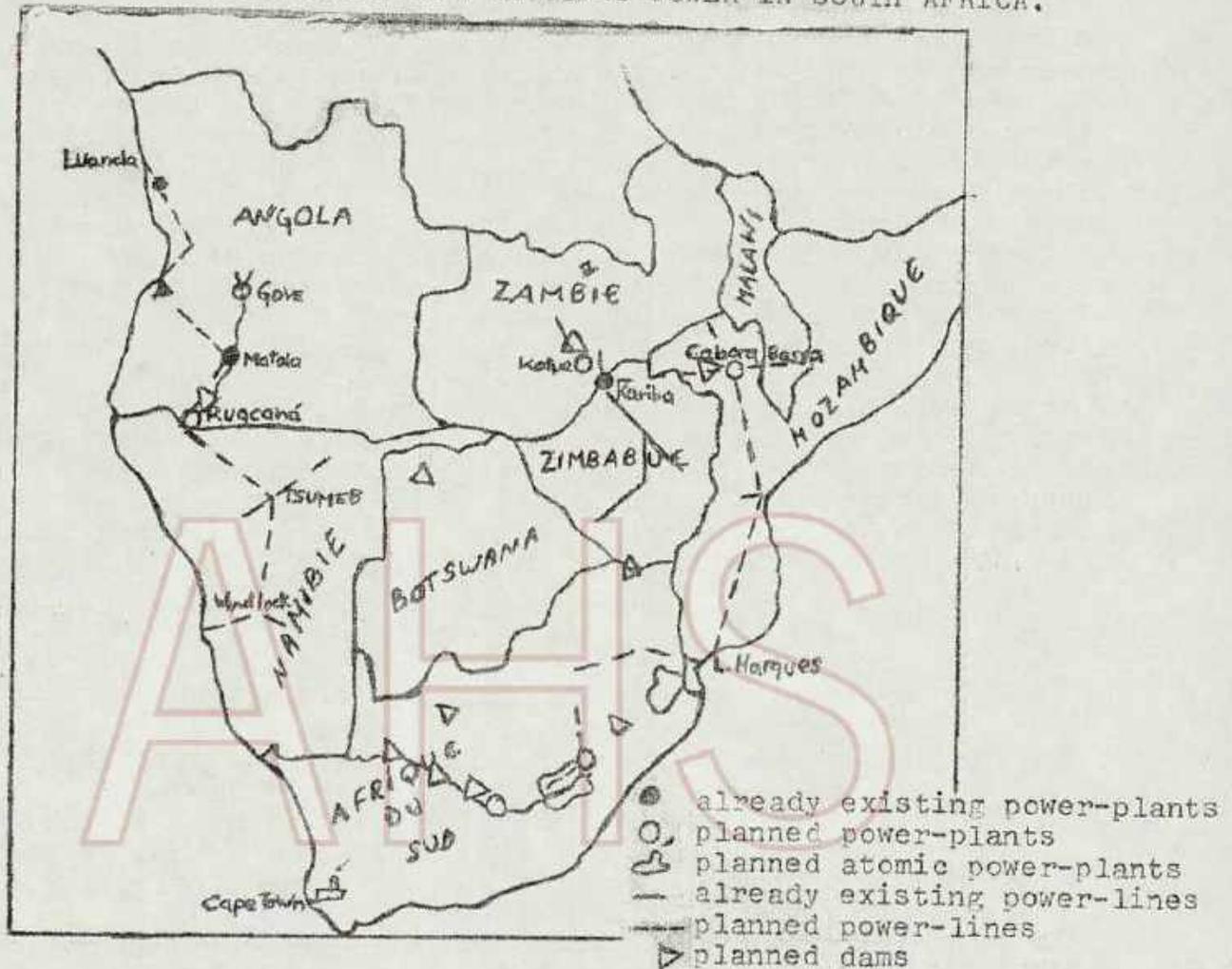
Apart from the common interests of the apartheid régime and the Portuguese colonialists in strengthening their political alliance and giving it a solid material basis, Pretoria has separate political interests in the Cunene scheme. By granting South Africa the mandate over Namibia (South-West Africa) in 1946, the intention of the United Nations was that South Africa, as soon as possible, should "create for South-West African population the political, social and economic conditions necessary for the realization of its rights to self-determination". But the racist régime, according to ultra-colonial strategy, held a "referendum" among the white population serving as the "juridical basis" for the annexation, formally brought about in 1949. Until now South Africa has ignored all criticism from the U.N. Shamelessly it continued the economic integration of the territory so as to establish - against the international public opinion - as a *fait accompli* its right to maintain its rule over Namibia. In this sense the Cunene scheme serves the economic interests of South Africa; it is a concrete contribution to the policy discussed above.

As for the economic development attributed to the construction of the project, it is nothing but a smoke screen behind which hides the imperialist defenders of the scheme in its present political context.

For example, the irrigation facilities and the economic development planned leave, at first sight, the impression that the scheme, when completed, will mean the socio-economic promotion of the African people of Namibia, the majority of which are peasants. In fact, the entire population of Namibia will no doubt profit, to a certain extent, from the increased supply of water from Angola. But this criterion, more emotional than rational, cannot serve as the basis for our analysis. We must consider the benefits to all concerned parties. The scheme, for example, does not include the power stations in South Africa. It is also clear that the settlers and the foreign companies engaged in cattle-ranching stand to benefit the most. Like the

TSUMEB Co. Ltd. which owns, in the district of Grootfontein, farming and cattle-raising enterprises covering an area of 59.850 acres (app. 24.300 ha).

WATER POWER RESOURCES AND ELECTRIC POWER IN SOUTH AFRICA.



**Who will benefit the most from the electric power?**

Even if short of water, Namibia is a country rich on minerals. Today, several companies mine and export diamonds (de Beer Consolidated Mines, Marine Diamond Co. Ltd., Consolidated Diamond Mines of South-West Africa Ltd. etc), copper, lithium, vanadium, germanium (Tsumeb Co. Ltd. which is a subsidiary of American Metals Climax, South-West Africa Co. Ltd. etc) and uranium (Rio Tinto Zink on a contract with the British Atomic Energy Authority and the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa).

In fact, the shortage of electric power represented a serious obstacle to the further development of the mining industry. The projects of Cabora Bassa and Cunene will mean new sources of power for the mining enterprises of Namibia and South Africa. This electric power as well as the African's cheap labour to the extraction of great profits by the foreign monopolies (3), to an even greater exploitation of masses of workers, and consequently to the strengthening of the racist, anti-democratic and anti-human régime. These are the present - and future -

characteristics of the Pretoria government, even if it will be forced to raise the wages of the African workers (4) or to adopt other measures of "liberalization" in order to stimulate the internal market.

### *The Portuguese interests*

As we have seen, the Cunene project will in the present political context not be profitable to the Namibians but to their oppressors. As for Angola, the Portuguese colonialists will take the lion's share of the benefits. Again the holy alliance manifests itself. On the Angolan side the Cassinga mining operations will harvest most of the benefits flowing from the scheme. The operations are owned by an international consortium controlled by the capitalist KRUPP of West Germany. At the moment, the Mineira-Krupp is negotiating with the Oppenheimer corporation of South Africa for increasing the output of the Cassinga mines. This increase in production, once realized, would consequently mean a higher profit in the Portuguese colonialism. Presently it runs at \$ 50 million a year.

It is evident that this recipe and others, used for straightening up the balance of payments, which is already overloaded by the weight of the colonial wars, constitutes a direct support to Portuguese colonialism.

Apart from its interests connected to those of imperialism, the colonialism has additional independent ends:

- a) To acquire foreign currency by exporting electric power.
- b) The intensification of the so-called politics of assimilation, which is closely connected with the "psycho-social" campaign aiming at the isolation of that part of the population likely to support the liberation movement. The "suspects" are put into "aldeamentos" (strategic hamlets similar to the ones in Vietnam). In addition, the "good" ones, or the ones that are coopted are given the possibility of a certain "social promotion".

The kind of agricultural production the Portuguese colonialists hope to establish in the 128.500 ha areas of Matunto, Cova do Leao etc. as in the other areas that drain into Cunene river, fits these ends well.

The UN report A/7623, annex 3, of the 25/9/69, page 59 and the Portuguese colonialist press give more details about the subject. The press affirms that the settlement plans for the above regions make provision for the "installation" of 6.233 land families, each on a 20 ha farm growing corn, wheat and cotton; the "fixation" of 37.000 people and the "utilization" of 73.000 workers.

It should be noted that the creation of farms of 20 hectares would require the total amount of land available to provide 6.233 "land families" with farms. The rest would receive no land at all. The explanation for this is contained in the above UN document, where the Portuguese term "fixacao" is used for the regrouping of the African people and the term "instalacao" refers to white settlers. Also in the Angolan press, the Portuguese colonialists affirm their intention to create in the Quiteve-Humbo region, plots of 60-180 ha each.

As with all imperialist-capitalist companies, the calculations were made without considering the people concerned, in this case the Angolan people. Shamelessly, the Portuguese colonialists affirm that for the development of the land they will

apply their experience acquired from other projects such as Cele and Matala. So, that will mean an even heavier exploitation of the masses of Angolan peasants to the benefit of the Portuguese, Italian, Rhodesian and South African settlers.

Therefore, in the supreme interest of the national liberation struggle of the Angolan people, the MPLA will find suitable ways and means to oppose and defeat all neo-colonialist and imperialist manoeuvre, aiming at perpetuating their exploitation.

### *Victory Is Certain!*

#### **Notes**

(1) The Cassinga iron mines are situated in the Cunene district. The resources are estimated at 120 million tons of haematite with a proportion of 62-66% of iron. We must add billions of tons of ore of a lower quality. "Companhia Mineira do Lobito" (CML), theoretically a Portuguese government enterprise, is in reality controlled by an international consortium headed by KRUPP.

This consortium has invested 100 million dollars since 1967, i.e., the largest capital investment undertaken in Angola. In order to increase production at Cassinga, the company has obtained loans of 560 million escudos. Two loans were provided by a West-German consortium, the Deutsche Union Bank of Frankfurt/Main and the Hamburgische Landesbank for a total of 420 million escudos. The remaining 140 million escudos for the project came through a loan from an international consortium headed by Bankers Trust Company of London and including, Lavora Bank A.G. of Switzerland and Monte dei Paschi di Siena of Italy.

The production of high-grade iron had reached 5,6 million tons in 1969. The mining port of Saco, "Port Salazar" has been enlarged in order to receive ships of 100.000 tons. Works are being done to make it possible for ships of 200.000 tons.

(2) IGW=10<sup>7</sup> W

(3) The above mentioned companies are not owned by the Namibian people.

(4) The pretended "dialogue" of South Africans with the African countries aims at the weakening of the national liberation movements of Southern Africa. From the economic point of view, it aims at the conquest of new markets as an alternative to the raising of wages. Yet, the short respite the Pretoria régime gains from such a move, will in the longer run contribute to the erosion of the system of apartheid.

Dams:	Gove.....	25,0	MW
	Jamba-Ia-Oma.....	39,0	MW
	Chivondua.....	15,0	MW
	Jamba-Ia-Mina.....	81,5	MW
	Matundo.....	50,0	MW
	Chissola.....	06,5	MW
	Gungué.....	04,0	MW
	Lucundu.....	06,5	MW
	Cabundi.....	14,5	MW
	Catembulo.....	05,0	MW

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IN THE UNITED NATIONS

## RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY



[without reference to a Main Committee (A/L.680 and Add.1-3)]

2911 (XXVII). Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Equal Rights

The General Assembly,

Recalling the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,

Noting with satisfaction the progress towards national independence and freedom made by the national liberation movements in the colonial Territories of southern Africa and in Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde both through their struggle and through reconstruction programmes,

Conscious of the need of the peoples and the national liberation movements of those Territories for assistance and support in their struggle to achieve freedom and independence,

1. Appeals to the Governments and the peoples of the world to hold annually a Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Equal Rights and proposes that the Week should begin on 25 May, Africa Liberation Day;
2. Recommends that, on the occasion of the Week, meetings should be held, appropriate materials should be published in the press and broadcast on radio and television and public campaigns should be conducted with a view to obtaining contributions to the Assistance Fund for the Struggle against Colonialism and Apartheid established by the Organization of African Unity.

2078th plenary meeting  
2 November 1972

72-22020

Twenty-seventh session  
Agenda item 22  
IN THE UNITED NATIONS

## RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

[without reference to a Main Committee (A/L.678 and Add.1 and 2)]

2909 (XXVII). Dissemination of information on decolonization

The General Assembly,

Having examined the chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to the question of publicity for the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, 1/

Recognizing the importance of publicity as an instrument for furthering the aims and purposes of the Declaration and the need for the Office of Public Information to intensify its efforts to acquaint world public opinion with all aspects of the problems of decolonization,

Bearing in mind the important role being played in the widespread dissemination of relevant information by a number of non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization,

Recalling its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and its resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, containing the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration,

Recalling further its resolution 2879 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971 concerning the dissemination of information on decolonization,

Conscious of the urgent need to arouse world public opinion with a view to assisting effectively the people of the colonial Territories to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence and, in particular, to intensify widespread and continuous dissemination of information on the struggle for liberation being waged by the peoples in the colonial Territories in Africa guided by their national liberation movements,

Taking into account the suggestions of the Special Committee as well as the views of the Office of Public Information on the implementation of these suggestions, as reflected in the relevant chapters of the report of the Special Committee,

Noting with satisfaction the arrangements made by the Special Committee with a view to assisting the Office of Public Information in the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee relating to the dissemination of information on decolonization,

1. Approves the chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to the question of publicity for the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization;

2. Reaffirms the vital importance of urgently effecting the widest possible dissemination of information on the evils and dangers of colonialism, in particular the continuing struggle for liberation being waged by the peoples in the colonial Territories in Africa, as well as the efforts being made by the international community to assist in the elimination of the remaining vestiges of colonialism in all its forms;

3. Requests the Secretary-General, having regard to the suggestions of the

Special Committee, to continue to take concrete measures through all the media at his disposal, including publications, radio and television, to give widespread and continuous publicity to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, to the situation in the colonial Territories and to the continuing struggle for liberation being waged by the colonial peoples and, inter alia:

(a) To intensify the activities of all information centres, particularly those located in Western Europe, and also to establish additional information centres where appropriate, especially in southern Africa;

(b) To maintain a close working relationship with the Organization of African Unity by holding periodic consultations and a systematic exchange of the relevant information with that organization;

(c) To enlist, from the non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council and from those non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization, support in the dissemination of the relevant information;

4. Requests Member States, in particular the administering Powers, to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in the discharge of the tasks entrusted to him under paragraph 3 above;

5. Invites all States, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council, as well as other non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization, to undertake or intensify, in co-operation with the Secretary-General and within their respective spheres of competence, the large-scale dissemination of the information referred to in paragraph 2 above;

6. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Committee, to collect and prepare on a continuous basis, for redissemination by the Office of Public Information, basic material, studies and articles relating to various aspects of the problems of decolonization;

7. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Special Committee on the implementation of the present resolution;

8. Requests the Special Committee to continue to seek suitable means for the effective dissemination of information on decolonization and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

2078th plenary meeting  
2 November 1972

# THE TESTIMONY OF A SPANISH MISSIONARY

There are two churches in Angola: the one suffers from the situation, while the other praises it. There is the martyred church and the one which collaborates.

Waldo Garcia, a priest of the Holy Ghost Congregation, was for several years a professor at the Major Seminary in Nova Lisboa and one of the directors of the Catholic Institute of Angola.

His attitude of no-collaboration with the Portuguese political police earned him his expulsion from the country. He now lives in Barcelona.

I should like first to state that my situation as regards Angola is a situation related to the Church.

I belong to the Angolan Church, which is a real church of silence, on the one hand hounded and victimised by the situation and, on the other, sold out to that same situation, in short, a church which is not fulfilling its mission.

I have never engaged in political activities and I have always acted in accordance with the standards which should guide the activity of the church in Angola. Yet I have been expelled for political reasons, although upholding the truth transcends politics.

## TO REMAIN SILENT IN THE FACE OF GENOCIDE

One evening a Portuguese Catholic in a desperate situation came to see me in search of spiritual comfort. He was on the verge of suicide as a solution to his problems. Why was this? Owing to a series of circumstances (which he did not wish to go into for fear of subsequent reprisals) he had to cooperate with the political police (PIDE) in the interrogation of detainees. He told me how the torturers hung up Africans head downwards, cut open their stomachs with razor blades, poured alcohol into their entrails and set fire to them.

To give another concrete case: Portuguese settlers who are members of the "civil defence corps" (and, I must sorrowfully say, among them are Catholics who go to daily mass) have told me that when they went out on patrols in Baixa de Cassanje — one of the most populous regions in the country — they shot all the eldest sons of the African families they found there, in order to "counter" the propaganda of the nationalists, who claimed that their fetishes protected them against Portuguese bullets. These killings, according to them, showed the blacks the true effectiveness of whites!

## MY EXPULSION

I was expelled by the Portuguese authorities, who acted very subtly, however, through the church hierarchy. Unfortunately, the latter collaborates fully with the autho-

rities. I was not expelled by the church authorities, but by the political police which manipulated them, by the same police which subjected me to all kinds of pressure, which interrogated me countless times on such wild accusations as my being a member of the Italian Communist Party, by the same police which took me to the aeroplane and finally stole from me records which represented three years of work at the Higher Catholic Institute.

## IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO BE A PRIEST IN ANGOLA

From the time of my arrival in Angola, I devoted myself to my mission as a Christian priest.

The Portuguese police considered this subversive. The first thing I was told on my arrival was that it was forbidden to speak about the "Pacem in Terris" encyclical in Angola.

My first "subversive" act was to refuse to collaborate with the police, to refuse to act as an informer, a practice which is requested of all white priests. It must be said, unfortunately, that many priests are involved in such collaboration.

Similarly, my work as a director of the Higher Catholic Institute gave rise to problems with the authorities. The first book in our "Coloquios" edition, entitled "The Universal Church in Angola", was seized. In the Portuguese empire one does not speak about the universal church either. A number of events organised by the Institute, seminars and lectures, and including a "youth mass" we wanted to hold in 1968, were simply banned, or else there was PIDE intervention.

But what actually motivated my expulsion was the holding of a series of seminars in which we wished to face the truth in the manner of Christ. The two Portuguese priests who were directing this programme with me — the Reverend Fathers Jorge Sanches and Antonio Fernando dos Santos Neves — were also expelled from Angola, as was Pastor Lawrence Henderson of the Evangelical Church, who was also a director of the Institute.

## THERE ARE TWO CHURCHES IN ANGOLA

There are two churches in Angola. The one suffers from the situation, while the other praises it. There is the church which is martyred by the situation and the one which collaborates because it has sold out to it. Portuguese priests in Angola are paid a salary which amounts to about 18,000 dollars out of the



budget of the colony's administration.

We would therefore say without fear that there are two churches in Angola, the black and the white, the Portuguese and the African, and this division starts with the congregation, because in Angola, as in South Africa, there are separate churches for whites and blacks. There are parishes reserved exclusively for whites, while blacks go to what are known as missions.

This segregation continues in the hierarchy, since African priests are kept out of all responsible positions. The only black bishop, Monsignor Muska, is merely the auxiliary of the Archbishop of Luanda, totally under his control and without any real possibility of doing anything.

If further proof were needed, what can be said of all the black priests who are persecuted, detained and the victims of arbitrary acts?

WALDO GARCIA

NOTE: According to the testimony of the Reverend Malcolm McVeigh of the American Methodist Mission, after the repression unleashed by the Portuguese authorities in 1961, of the one hundred and sixty-seven pastors and teachers in the existing missions in the Luanda region, only eleven have been able to return to their posts. Twenty-one, at the lowest estimate, have been killed, and eighty-six have been reported "missing".

# PRESS CUTTINGS



EFFECTS OF THE DEFOLIANTS IN LIBERATED AREAS OF ANGOLA

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2020 : plane :

brazzaville, jan 17 reuter -- nationalist guerrillas claim to have shot down a portuguese army plane in south-west angola, killing all aboard, it was revealed today.

the guerrillas say the c-423 tactical transport aircraft was brought down as it sprayed poisonous matter on the river banks in the cuando region on january 4.

members of the movement for the liberation of angola (mla), which is campaigning against portuguese control of angola, said there were a dozen people on the plane.

reuter st jed

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TELEX

# PORTUGAL ANGRY WITH RHODESIA

By BRUCE LOUDON  
in Lisbon

PORTUGAL is showing distinct signs of irritation with Rhodesia over "unduly alarmist" assessments of the military situation in Mozambique made by Rhodesian officials.

This has emerged following the surprise visit to Lisbon by the Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr Ian Smith.

Details of the hour-long conversation he had with the Portuguese leader, Dr Caetano, remain secret, but it is clear that the southward thrust of attacking guerrilla forces in Mozambique figured prominently in the exchanges.

Since the talks the Portuguese have lost none of their obvious annoyance with the gloomy view of the situation taken by Rhodesian authorities.

One Portuguese official said to me: "To my way of thinking, the Rhodesians are being alarmist in an attempt to affect our strategy. We believe any such alarmist reports are unjustified."

It is known that the Rhodesians are preoccupied by the southward movements of guerrilla forces in Mozambique towards two vital Rhodesian outlets to the sea—the railway and the road linking the Rhodesian junction town of Umtali with the Mozambique port of Beira.

Insurgents moving south from the area of the Calbarabassa dam are now operating just to the north of these two vital Rhodesian outlets. But neither their actions nor their location have yet placed them in a position to pose any direct threat.

## Ideal country

The Rhodesian view as reflected in Lisbon and Mozambique is that the largely unpaved and sandy road is ideal country for the minelaying operations on which the insurgents rely very heavily, and that the railway is also "wide open" to the guerrillas. A strike at either, they believe, could have grave consequences.

Most independent observers with recent experience of the military situation in Mozambique would doubt that the guerrillas pose any kind of immediate threat to the links.

Some senior Portuguese Army officers do not conceal their resentment of Rhodesian assertions that unless something is done soon the guerrillas will be active in the heartland of Mozambique, affecting Rhodesian supply

routes.

They point out that only a handful of insurgents are operating in an area considerably to the north of the road and railway. They also say insurgents are involved in little more than "shoot and scoot" minelaying or ambush operations.

There is little doubt that the tone of the Rhodesian assessments is affected by the fact that the country relies heavily on Beira outlets to overcome sanctions. Any guerrilla threats to the routes would pose new complications.

"TIMES"

remember that consignments for secondary education should be addressed to:

**DEC/MPLA  
B.P. 2353  
Brazzaville  
Peoples' Republic of Congo**

Other consignments can also be sent to:

**DEC/MPLA  
P.O. BOX 20793  
Dar es Salaam  
Tanzania**

# APPEAL

In carrying out its education programmes, the MPLA has already been able to count on the active solidarity of a number of individuals and institutions. However, the magnitude and complexity of the tasks to be fulfilled force us to appeal for further manifestations of solidarity, especially in meeting the following needs:

- 1 The construction of a school complex, including five blocks (hostel, primary school, secretariat and kitchen), with an approximate total number of 50 rooms.
- 2 Equipment for physics, chemistry, zoology, botany and mineralogy laboratories, including wall maps.
- 3 Four Land Rovers (or their equivalent), one of them a van.
- 4 Typewriters with a minimum 50 cm carriage and a keyboard adapted for typing in Portuguese.
- 5 Duplicating machines of the Gestetner type, and accessories.

- 6 Equipment for a hostel: sheets, camp beds, blankets, towels, cutlery, plates, mugs, cooking pots, kettles, tents and rucksacks for 500 persons.
- 7 School material: exercise books, pencils, ball point pens, erasers, coloured pencils, satchels, drawing cases, rulers, set-squares, protractors, and compasses for use on blackboards.
- 8 Equipment for agricultural work, including seeds.
- 9 Sports equipment (football, volleyball, basketball, athletics and chess).
10. An offset litho press and accessories.
- 11 Three-speed tape recorders.
- 12 16 mm cine cameras and appropriate projector's and screens.
- 13 Slide projectors.
14. Two generating sets.
- 15 Supplementary foodstuffs for children (milk, wheat flour, oil and tinned food).

In considering our needs, we request our friends to



MPLA Medical Cadre

## MPLA and the European Common market

STATEMENT ADDRESSED BY THE MPLA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY BRUSSELS -- BELGIUM.

We note with indignation the proposal by the European Commission to the Council of Ministers Meeting on the 24th of April to accept further Portuguese demands concerning commercial tariffs.

We wish to remind you of the decisions of the European Community concerning countries with colonies, as in Portugal.

All economic agreements with Portugal are indivisibly tied to her situation as a colonialist country. We hope you will reject the Commission's proposals. The position taken could affect future relations with independent Angola.

MPLA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Lusaka 27.4 1972

## Victory Is Certain! war communiques



EASTERN FRONT  
NORTHERN SUB-REGION

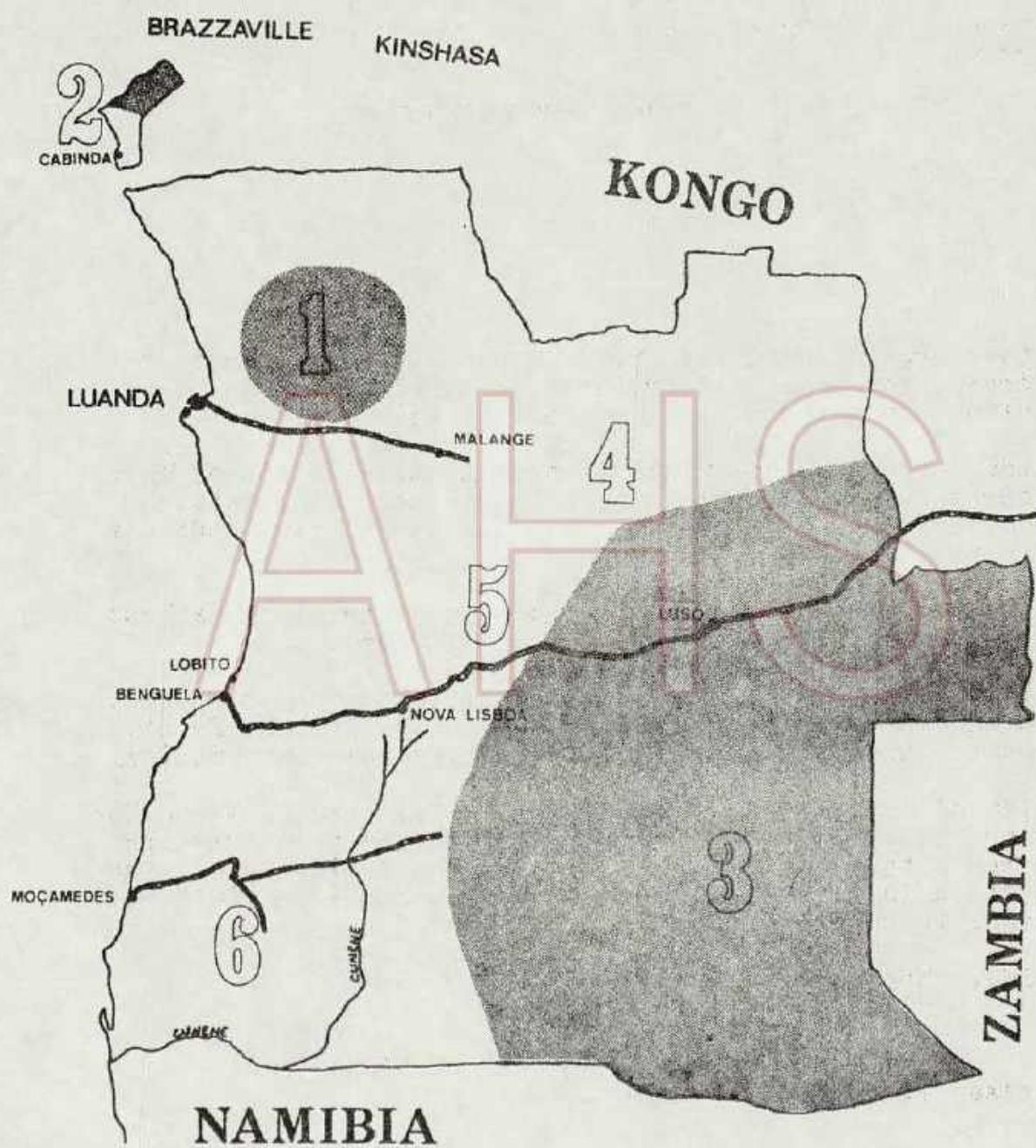
21 (TWENTY-ONE) ENEMY SOLDIERS  
PUT OUT OF ACTION IN TWO AMBUSHES.

The fighting forces of MPLA continue to harass the Portuguese colonialist army in areas where its presence is felt.

As a result of introduction of new fighting methods and the use of new tactics, the enemy forces are losing more and more initiative in action, maintaining the most defensive positions.

At 9 o'clock on the 4th of February, the historic date which 11 years ago marked the beginning of the armed struggle in Angola, a platoon of Portuguese colonialist troops on the way from LUSO felt into an ambush prepared by MPLA fighters, near the MUANGEGI river. The enemy forces suffered 7 (seven) dead and 5 (five) woun-

# Angola



 Liberated areas

ded, without having the slightest possibility of reacting to the attack.

On the same day, the presence of MPLA fighters on the banks of the KASSAI river, caused the disgraceful and confused flight of the enemy forces. The radio operator of the colonialist armed forces was lost in the bush due to his quick escape from the ambush and he was later recovered and taken away in an ALLOUETTE 2 helicopter.

On the 3rd of March, at 14.00, a platoon of enemy troops suffered 5 (five) dead and 4 (four) wounded in another ambush prepared by MPLA fighters.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Lusaka 26.3 1972

Because they are incapable of impeding the victorious advance of our forces, the enemy are trying to demoralise the Angolan people, using the most criminal methods to this end.

Indeed, the Portuguese colonialists have launched a big offensive against our militants and are continuing to use defoliants and herbicides, destroying crops and trying to use hunger to defeat our heroic people.

However, neither hunger, napalm nor any of the criminal methods seized upon by the enemy will prevent our Victory.

On the 25th of July 1972, our guerillas attacked and completely destroyed the enemy barracks at Lumbala, on the Eastern Front. Our forces captured several enemy vehicles and arms ammunition.

On the 27th of July, at 15.00, the Zone D, Sector 2 Squadron Section, using bazookas and light arms, attacked an enemy cavalry company from batallion 2870, operating in the Mavinga area. The enemy suffered 10 killed and 6 wounded. We captured a field radio set, 8 oxen, 10 FN magazines and 8.000 tins food.

On our side, three comrades were slightly wounded.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Dar es Salaam 7.8 1972

Continuing to carry out the MPLA's command to "generalise the armed struggle throughout the national territory" important events have been taking place in Angola, especially in Cunene district since the popular insurrection there in January this year, which has already been reported. The firmness of the positions and demands of the people of Cunene district have recently led the Portuguese colonialist regime to abolish some of the taxes it previously imposed and to reduce the obligatory payment known as "sovereignty tax" from 380 to 75 escudos.

On the other hand, in an attempt to stop the advancing development of the political-military activity of MPLA on other fighting fronts, the colonialist armed forces once again resorted to the use of defoliants and herbicides. Since the 29th of March the Portuguese colonialists have intensified their bombing raids and dropped chemical products, especially in the MPLA's Fourth Political-Military Region in CAZAJI area, along the Benguela Railway line.

The criminal genocidal act, condemned by international conventions, has been accompanied by heliported troop movements in different places along the frontier between Angola and Zambia. These had the primary objective of stopping the entry of a mandated delegation by the UNO Special Committee on Decolonisation, as a result of its Lusaka Meeting with the national liberation movement of South Africa, which took place between the 17th and the 21st April 1972.

According to information received from the EASTERN FRONT, the following military operations took place between the end of February and the beginning of April:

28.2.72 - At 4.40 p.m. 3 groups of heliported troops, with the cover of 7 (seven) ALOUETTE and PUMA helicopters, proceeding from GAGO CONTINHO, encircled a guerrilla group from KAVUNGA Section of DR I Squadron.

As soon as the MPLA fighters broke the encirclement they had a direct encounter with other group of enemy troops, which suffered several losses, including a Captain.



3.3.72 - Two military vehicles proceeding from GAGO CONTINHO and carrying enemy troops, entered an anti-vehicle mine-field prepared by MPLA sappers near a bridge on the LUNGUEVINGO river.

The vehicles were completely destroyed and all their occupants killed.

9.3.72 - At 1.30 p.m., on the banks of the CHIKULUI river, a group of the MPLA guerrillas of the DR I Squadron was engaged in combat with the Portuguese colonialist troops from CHIUME post.

The enemy forces suffered an unknown number of losses in the course of the battle which lasted 10 minutes.

On the same day, at 2 p.m. a group of Mpla fighters were coming down the right bank of the CHIKULUI river surprising a group of a so-called G.E. (Special Group) puppets, who suffered 2 (two) dead and 1 (one) wounded.

10.3.72 - At 11.40 a.m., a group of MPLA fighters belonging to the DR I Squadron, suspecting the presence of Portuguese and the so-called G.E. troops at the CHIKULUI river, went out to find them.

Coming nearer they discovered that the enemy troops were preparing to leave the place and tried to cross the river. In the attack carried out there the enemy suffered heavy losses.

On our side we deeply regret the death of Comrade MAUINJE, group leader of Sector 5, Zone C.

On the same day, 3 (three) Unimogs proceeding from SESSE carrying enemy troops fell into an ambush near to the MUSSUMA river. The Unimogs were totally destroyed and all the occupants killed.

11.3.72 - A group of MPLA fighters destroyed a bridge on the XONGA river, on the road between LEWA and XAFINDA.

17.3.72 - A group of enemy troops proceeding from SESSE, tried to make a raid with the intention of attacking some of our bases. They fell into an ambush prepared by MPLA sappers. 5 (five) enemy soldiers were killed.

On the same day, a group of colonialist troops coming from GAGO COUTINHO on a mission to discover MPLA detachment fell into another ambush. 10 (ten) enemy soldiers were killed and further 7 (seven) wounded.

18.3.72 - An Unimog truck carrying enemy troops on the route from NINDA to GAGO COUTINHO hit one of the antitank mines prepared there by MPLA sappers. The truck was completely destroyed and all its occupants killed.

Also on the same day, another troop laden lorry fell in another mine-field near to the MUSSUMA river, on the road between MITEPE and GAGO COUTINHO. The lorry was totally destroyed and all its occupants killed.

20.3.72 - At 6 p.m. the MPLA squadron called MUKIMBICHI, using mortars and bazookas, completely destroyed the LINYONDE barracks, which had been present certain difficulties in reaching the Fifth political-military region.

The enemy troops suffered 30 (thirty) dead and 18 (eighteen) wounded.

As reprisal for the defeat they had suffered, the Portuguese colonialist troops took the chiefs of LINYONDE and PHIMBILI as prisoners to KUEPE post. They had previously participated in the construction of these barracks.

The next day, 5 (five) of the population were barbarously murdered by colonialist soldiers.

29.3.72 - A group of enemy troops fell into a field of anti-personnel mines and suffered an unknown number of losses. This made the enemy carry out patrol flights along the border.

31.3.72 - A group of heliported Portuguese colonialist troops, proceeding from LOUVA post, coming on a patrol mission to the former NYAMUVUANGA area, set off an anti-personnel mine-field and suffered an unknown number of losses.

- 1.4.72 - At about 1 p.m., one of three military vehicles, coming from KAIANDA set off an anti-tank mine and was totally destroyed, killing all its occupants.
- 6.4.72 - Another Unimog lorry carrying enemy troops from MASSIVI to KAIANDA set off another anti-tank mine. It was completely destroyed and its occupants killed.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Lusaka 6.5 1972



- 8th April, 1972: A group of MPLA guerrillas of Chanda Section, attacked a boat laden with enemy troops that was going from Luyana post to Luvunga. As a result of the bazooka and machine-gun attack the boat sunk. The Portuguese colonialist soldiers managed to reply to the fire for a few moments with some bazooka shots, the shrapnel of which unluckily caused the deaths of 2 (two) of our fighters (Lenhewe and Kandonga) and slightly wounded 9 (nine) others. The enemy suffered a number of losses the exact number of which is not known.
- 21st April, 1972: At around 3 p. m. a large scale group of Portuguese colonialist troops who tried to cross the border between Angola and Zambia so as to stop the expected entry of the delegation of the Special Committee on Decolonisation, fell into an ambush prepared by MPLA fighters. As far as could be confirmed, 30 (thirty) enemy soldiers were killed and 5 (five) others seriously wounded. Several helicopters came later, on three occasions, to look for the dead, but were unable to find them because the grass had caught fire and burned the bodies. One MPLA fighter was slightly wounded.
- 22nd April, 1972: At 10.30 a.m. a group of Portuguese colonialist soldiers was surprised on the right bank of the Hangana river by 2 groups of MPLA guerrillas. The enemy suffered heavy losses, and the bodies were later carried away by helicopters.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Lusaka 18.6 1972

Since April the Portuguese colonialist armed forces have intensified the movement of heliported troops on the Eastern Front, with the intention of surprising and stopping by every possible means, the likely visit of the Delegation from the UN Special Committee on Decolonisation, which was meeting in Lusaka from the 17 to the 21 April.

In the fact of such exaggerated movements the MPLA fighters replied with increased military action in all areas and particularly where the heliported troops made their presence felt.

KNOWN ENEMY LOSSES: 82 soldiers put out of action  
MPLA LOSSES: 2 fighters

- 4.4.72: At 4.22 p.m. a group of MPLA of Tchingona Section prepared an ambush for a group of enemy troops near to Kambandakata village. Subjected to fire from bazookas and rocket-launchers from MPLA fighters, 27 (twenty-seven) enemy soldiers were killed and 8 (eight) others seriously wounded.
- 17.4.72: Heliported enemy troops tried to cross the border between Angola and Zambia. A small group of MPLA fighters on a reconnaissance mission discovered some of the enemy troops. The MPLA fighters immediately prepared an ambush in which 5 (five) Portuguese colonialist soldiers were killed including a second lieutenant and sergeant.
- 22.4.72: At 9 a.m. a group of enemy troops coming along the Mulai river surprised a group of OMA (Organisation of Angolan Women) militants who had gone to Vunito lake for water accompanied by MPLA fighters of the 3rd Section. In the ensuing combat the enemy suffered an unknown number of casualties. Two helicopters came three times to recover the dead and wounded. On our side we deeply regret the deaths of the courageous guerrilla fighters Ataque and Kambangaji.
- 30.4.72: At 3.30 p.m. a group of Portuguese colonialist troops fell into an ambush prepared by MPLA fighters near to lake Massunza. 23 (twenty-three) enemy soldiers were killed and 14 (fourteen) others wounded. The survivors ran away in disorder and passed a harrassed night before being recovered and carried away by three helicopters at dawn next day.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Lusaka 20.6 1972.

#### EASTERN FRONT Northern Sub-Region

Since April the Portuguese colonialist have increased their operations, especially by the movement of heliported troops. Their first intention was to stop the entrance of the Delegation of the UN Special Committee on Decolonisation, and later to try to find in order to try to destroy, MPLA bases.

In spite of all the material that the Portuguese armed forces used and the efforts they made, the MPLA fighters have been resolutely continuing their political and military activities, so causing the failure of the enemy's initiatives.

According to information received from the fighting fronts, during the months of May and June the following operations were carried out in certain areas:

1.5.72 - At 20.00 hours, a group of MPLA fighters ambushed two military vehicles - a Unimog and a Mercedes - on the road between LUSO and SAURIMO, near to the KALOMBA river.

The two vehicles were completely destroyed and the enemy troops suffered considerable losses.

12.5.72 - A group of enemy troops coming from LUMEGE post tried to approach one of the MPLA bases. It was repelled by our guerrillas and the enemy forces suffered the loss of 2 (two) soldiers and 3 (three) wounded.

5.6.72 - A group of MPLA fighters attacked the strategic hamlet of SAKAZEMBA. They took the G.E.'s ("Special Forces") camp by assault and the later rapidly dispersed.

The buildings were destroyed and variety of military equipment was recovered, including 2 (two) radio-receiver-transmitters.

8.6.72 - A convoy of military vehicles on its way from MAXIVI to KAIANDA entered an anti-truck mine field, near to the KOLU river. The first vehicle was completely destroyed and all its occupants killed.

After this explosion the enemy soldiers tried, on foot, to find the other mines. 4 (four) of them set off anti-personnel mines, which resulted in the deaths of 4 (four) and the wounding of several others.

A few hours later, attempting to continue their journey, a second vehicle exploded another anti-truck mine. The truck was destroyed and its occupants killed.

Our fighters recovered parts of the military vehicles.

12.6.72 - A group of Portuguese colonialist soldiers, on their way from KAIANDA post going towards the Zire Republic, fell into an ambush prepared by MPLA fighters.

The enemy suffered 4 (four) dead and 5 (five) wounded.

23.6.72 - A group of Portuguese colonialist troops fell into an ambush prepared by MPLA guerrillas near the KASSUMUNA river. The enemy forces suffered 15 (fifteen) dead and 8 (eight) wounded, who were later transported in helicopters to LUSO.

30.6.72 - Near to the XINGULA river the MPLA fighters repelled an attempted incursion into one of our Camps. The enemy suffered an unknown number of losses, which a short time after were transported away by helicopters.

In criminal reprisal, two civilian women were killed by colonialist troops.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Lusaka 12th August 1972

## Supports Struggle of All Peoples Against Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism

*At the October 20 plenary meeting of the U.N. General Assembly on the question of anti-colonialism, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Delegation Huang Hua condemned and exposed the crimes of colonialism, old and new. He also expressed firm support for the just struggle of all peoples against colonialism and neo-colonialism. Following are excerpts of his speech. Subheads are ours. — Ed.*

### Rely Mainly on Own Efforts

THE present situation is excellent in the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. In the year past, the independent countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have made unremitting efforts and achieved a series of victories in shaking off superpower control, opposing foreign interference, safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty, eliminating the forces of imperialism and colonialism, protecting national resources and developing national economy. The national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions are developing vigorously.

The peoples of the world are forming an ever broader united front in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution—this has become the great trend of history which no one can check.

It is very important for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to sympathize with and support each other and strengthen their unity in the struggle to oppose colonialism and neo-colonialism and win and safeguard national independence. However, fundamentally speaking, the independence of a country can be achieved mainly through the unremitting struggle of its people. In other words, they should rely mainly on their own efforts and take foreign aid as an auxiliary. One should never rely on others to end colonial rule, still less should he expect colonialism

and neo-colonialism to show "benevolence" and "bestow" independence on him.

### Revolutionary Violence Is Not "Terrorism"

The struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism and for the achievement and defence of national independence is a mass struggle. Victory can be won only by mobilizing and organizing the masses in their millions for unremitting struggles. The form of waging struggles is bound to be varied, but in the final analysis the counter-revolutionary violence of the colonialists can be frustrated only by the use of revolutionary violence.

We have always opposed assassination and hijacking of individuals as a means for waging political struggles and are also opposed to the adventurist acts of terrorism by individuals or a handful of people divorced from the masses. But we definitely cannot agree to the confusion of revolutionary violence with "terrorism." Quite a few representatives touched upon the question of "terrorism" during the general debate at the earlier stage. What calls for attention is that the Portuguese representative has opposed the theory of distinguishing just wars from unjust wars, calling all acts of violence "terrorism" and describing Portugal itself as a victim of "terrorism." The representative of South Africa further asserted that "terrorism" will survive so long as the use of force and violence are condoned. Moreover, the representative of Israel even alleged that the most rampant "terrorism"

today is that which has its root in Arab hostility to Israel, and he slanderously called the Palestine Liberation Organization a "terrorist" organization. These are most remarkable performances at the current session of the General Assembly. The Israeli Zionists and the Portuguese and South African colonialists with their hands stained with the blood of millions of Arab people and African people turn out to be "the greatest humanitarianists" of the present day. This is indeed a fantastic tale. Small wonder that at the current session of the General Assembly one superpower has been making such feverish outcries against "terrorism," while the other superpower has been peddling so energetically the non-use of all force.

We maintain that the United Nations is duty-bound to support the people of various countries in their struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. It is utterly impermissible for the superpowers to suppress or demoralize the national-liberation movement through the instrumentality of the United Nations.

### Beware of Newest Type of Colonialism

Particular vigilance should be kept over neo-colonialism of various descriptions. The colonialists' old tricks have been seen through by the people of various countries. The colonialists and neo-colonialists are employing all kinds of new tactics either to maintain their existing colonial rule or to carry out fresh colonial expansion. They either foster agents and buy over traitors to serve them, or incite coups d'état for subversion or even organize mercenaries for armed invasions. They carry out economic plunder and political control under the guise of investment and loans. It should also be pointed out that they are now trying by every possible means to sow discord and

create disputes among the Asian, African and Latin American countries so as to fish in troubled waters and stage a come-back. What merits particular attention is that a certain superpower is masquerading as a friend of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples by flaunting the signboard of "anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism" and professing to give so-called "aid," while actually it is perpetrating the same colonialist evils. That is a newest type of colonialism.

Self-determination is an important principle in the national-liberation movement. But what kind of stuff is the "self-determination" advertised by colonialism and neo-colonialism? Some are forming the so-called "bantustans" to sabotage the territorial integrity and unity of a state; some rig up titular parliamentary structures with all powers in the

hands of the colonialist authorities; some openly instigated armed aggression to dismember a sovereign state. They describe all this as self-determination! In fact they are carrying out national oppression and national division under the name of self-determination.

In our opinion, it is not impermissible for the oppressed nations and peoples to have dialogue with the colonialists as a means of opposing colonialism on the condition that it does not impair the fundamental interests of the people. But the Portuguese colonial authorities and the South African white racist regime are feverishly intensifying their reactionary rule, while hypocritically expressing their readiness to hold "dialogue" with the parties concerned. Obviously, such a dialogue is a means employed by the colonialists to sustain their colonial rule, for the purpose of

extricating themselves from their ever greater isolation on the international arena, mollifying the condemnation by the peoples of the world and lulling the fighting will of the local people. It is entirely justified for a large number of African countries to oppose such a kind of "dialogue."

China firmly supports the people of various countries in their just struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

We are firmly convinced that the people of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions will rely on themselves, get united, persevere in struggle and, with the support and sympathy of all the justice-upholding countries and peoples of the world, overcome all the hardships and obstacles on their road of advance and completely bury imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

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AHHS

*A letter arrived late in November*

Dear comrades,

We, the Swedish Africa Groups assembled for a conference November 18th-19th in Stockholm, want to send you our best greetings, wishing the best success in your just struggle against Portuguese colonialism and against imperialism. Assuring you of our unconditional support, we assure you that we will with might and main continue our solidarity work in favour of the MPLA, the PAIGC and the FRELIMO.

Our revolutionary greetings

The Swedish Africa Groups

## Revolutionary Torrent Pounding Colonial Rule

**T**HE people of African countries who have not yet won independence are valiantly fighting imperialism and colonialism in order to free themselves from criminal colonial domination and win national independence. Combined with the struggle of the already independent African states to safeguard their national independence and state sovereignty, this struggle is turning into a revolutionary torrent violently pounding colonialist and neo-colonialist rule in Africa.

### Raging Armed Struggle

Supported by the people, guerrilla fighters in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) won outstanding victories last year. Portuguese colonial troops used every despicable fascist device in their desperate struggle, but still suffered further defeats.

After seven years of armed struggle, guerrillas in Mozambique now control about one quarter of the country's territory. Under the leadership of the Mozambique Liberation Front the guerrillas in 1971 carried out 462 military operations against the enemy, killing 1,045 troops. They liberated 300 "strategic hamlets" and the flames of armed struggle have been spread to the south bank of the Zambezi River.

Persisting in armed struggle for some 11 years, guerrillas in Angola have liberated nearly a million people. Last year as a result of their courageous efforts Portuguese colonial troops were forced to withdraw from many military positions in northern and eastern Angola. The People's Liberation Movement of Angola (M.P.L.A.) reports that guer-

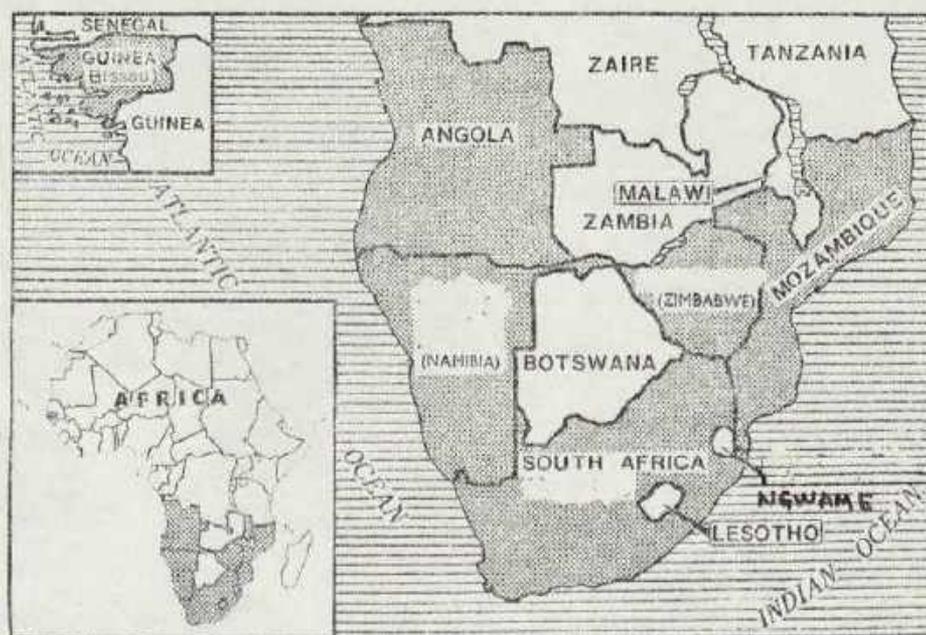
rilla warfare has spread to nearly one-third of the country and large areas are now liberated. Between January and October last year, M.P.L.A. guerrillas killed 480 enemy troops and wounded 800 others. They destroyed 17 enemy military vehicles, shot down two helicopters and captured more than 3,500 weapons.

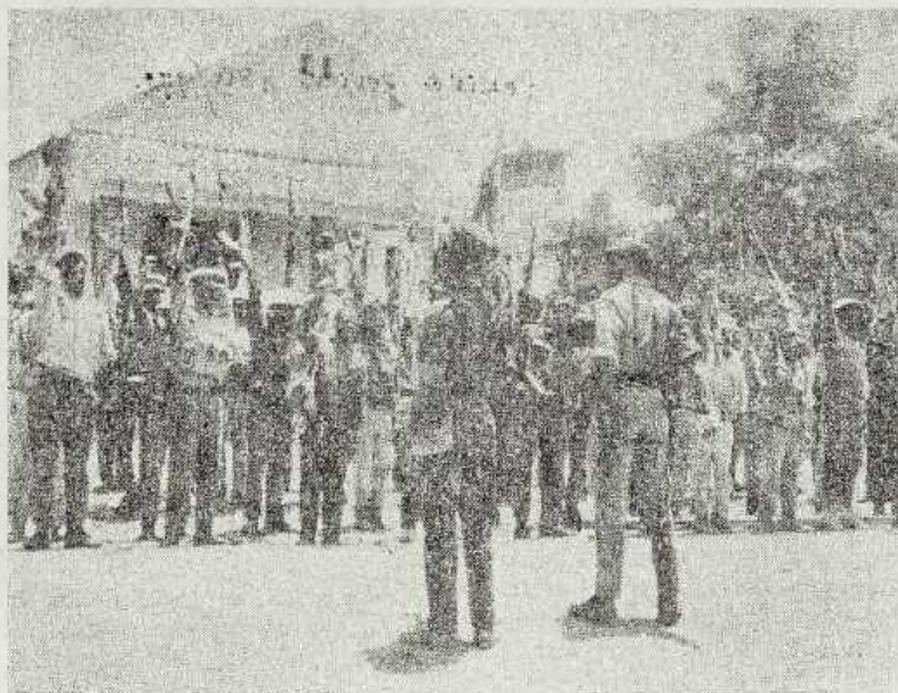
In Guinea (Bissau), the situation in the people's armed struggle is also excellent. The guerrilla fighters, under the leadership of the African Independence Party of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (P.A.I.G.C.), last year launched 779 attacks and ambushes against the enemy, killing 912 Portuguese colonial troops and wounding 1,500 others. They destroyed or damaged 137 military vehicles, sank 35 boats and shot down 7 aircraft. They also captured large quantities of military equipment. After nine years of hard struggle, they have liberated about two-

thirds of the nation's territory. Local revolutionary power has been set up in the liberated areas.

### Enemies Not Reconciled to Defeat

Unreconciled to their defeat in Africa, the Portuguese colonialists, however, doggedly continue their colonial wars in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau), with strong military and financial backing by U.S.-led imperialism. The United States and Portugal signed a new agreement last December under which the former is to provide Portugal with a credit of 435 million U.S. dollars in exchange for the continued use of the air and naval bases on Portugal's Azores Islands. The Portuguese colonial authorities introduced troops of the South African and Rhodesian minority white racist regimes into Mozambique and Angola to help suppress the African guer-





Mozambique patriotic armed forces celebrate the liberation of a stronghold in Cabo Delgado.

rillas. In 1971, the Portuguese and Rhodesian troops conducted a number of joint operations in the areas where Mozambique borders on Rhodesia. A road linking Angola's Luanda and South Africa's Pretoria is being jointly built by the Portuguese and South African regimes. This road is intended to further facilitate joint action by the Portuguese colonialists in Angola and the South African racists to stamp out the revolutionary flames of the Angolan and South African peoples. Their last-ditch struggle and plots, however, cannot save them from inevitable defeat.

### Vigorous People's Movement

In Namibia (South West Africa), Zimbabwe and Azania, the people's liberation movement is vigorously developing.

Last October students and teachers in six Namibian colleges and middle schools went on strike against South African white racist domination, demanding the immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia. From December 13, a

mighty strike struggle started on the railways, at the ports, in the mines and among African building workers. It spread rapidly to all of Namibia's other industries, involving tens of thousands of workers. The strike virtually brought factories, mines and commerce run by South African and foreign monopoly capitalists to a standstill, and compelled the reactionary South African authorities to sign an agreement on January 20, accepting the workers' demands for wage increases and permitting them to choose jobs and employers freely. It was a demonstration of the Namibian workers' militancy and raised the political consciousness of the people to a new high.

Following the agreement between the British Government and the Rhodesian white racist regime on the so-called "settlement of the Rhodesian independence dispute," the Zimbabwean people staged large-scale protest demonstrations against the "agreement." Tens of thousands strongly denounced "the agreement" as a plot to legalize the minority white racist regime and suppress the African nationalist forces in the country.

In close co-ordination, the people's armed struggle and widespread people's movements in Namibia, Zimbabwe and Azania are developing in depth. From last March to December, the Namibian guerrillas carried out 34 military operations in South West Africa, killing a number of enemy troops including a South African colonel. Chief Minister of Ovamboland Bantustan Ushoua Shimi, notorious traitor, was killed by the Namibian people. Guerrillas in Rhodesia and South Africa have frequently raided police posts and captured weapons.

### Irresistible Historical Trend

The just struggle of the African national-liberation movement is supported by the peoples of Africa and all over the world. At the African Heads of State and Government Meeting in Addis Ababa last June, a resolution was adopted strongly condemning the imperialist scheme for a "dialogue" with the minority racist regime of South Africa. The summit conference of East and Central African countries in Mogadishu last October 7 declared: "There could be no compromise or concession made about freedom, dignity and respect of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa. Consequently, the only alternative left to Africa is to use all means available to them to change the abominable and hateful policies of apartheid, colonialism and racialism." The African Liberation Committee decided not long ago to increase the African countries' support to the African liberation movements and enable them to achieve greater victories in the coming year.

Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution. This is an irresistible historical trend in today's world. Persisting in protracted armed struggle and strengthening their unity, the African people who have not yet attained independence will certainly achieve final victory in their struggle for national liberation.



William P. Rogers -  
the foreign minister  
of the United States

## DOCUMENTS

THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

December 9, 1971

Dear Mr. Minister.

I refer to the series of discussions that have taken between our two Governments designed to enhance our political, economic, and cultural relations and in particular to the discussions that have centered on Portugal's development programs in the fields of education, health, agriculture, transportation, and science.

As a result of these discussions, the United States agrees, within the limitations of applicable United States legislation and appropriations, to help Portugal in its development efforts by providing the following economic assistance:

1. A PL-480 program that will make available agricultural commodities valued at up to \$15 million during FY-1972 and the amount during FY 1973. The terms of the agreements under PL-480 will be 15 years at 4 1/2 percent interest, with an initial payment of 5 percent and currency use payment of 10 percent.

2. Financing for certain projects of the Government of Portugal, as follows. The two Governments have reviewed development projects in Portugal valued at \$400 million and the United States Government declares its willingness to provide, in accordance with the usual loan criteria and practices of the Eximbank, financing for these projects.

3. The hydrographic vessel USNS Kellar on a no cost basis, subject to the terms of a lease to be negotiated.

4. A grant of \$1 million to fund educational development projects selected by the Government of Portugal.

5. \$5 million in "drawing rights" at new acquisition value of any non-military excess equipment which may be found to meet Portuguese requirements over a period of two years. The figure of five million dollars is to be considered illustrative and not a maximum ceiling so that we may be free to exceed this figure if desired.

As soon as the Government of Portugal replies to this letter, discussions shall be initiated to implement the details of each of the individual items listed herein.

Sincerely yours,

William P. Rogers

His Excellency  
Rui Patricio  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
of Portugal

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

1. P.L.-480 Program - In FY 1972 and again in FY 1973 we will provide agricultural commodities valued at \$15 million. The GOP will use the funds generated by the program for economic and social development.
2. EXIM Bank - Subject to review of individual loan requests, we have agreed to make EXIM financing available for various development projects.
3. USNS Kellar - This hydrographic vessel will be loaned on a no-cost basis to the COP and will be used for oceanography.
4. \$1 Million - This sum is being furnished to assist the COP in educational development programs.
5. Non-Military Excess Equipment - Drawing rights for some \$5 million in non-military excess over a two year period are established.
6. Waiver of MAAG Support - We will waive the \$175,000 support payment for MAAG Lisbon for a two year period.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

December 9, 1971

Dear Mr. Minister.

During the recent discussions between our two Governments regarding possible participation by my Government in the plans which your Government has drawn up for the economic and social development of your country, Portuguese and American technicians have reviewed various Portuguese proposals with a total value of some \$400 million. These included, inter alia, projects for airport construction, railway modernization, bridge-building, electric power generation, mechanisation of agriculture, harbor construction and town planning, and the supplying of equipment for schools and hospitals.

I am pleased to inform you that the United States Government is willing to provide, through the Export-Import Bank of the United States, financing for U.S. goods and services to be used in these projects, in accordance with the usual loan criteria and practices of the Bank. Applications for loans or preliminary commitments covering specific projects may be submitted to the Bank through the Portuguese Embassy in Washington or directly at any time and will receive expeditious handling.

Sincerely yours,

William P. Rogers

His Excellency,  
Rui Patricio,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
of Portugal.

## No to the Secret Diplomacy

by Antonio Neto

As far back as anybody can remember "war" and "peace" and other forms of gangsterism organized by the imperialist states on an international level have a label: secret diplomacy. Unequal agreements, "peace treaties", "treaties of alliance", "stated agreements", "doctrines" and other forms of secret bargaining (1) have decided the fate of millions of people on this planet. These agreements have been reached after having been prepared carefully by a handful of imperialist masters who continue to believe that they can decide over the sun and the rain. It is up to the revolutionary and anti-imperialist organizations to denounce publicly the permanent scandal that the secret diplomacy is.

### A GHASTLY TRUTH: THE LETTER FROM WILLIAM ROGERS TO HIS VALET.

As we all know, the diplomatic trick of the United States towards Southern Africa in general and particularly the Portuguese colonies is full of qualitative and quantitative reactionary principles (2). You can find on page 44 and 45 one more proof of the close cooperation between the Portuguese government and the government of the United States. It is a letter from Mr. William Rogers to his docile valet-de-chambre, the so called minister of Foreign affairs of Portugal, Rui Patricio. This correspondence is a scandal. How can one believe the United States when they assure that they are "on the side of the African people" fighting against colonialism? This correspondence shows that the US claims to defend the freedom in the Portuguese colonies is a forgery. What can we learn from this?

### US IMPERIALISM: ONNIPOTENT DISPENSER OF FOOD-STUFF, CANNONS AND MISERY.



*child wounded by napalm  
made in the United States*

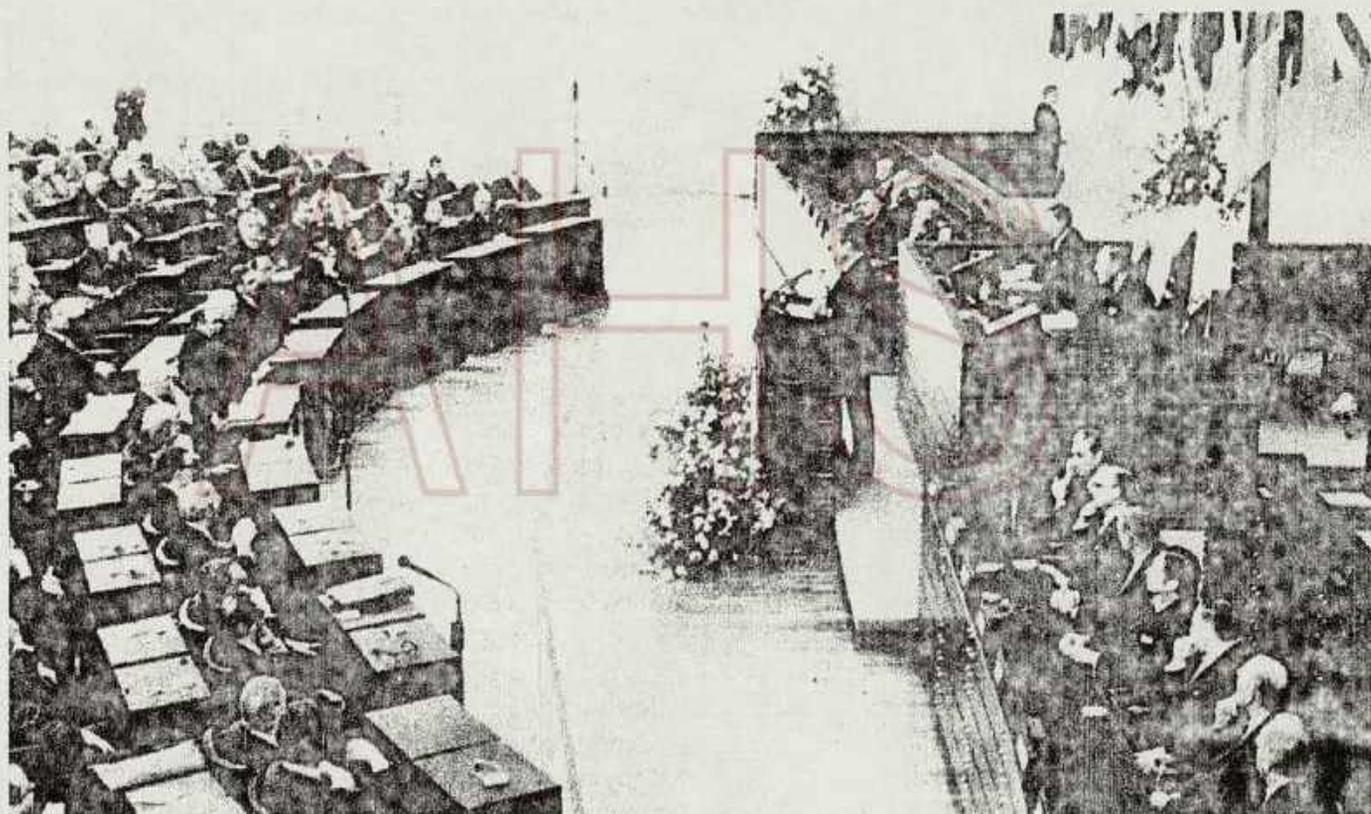
The small colonialist Portugal wages in our time the three most important aggressive wars of its history. Why does Portugal receive American aid? Which are the conditions to be fulfilled in order to receive this aid? "The principles of the foreign economic assistance", edition 1965 Washington, p.20, points out that: "Aid of support is granted in order to contribute in achieving the urgent aims of the United States' national security and foreign policy in cases where the ordinary criteria for development loans are lacking". The United



*the smile of the giver*

States also practice other forms of "aid". Mr. Rogers quotes in his letter the PL 480 or "law on aid and development of trade with agricultural products". The receiver country must practice a domestic and foreign policy in favour of the United States; the country should have a "friendly" attitude towards the USA and "share the opinion of the USA on the world crisis" (3).

A US agency for so called international development, "AID", is undertaking to prepare the climate for favourable investments; it has specialized particularly in "non-military" aid, in "development loans", in "loans for sector, plan and programme". - A fourth kind of "aid" is the loans given by the Export-Import Bank of the United States (EXIM BANK) under Rockefeller control. The experts of this bank, in order to study the project in loco, carry out economical espionage on behalf of the US government. But there are also interdictions. The Law 480 forbids to grant loans and subventions in national currency for fabrication of goods which directly or indirectly might compete with US goods. This goes also for the Rockefeller bank.



*NATO: the permanent conspiracy against our people.*

A fifth kind of "aid" guaranteed by several states is the so called "multilateral aid". The giver countries are in fact organized like genuine Trade Unions acting in favour of the imperialist exploitation. This aid often includes hideous tricks like the one percent of the GNP for the so called developing countries who come to beg for this one percent as if they were at the wall of whining. This "multilateral aid" is often well camouflaged and can have a regional character. The result is the same - capitalist exploitation by a fraction of world imperialism. In the case of Portugal and other receiver countries such "aid" often implies imperialist contradictions inside of NATO, EFTA, the European Common Market etc. The goal to be reached is to prevent the capitalist economic system from falling into pieces. Portugal being ruled by a narrow-minded government with fossilized theories, fulfills all the conditions for receiving a substantial "aid" granted by imperialism.

a) ACTA EST FABULA

According to the letter of Dec 9 1971 the programme 480 foresees the deliverance of US agricultural commodities at terms of agreement: 15 years and repayable in dollars. So Portugal is going to buy this consumer goods using foreign currency of which it is disposing as it has opened up the colonies (especially Angola and Mozambique) to systematic exploitation of raw materials.

It's well known that Portuguese agriculture being short of manpower is not "competitive". This is due to the protectionist policy of Salazar-Caetano, which favours the agricultural bourgeoisie. The capitalist economy is now enforcing the exportation of manpower to the rest of Europe (France, West Germany) thereby depopulating the Portuguese countryside. At this point Rogers intervenes with his aid setting up an economic and social "development" programme which in fact is only aiming at the mechanisation of the agriculture of the big estates (e.g. that of Caetano in Alentejo) at a cost of \$ 15 million. The bourgeoisie is hurrying to aid the bourgeoisie.

Rogers's correspondence is pointing out a constant of the US policy in relation to fascism. The EXIM Bank is arranging credits at 4,5 percent rate for 15 years despite normal credits of this bank (4) being for 13 years at 5 percent rate. The EXIM Bank is using this policy towards some other countries as well (5). E.g. "AID is concentrating its aid in Africa to those states where US interests are important and who are offering the best perspectives" (6). Today those states are South Africa, Tunisia, Nigeria, Liberia, Zaïre, Algeria and Ethiopia. In Asia there is already the policy of "vietnamisation". In Europe Portugal, Greece, Turkey and Spain are looked upon as secure.

b) PURCHASE FROM US

Mr Rogers is clearly pointing out that "non-military" surplus and services should be bought from US, 5 million in dollars. It might be a question of goods no longer used by the American army. The servility to the US isn't only due to the base of the Azores. The opinion has been cheated by guides of opinion like "The Times", "Le Monde", etc.

The US is going to waive the \$ 175 000 support payment for MAAG Lisbon for a two year period. This means a military assistance to the Lisbon regime which is important for the continued war of aggression in Angola, Mozambique and Guinee-Bissau. The US denies that one single dollar is going to be used in the colonial wars. But this is a blatant lie! The letter of Mr Rogers is clearly pointing out the contrary. To the above-mentioned amount should be added another titbit of the war: the ship USNS KELLAR is going to be delivered freely to the Portuguese regime. Of course it's going to be used in the war, because there is a great need for ships and aeroplanes for the transports of troops and weaponry. (E.g. it's proved that the ship CARVALHO DE ARAUJO is transporting troops.) It could be that the American government has now decided to sell its surplus ships.

c) MILITARIZED EDUCATION

In his letter Rogers says that the amount appropriated for the puppet regime in Lisbon is going to be used for projects like construction of airfields, modernisation of railways, construction of harbours, etc - fields of great importance to the war, demanding modern technology, big capital and technicians. In the letter it's not precisely pointed out where those projects are localized but knowing the vital needs of the Portuguese regime one suspects of course that some of this amount is going to be used in the colonial war. Portugal has to make a choice bet-

ween a policy of economic and social development and the continuation of aggressive war which is stepping up the militarization of the economy. If the Portuguese opposition calmly witnesses the policy of the Portuguese regime of adapting the country to the European integration, the socialism pursued during 40 years by the opposition will once again be postponed. Caetano's liberalisation is a myth, distrusted even by the US regime. Still the American government is granting one million dollars for education in Portugal. Caetano, that hypocrite professor, former lawyer of CUF (Companhia União Fabril), now prime minister thanks to the bourgeoisie, is preparing to shut down schools and the School of Technology because of "subversion". He is planning the militarization of the university education to educate officers and others for the army, the air force and the navy. It's useful to compare what is required of candidates for entrance to the navy school of Lisbon today and what was required 10 years ago! The demands give entrance to another sort of students today than 10 years ago. One thing is easy to understand: the guys of dad have deserted and are gone abroad.

#### d) DRINKING-BOUT AT FORT BRAGG

Lisbon doesn't hesitate to send officers to Fort Bragg, US, to be educated in psychological and anti-gerilla warfare. In 1968 107 soldiers were sent to US at a cost of \$ 120 000. In 1969 and 1970 US formed more than 226 officers and soldiers. In 1970 33 Portuguese officers were educated for psychological and anti-gerilla warfare at Fort Bragg. This course was also attended by some puppets from Latin America and Asia. These soldiers can be seen as expensive imports to Portugal from the US paid by foreign currency. There are other programmes as well, with France and West Germany. And didn't the "crown-prince" of Portugal train the driving of Alouette helicopters before leaving for Mozambique? In France the conditions to get the French base on the Azores are passed over by silence. But the deal was good as Lisbon has now quite a number of Alouette II, III, Puma, Super Frélon, frigates, sub-marines, etc. The bourgeois press, lead by Decraene, Gilbert Conte and equals (7) doesn't say a word about this. It isn't just because of \$ 500 million for "charitable purpose" that the Lisbon-clique has exposed the economically profitable colonies (Angola and Mozambique) to imperialism. Due to childish ignorance of those facts some leftist persons look upon the war in Angola as a "baby-war". Other persons are babbling about the luzo-afro-brasilian community going to be realized through gaullist-styled dialogue. Others look upon the war as a fight between two men.

#### CONCLUSION

In fact it is above all a struggle for national independence against a decadent, mouldered, absurd and rotten colonialism, safe-guarded by NATO and the frenetic Nixon-doctrines. Portugal wouldn't any more be on the African stage without the support of France, Belgium, Italy, US and South Africa. Those are the veritable filibusters at work!

Portugal is now in an impasse. There is no other possibility to get out of the problems caused by colonialism than a radical change of the political structures. And the outmoded rigidity of the Lisbon politicians prevents them from guiding their country in the direction of peace and democracy (8).

Our people and its revolutionary vanguard, the MPLA, are going to expose all imperialist intrigues to attain our objective. We are going to smash the enemy and conquer complete independence.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

#### Footnotes

(1) E.g. "Treaty of Tordesilhas", "Conference of Berlin" (1885), the well known Monroe doctrine concerning Latin America, "the agreement" of Bret-

# NEWS:

- KINSHASA: An agreement has been reached between MPLA and FNLA concerning the unity of the Angolan nationalism.
- TIMOR: Guerrilla movement started in September 1971 in this Portuguese colony situated in Asia. The Portuguese authorities have kept silent about this.
- NEW YORK: Comrade Manuel Jorge, representative of MPLA in Italy, addressed to the Security Council debate on the Portuguese colonies. This happened in November on the debate were also representatives from FRELIMO and PAIGC.



### Our publications:

- Angola in arms (in English), P.O.Box 20790, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania.
- Vitória ou morte (in French), B.P. 2353, Brazzaville, Congo.
- Flash sur l'Angola (in French and English), P.O.Box 1595, Lusaka, Zambia.
- Victoire est Certaine (in French), 38/40 rue Didouche Mourad P.44 D<sup>e</sup> Algiers, Algeria

- MPLA News (in English), published in Stockholm
- MPLA Bulletin (in Danish)
- MPLA Informations (in French)
- MPLA Informaçoes (in Portuguese)
- SÄGERN ÅR SÄKER (in Swedish)

### Publications from FRELIMO:

- Mozambique Revolution (in English), P.O.Box 15274, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania.
- Revolution Mozambique (in French), 26 rue de la Liberté, Algier, Algeria.

### Publications from PAIGC:

- PAIGC Actualités (in French), P.O.Box 298 Conakry, Guinea Republic, and B.P. 2319 Dakar, Sénégal.

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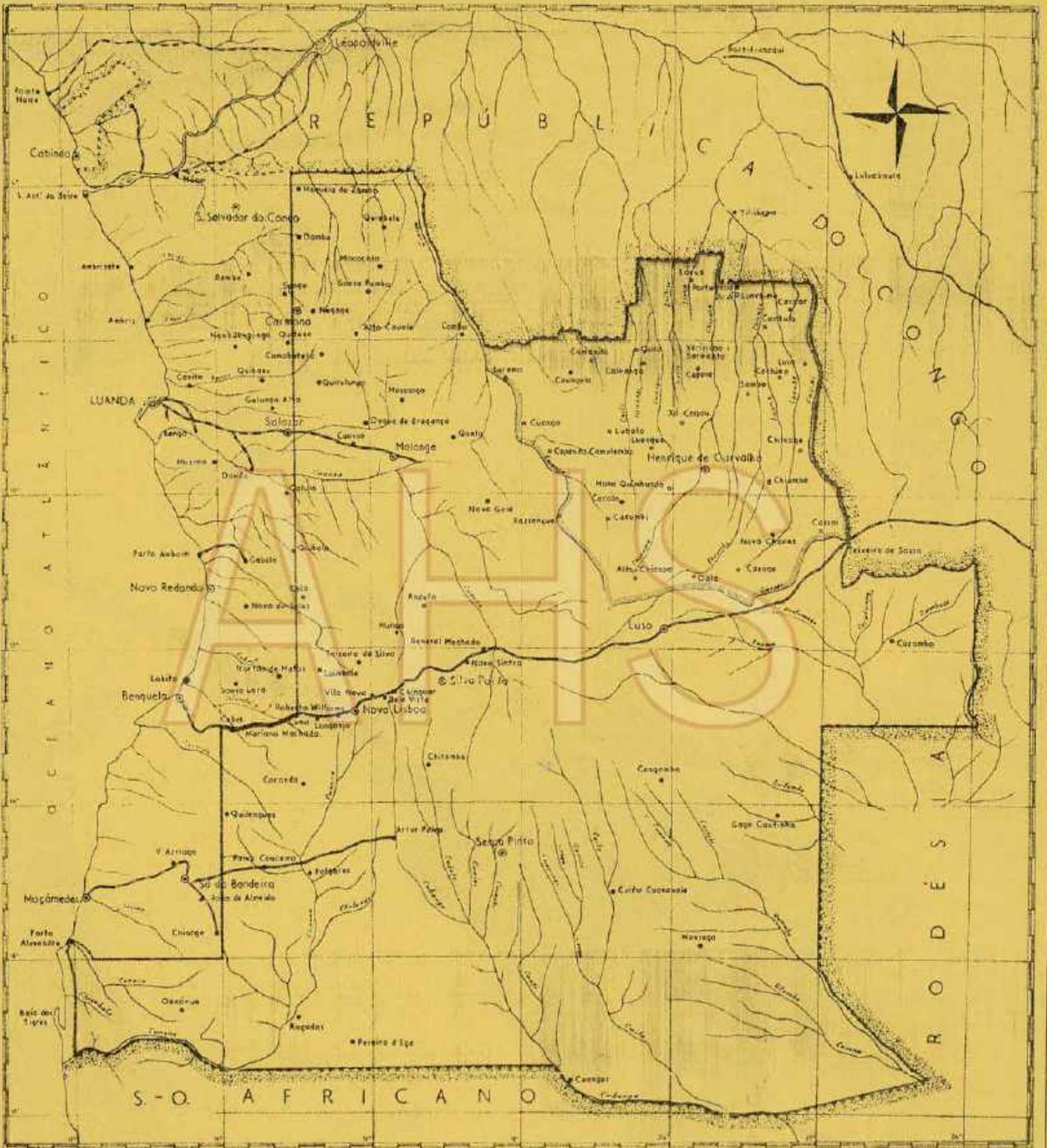
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# THE KINGDOM OF THE DIAMANG

## MAP OF ANGOLA



- |                 |     |                         |   |
|-----------------|-----|-------------------------|---|
| Concession Area | □   | Capital of Province     | ⊙ |
| Luanda District | ▭   | District Headquarters   | ⊙ |
| Railways        | —+— | "Concelho" Headquarters | • |
| Rivers          | —~— | Luanda Posts            | ⊙ |

*Vu d'un hélicoptère militaire, l'un des camps où les Portugais enferment la population autochtone pour la « protéger » des tentations de la guérilla.*

