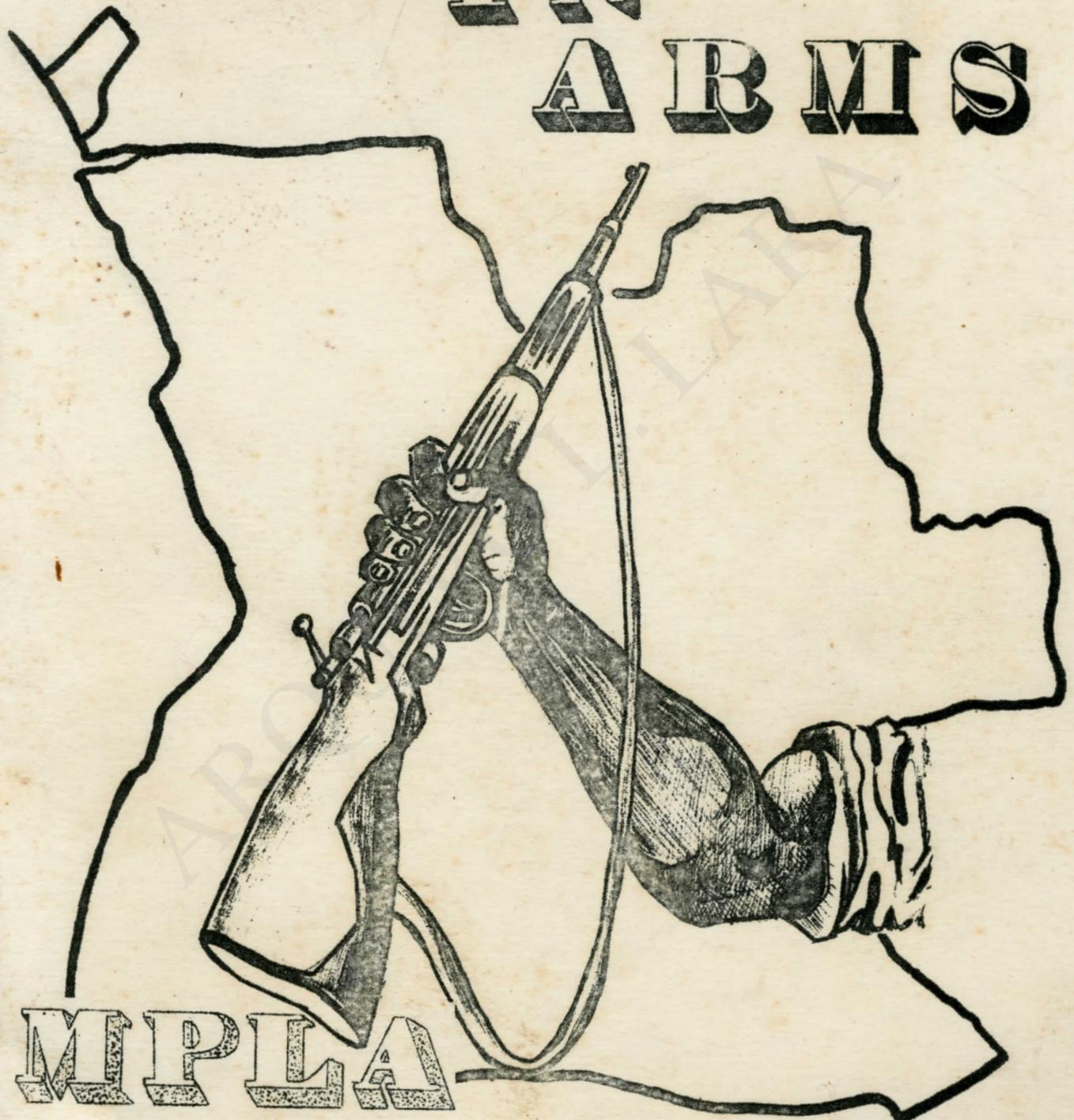


# ANGOLA IN ARMS



**MPLA**

**4TH FEBRUARY**

M.P.L.A.

1970



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9 YEARS

# The **4TH FEBRUARY** a glorious date in the history of the **Angolan People**

On the Fourth of February 1970, the MPLA is commemorating not only the ninth anniversary of the armed struggle in Angola, but also the thirteenth anniversary of the founding of the MPLA (founded on 10 December 1956), as well as the tenth anniversary of the United Nations Declaration on the Independence of the Colonial Peoples.

All these dates are of tremendous significance to the irreversible development of Angolan society.

On the Fourth of February, a group of MPLA militants marked, with blood and fire, a qualitative change in our people's desire to be free from all kinds of foreign domination, to restore their dignity and to be individualised in a harmonious grouping of nations.

Slowly but surely, this spark throughout the country, attaining all social strata, every region in the country, in a vast upheaval of popular action which no repression will ever again be able to contain.

The political scene in the country changed completely and the Portuguese colonialists - the declared enemies of our people, a people they oppress, exploit and are now violently and savagely repressing - cannot conceal their indefensible position or the daily loss of soldiers, PIDE agents, merchants and colonial administrators. The Portuguese colonialists were only able to occupy Angola at the cost of great effort, bloodshed and material means. But all the resources they use to defend their po

sitions can ensure them of no more than a temporary stay on our national territory. Their defeat is inevitable.

Today even the most faithful allies of Portuguese colonialism now and then show their disagreement with the maintenance of the status quo under circumstances when even defending the interests of international capitalism already suggests the use of new formulas for relations between colonies and the metropolitan countries. But the revolutionary upsurge born of the national liberation struggle will never be extinguished. Weapons can not but play their role in the total transformation of relations between men in Angola. Colonialist violence will be submerged by the revolutionary upsurge.

In 1960, the United Nations Organisation recognised the right of the colonial people to self-determination and independence. This fact universalised the acceptance of the principle, although the dominating powers continued to resist requests for the application of this same principle, such as the armed demands of our people.

Like a ray of sunshine widening on the horizon, the armed struggle of the Angolan people is also projecting itself over the Portuguese people themselves, who have been living under fascism for more than forty years. They are well aware that it is not in their interests to use methods of bloody repression against our people. They know that the very same capitalist interests which are at stake in their own country are what is being defended by the innocent sons of the Portuguese people. There are no insoluble contradictions between the Angolan people and the Portuguese people. It would be possible to establish friendly relations based on mutual respect.

It is for this reason that the struggle against the colonial war has been developing in Portugal and that this problem has been at the centre of debates between democrats and supporters of the fascist government.

The liberation of Angola and the other Portuguese colonies is not a purely national problem. Closely bound up with the problems of the peoples of the African continent as a whole, it deeply concerns the Portuguese people and the peoples throughout the world, in whose interests it is that there should be peaceful development towards a future of just relations between all men.





# NATO is supplying Portugal to make war

As has already been stated and re-stated hundreds of times, Portugal is in every respect the most backward country in Europe and its military capacity could never be anything but extremely weak, quite insufficient to be of any account in the balance of forces between the socialist and capitalist camps.

Why, therefore, has Portugal been a member of NATO for more than 20 years? Why are the United States, West Germany, France, Italy, Great Britain and other western countries giving the colonial fascist Portuguese regime military, economic, financial and diplomatic support, flouting United Nations resolutions often supported by these very same countries?

The answers to these questions are stated in the most barefaced way in NATO documents, and not merely in terms of bilateral relations between Portugal and the governments of NATO countries.

It was the USA which proposed Portugal for membership of the Atlantic Pact in 1949, the major consideration being the important strategic position of the territories occupied by Portugal in Africa. According to NATO strategists, the strategic im-

portance of Portugal's African colonies makes them the key to the defence of the South Atlantic. With their 1,816 kilometres of coastline, Angola and Guinea may be considered decisive to the defence of the Atlantic. It can therefore be said that the Portuguese colonies are intended to play a crucial role in the belligerent plans of the aggressive NATO bloc, especially with the renewed importance of the Cape route since the closure of the Suez Canal.

Portugal's main suppliers are the United States of America, the German Federal Republic, France, Britain, Italy and Belgium.

The Portuguese Airforce is largely equipped with aircraft of American origin: 50 F-84 Thunderjets, 50 North American F-86 Sabres, 30 Cessna T-37 C's, 12 Lockheed P-2V Neptunes and 20 Douglas B-26's. These are the planes that go out on missions of repression against the Angolan civilian population. And they are also the planes that the MPLA guerrillas are already starting to shoot down, showing the Portuguese comic opera generals that their impunity in the air is nearing its end.

In addition to American aircraft, the Portuguese Airforce also

has 50 Alouette 3's and 7 Alouette 2's supplied by the French government, and 40 Fiat G-91's manufactured in the GFR under Italian licence. The Portuguese army and navy are also equipped with material supplied through NATO channels.

Between 1967 and 1969, France supplied Portugal with 4 frigates and 4 submarines valued at 100 million dollars.

In order to facilitate the equipment of the Portuguese army with light arms, the German Federal Republic has granted Portugal a licence to manufacture, the G-3 automatic rifle which, together with the Belgian FAL, is the basic weapon of the Portuguese army operating in Angola and the other Portuguese colonies.

A description of all the war material the NATO countries have given Portugal would be lengthy and necessarily incomplete. Information about many of the deals has not yet been leaked, and they are certainly not insignificant.

There is a further aspect of the problem which is of capital importance and which to a great extent explains the overall support colonial and fascist Portugal receives from the aggressive NATO bloc, and that is the economic aspect.

Portugal is using about 10% of its gross national product (GNP) and 50% of its budget in the colonial war. This is more than ample proof that Portugal could

never finance a war on three fronts without the "charitable" loans of the USA, West Germany and the other Atlantic Treaty countries, which have been joined by one of Portugal's most important partners at the present moment, South Africa.

"That Portugal does not need loans to defend the Fatherland (Portugal and the colonies, to the colonial fascist mind) has been more than proved. But the country needs very considerable external aid to replace national resources diverted from economic expansion to the war effort." This is how former Portuguese Minister of State Correia de Oliveira explains the Portuguese "miracle" in the purest spirit of colonial logic.

Needless to say, it is the NATO countries that are supplying the capital which is intended to replace the resources diverted from economic expansion to the war effort !

Increasingly penetrated by South African capital, the Angolan economy is gradually becoming a subsidiary of the South African one. Since their take-over of the economy of their client states in Southern Africa is already an accomplished fact, in order to implement their aggressive strategy to the full, the Pretoria racists need to control the economic life of Angola and Mozambique as a precondition to the execution of their expansionist plans. As racist Minister of Defence Botha has clearly stated, the frontier of South



MPLA political commissar, "Danger" (standing) and one of the men of the guerrilla unit, inspect captured NATO-style arms.

Africa begins at the river Congo...!

But the effects of the colonial war are felt above all in Portugal itself. In 1967, there were 70,000 soldiers in Angola alone, the largest concentration of troops of all the fighting colonies put together. Now, since the introduction of the law extending the period of compulsory military service, and especially owing to the generalisation of the armed struggle, colo-

nial military effectives must be very much greater!

According to official Portuguese sources, between 31 December 1967 and 2 November 1968, 1,007 soldiers and officers were put out of action in Angola. Of course, this figure is far from reflecting the true situation. It would have to be multiplied four or five times. But at least it shows that Angola is not the "oasis of peace" the colonialist propaganda services proclaim it

to be.

Also, they cannot escape the fact that about 260,000 young Portuguese emigrated in 1966, making Portugal the country with the highest emigration rate in the world !

The Angolan people and their clear-sighted vanguard, the MPLA, are fully conscious of the importance of Southern Africa in general, and of Angola in particular, within the context of the global strategy of imperialism.

Guided by the MPLA, today the Angolan people are fighting not only colonial fascist Portugal, but also the combined power of the NATO countries and their complementary allies, such as

South Africa, the outpost of imperialism in Africa.

The Angolan people are confronting the reactionary strategy of imperialism with revolutionary war.

And today about one-third of Angolan territory is under MPLA control. There is armed struggle in ten of the fifteen districts in the country, and under the leadership of the MPLA, the Angolan people to a man are prepared to make every sacrifice until such time as the last colonialist is thrown into the sea.

The memory of men like glorious Commander Hoji ia Henda guides the fighting Angolans, who are conscious and sure that :

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## **Victory is Certain!**

### IN TRIBUTE TO THE ANGOLAN HEROES

all the comrades who leave the familiar life, the comfortable life, their children, mothers and wives to devote themselves fully to the liberation of Angola; to those at home and abroad who are giving the best of themselves, to all of them we pay the most affectionate tribute.

Forward Angolan People! With our MPLA to guide us and the example of our heroes, to encourage us, we shall advance with ever surer steps towards the reconquest of our country.

# **A COMMON ENEMY, A COMMON STRUGGLE!**

Today we are celebrating the Fourth of February, the Angolan people's historic day and the start of their protracted armed struggle for national liberation. In commemorating the Fourth of February, we also express our solidarity with the brothers peoples of Guinea Bissau and Mozambique, paying tribute to them in the struggle they are waging against our common enemy.

The peoples of Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique have taken up arms to fight against poverty and exploitation, ignorance and slavery, and to win their right to life and independence, in order that they may take their rightful place in the great family of the free world and participate in the struggle against imperialism.

In their fight against Portuguese colonialism and against imperialism, the Angolan people and their vanguard movement, the MPLA, are actively developing their solidarity with the brother peoples of Guinea Bissau and Mozambique, and also with the other people who are fighting imperialist oppression and manoeuvres.

The solidarity which exists between the three authentic liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies is shown by the unity of action defined by the objectives of the CONCP (Conference of Nationalist Organisations of the Portuguese Colonies). These objectives are to contribute in every way to the hastening of the total liquidation of Portuguese colonialism; to coordinate the activities of the fighting organisations in the Portuguese colonies in the common struggle for national liberation; to strengthen solidarity and cooperation between the fighting organisations of the peoples under Portuguese domination, and uncompromisingly to de-

defend the national liberation movement in the Portuguese colonies against manoeuvres aimed at weakening it or at imposing new forms of oppression and exploitation on the peoples in these colonies.

In Mozambique, FRELIMO is fighting in three of the country's provinces - Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete. We wish our Mozambican brothers every success in advancing the struggle and extending it throughout their country, in order to deal the final blows to the colonialist enemy.

Also in Mozambique, a large part of the country is under the control of the patriots. Schools, health services and administrative institutions have been set up and the people living in those regions are living a new life.

In Guinea Bissau, the PAIGC has won brilliant victories in the armed struggle against the colonialists. The PAIGC has succeeded in liberating more than two-thirds of the country. In the liberated regions, the PAIGC is developing trade, education, health services and so on. A new life is being constantly improved upon and they are advancing along the path which will restore to the people of Guinea the independence lost centuries ago, together with their dignity and their rightful place in the world.

In Angola, with guerrillas operating in ten of the country's fifteen districts, the MPLA can state with confidence that a long road has been travelled, despite the difficulties encountered notably abroad, where forces allied with colonialism are actively against the authentic liberation movements, whose purpose is the liberation of the oppressed peoples of our continent and the liquidation of the colonial empire.

# The MPLA and its mass organisations

The Revolution in Angola has developed because the conditions existed for a national liberation struggle : the oppression of the exploiters over the exploited; the possibility of a great percentage of the people uniting against the common enemy and the existence of a single organisation capable of coordinating the action of the Angolan people against Portuguese colonialism. This organisation was the MPLA which, since its founding and throughout nine years of armed struggle, has been the guide and vanguard of our people.

At the present moment, the tasks of the struggle are determined by the advance of the protracted revolutionary war. The generalisation of the armed struggle is a fact and, therefore , the mobilisation of the masses of the people is one of the MPLA's greatest concerns. Under its politico-military leadership, our Movement is not only leading the war against colonial administration, but it is also administering the areas under its control and carrying out intensive work among the masses of the people.

The MPLA has established its mass organisations for the purpose of mobilising and organising the Angolan people; organisations for the youth, the Youth of the MPLA; for women, the Organisation of Angolan Women (OMA); for children, who have their Pioneer organisation, and the workers are mobilised through the National Union of Angolan Workers (UNTA), all of which, arms in hand, inside Angola, are carrying out their activities within the ambit of our Movement.

The Angolan Youth has important tasks to perform in the national liberation struggle. Young Angolans are performing them

In the areas under MPLA control, our Movement has set up organisations which are guiding the administration of the people, such as the militia and bodies for the development of production, research into methods of developing these regions economically, commercial exchange, education, medical care and so on.

The persistence of colonial domination is due purely and simply to the massive support the Portuguese colonialist government receives from the imperialist powers grouped within NATO, among which the United States, Federal Germany, France, Great Britain and Italy are playing the major role. Moreover, everyone knows that it is thanks to this NATO help that Portugal has kept its colonies up to now and is managing to face up to the advancing armed struggle in these territories.

However, despite this massive help, Portugal will never be able to shatter our people's will for freedom and independence. No change in colonial policy can weaken our determination to fight the Portuguese colonialists.

The peoples in the Portuguese colonies, led by their vanguard movements, the MPLA in Angola, the PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau and FRELIMO in Mozambique, are fighting and will continue to fight side by side against our common enemy until the final and complete victory of our peoples.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN !

with courage and dignity, fully conscious of their duties as patriots and MPLA militants. With enthusiasm the youth of Angola, at the same time as fighting against Portuguese colonialism, are seeking to increase their knowledge and therefore, prepare themselves to give independent Angola a life of progress justice. In addition to their own education, the Youth of our Movement are concerned with the ideological training of the masses of the people and the fight against illiteracy. Our young people, who are courageously fighting the enemy invader, know that they must mobilise increasing numbers of our people, transforming their compatriots into militants of our Movement genuinely fighting for the independence of Angola and defending the interests of the people.

The Organisation of Angolan Women carries out its activities in conjunction with those of the MPLA, spreading to all the zones under our Movement's control on the three combat fronts. Divided into branches which operate in the 5 MPLA Military Regions, the OMA makes its full contribution to our people's liberation struggle. For the first time the Angolan woman is taking a full part in the life of her people, in conditions of full equality of rights. In addition to the work she always does, in the ranks of the MPLA the Angolan woman is now the valuable assistant and companion of the fighters who see in her a companion in arms and a sister in the struggle. Since she has an active voice and is listened to, her opinion respected at meetings, in action committees and assemblies of our Movement, the Angolan woman is starting a new life of freedom and progress.

The Angolan children merit the MPLA's special care and affection. Through their Pioneer organisation, our Movement is working to train the future citizens of Angola, who are already actively and militantly participating in the liberation struggle of their country and who will be the defenders of the gains of

the Angolan Revolution. The MPLA Pioneer has as his symbols the weapon, the hoe and the book, which represent the three principal activities of the life in the guerrilla areas of Angola.

The MPLA is fighting for the total and effective liberation of the working masses who are suffering the brunt of Portuguese colonial domination in Angola most directly. Our country's working class has never had any protection under the colonial regime. In the enemy-occupied areas, the working masses are controlled by the organs of police and military repression, which is becoming increasingly ferocious and bloody. Aimed at preventing the penetration of the working masses by political and trade union forces which would organise them and raise their consciousness, these repressive measures prove the determination of the Portuguese authorities to defend traditional methods of exploiting and enslaving Angolans at all costs. The vacuum created by the colonial authorities, which forbid any kind of organisation of Angolan workers, has been filled by the MPLA in collaboration with the National Union of Angolan Workers (UNTA), and important work is being carried out among the working people of our country. For the mobilisation of the peasants, for organising agricultural cooperatives and for clandestine work in the urban centres, the MPLA is awakening the Angolan worker and preparing him to participate in the struggle for national independence, telling him about the rights and rewards he will enjoy in the future free Angola, where there will be no place for the exploitation of man by man.

With the intensive mobilisation of the masses, the Revolution is advancing, the people are uniting in the struggle and the days of the end of colonial oppression are approaching. Angola will be an independent and sovereign country, whether the enemies of the Angolan people like it or not.

# IN TRIBUTE TO THE ANGOLAN HEROES

We wish to pay tribute to all the Angolan heroes who, throughout these five centuries of Portuguese domination, have led the Angolan people to struggle against foreign control.

In past centuries the international situation favoured Portugal. Who would have thought of helping Africa at a time when there were tyrannical regimes in Europe itself, where the people were also near slaves ?

The Angolan people fought with whatever weapons they had, and it can be noted that even in our own century there were uprisings which seriously threatened the Portuguese presence in Angola.

Indeed, in 1906 and 1909, there were great rebellions in Dembos and only in 1918 did the Portuguese succeed in controlling that region.

Between 1913 and 1917, the people in the province of Congo rebelled against being sent to St. Tome as contract labourers.

In 1917 there was rebellion in Seles, in 1924 in Amboim and in 1925 in Ambriz.

Finally, in 1940, there was the last big rebellion in Cubal.



Queen NGINGA MBANDA NGOLA who from 1625 to 1655 successfully led the fight against Portuguese attempts to occupy her kingdom.

Although the Angolan people had never yielded, they realised that in order to defeat an enemy who was growing stronger and who had such powerful allies as the NATO countries, the Angolan people also needed to be better equipped and to take advantage of an international situation which now favoured them. And during the past few decades they waited patiently, forging the men who would be equal to the task of leading them to final freedom.

The distant echo of the ancestral call for freedom resounded in the hearts of the youth. And they advanced with machetes against bayonets and machine-guns, demonstrating to their people and to the world that the hour had come.

When we hear that a small group without automatic weapons resolved to confront guards armed with machine-guns, it seems too daring... But at certain historical moments a limited action is sometimes sufficient to provoke a succession of others !

In Angola, on the Fourth of February, the heroic and courageous action of a group of young men led the entire people to say NO to tyranny. They were well aware that if their arms fell, others would rise up. This is what happened and is still happening in the process of our national liberation struggle.

Our people who have resisted so bravely throughout these nine years of armed struggle and who have given such proof of heroism are the pride of our country ! If it were that the Moxico Front was opened with half a dozen weapons, no one would easily believe it. Yet it is the truth. Fortunately, things are different now, but our fighters are continuing to honour our struggle with great feats, leaving the enemy gasping at so much audacity.

We pay tribute to the heroes who have fallen on the field of honour, immortal in the history of our people, written with blood and tears. Their memory is imperishable. They gave all so that in years to come Angola should be a country from which colonialism, imperialism and the domination of man by man have been banished.

To those who have been in prison since 1955, whether in Angola or deported to Cape Verde and Portugal; to those who have died in exile or in prison, never to see the liberation of our country; to those seized in Congo Kinshasa and murdered in the concentration camp of traitor and puppet Holden Roberto, giving special mention to the brave young Angolans who showed their brothers the way, the whole people participating in the struggle without distinction of sex; to the guerrilla, the worker, the peasant, the intellectual; to those who spend sleepless nights solving the problems of our struggle; to the doctor, the nurse, the teacher, to



IN TRIBUTE TO ANGOLAN HEROES

by Eugénia Neto

I see you fallen, guerrilla so young  
You who offered your life readily,  
Confident in certainty, steadily  
You smiled at the light of the immortal sun.

You who advanced amid fear fearless  
Surrounded by danger and the forest dense  
You who left all for the joy immense  
Of a free country, happy and tearless

When a look at your body so strong and pale  
My soul weeps tormented with sorrow  
I see blood, mountains and horror

And all the tears in death's trail!  
Yet, my brother, we must onward fight!  
To smash to its close slavery's long night.

## SOUTH AFRICAN PENETRATION OF THE ANGOLAN ECONOMY

The Portuguese colonialists are strengthening their relations with the South African racists. It was for this purpose that an Economic Commission for Mozambique and Angola went to South Africa in August last year to set in motion plans for greater South African economic penetration into Angola and Mozambique. A Tripartite Committee was established to study the possibilities of increased of increased foreign trade between the three countries and increased investment by the South African racists in Angola and Mozambique. This Committee, which is controlled by South Africa, is called the SOUTH AFRICA, ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE ECONOMIC PROMOTION COMMITTEE.

With the help of the Portuguese government, in association with Portuguese capitalists and direct investments, the South African racists are little by little taking control of the Angolan economy. In this connection, they have reached agreement with the Portuguese colonialists on the river Cunene and have drawn up very extensive projects for the development of agriculture in part of Angola, the surplus of which is intended for South-West Africa, which will also benefit equally from the Cunene dam, owing to an agreement reached by the two countries in January last year, after five years of top-level negotiations.

South Africa is helping Portugal to build the Gove dam, near Nova Lisboa, in the hope of impeding the advance of the war in Central Angola; it is financing road building in huila and supplying war material to the Portuguese colonialist army; it already controls a part of the fishing industry, is starting oil prospecting in the Cuanza basin and controls certain big commercial, industrial and agricultural enterprises, such as the Uniao

# SOLIDARITY

## WITH ANGOLAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

Slavery, massacres and the systematic destruction of the political, social and economic institutions of the Angolan people have been the results of the "civilising" action carried out by colonialist Portugal in our beloved Angola.

The sacrifices made by the Angolan heroes, like MUTU IA KIEVELA, TCHINDUNDUME and NGINGA MBANDI, have, however, born fruit. Their example was the torch of resistance passed from generation to generation and which today still persists as a greater force in the memory of the heroic Angolan people, fighting for justice and freedom.

Armed rebellions, clandestine struggle, protest movements for the conquest of the sacred right to independence, failures as well as successes, all this has helped to make the Angolan people, with their richer experience, assume their responsibility to struggle. On 10 December 1959, as a result of protracted work among the Angolan people, and especially the workers in the towns and villages, our great MPLA was born in Luanda, being the result of the coming together of a number of clandestine patriotic organisations.

The dynamism and dedication of its militants, its revolutionary programme of struggle, helped to make the MPLA become the most valid interpreter of the aspirations of our people.

Despite violent Portuguese repression which, as from 1959, took the form of mass assassinations, imprisonment and the deportation of hundreds of the MPLA's best militants and leaders, the MPLA successfully made the transition from clandestine struggle

to armed struggle, at the same time defeating a big imperialist aspiration, the attempt to liquidate it in 1963.

For the whole of Angola, scattered with corpses and drenched in the blood of its best sons, there exists the rebellion of a heroic people who will not surrender. Neither threats nor the murders perpetrated by the infamous PIDE, nor the arbitrary imprisonment carried out by the counter-revolutionaries will make the Angolan people, united in the ranks of the Great MPLA, deviate from their road.

The Portuguese colonialists and their repressive police have left indelible stains in all our hearts. Our brains echo with the cries of the prisoners at Tarrafal (Cape Verde), at the prison of S. Paulo in Luanda and the Bay of Triges, the dreadful death camps at Serpa Pinto, Moçamedes, and the hideous prisons scattered throughout Portugal.

In our mountains in our savannas, there is the colour of the blood shed by the bodies lashed with the whip and mutilated by bayonets. In every corner of our country one sees the spectre of the death and the sorrowful memory of those TORN FROM THEIR LAND - THE POLITICAL PRISONERS.

So much bloodshed, so much injustice, but why ?  
Because our people have said ENOUGH !!! Enough of 500 years of robbery and murder !

To silence them the PIDE sends them to concentration camps, or even simply passes a tractor over their heads. When this is not enough, to vent their anger "the beasts of burden" of the colonial regime bury them alive. This is how the colonialists are trying in vain to halt the victorious advance to freedom.

BUT THEY WILL NEVER SUCCEED !

We Angolans swear on the red blood of the martyrs buried in our land, that we will wipe out all the colonialists, murderers and their acolytes with the machine-gun.

The soil of our country will never again be burned with napalm, our sky will never again be streaked by foreign planes which bring only death and devastation.

We will live in peace, happy in a FREE ANGOLA, which will shelter all sincere patriots and those who love justice and progress.

We pay the most sincere and heartfelt tribute to all the Angolan political prisoners who, day after day, are giving evidence of unequalled heroism and for whom the word VICTORY is written in letters of blood.

But within that bloody scene, we do not forget that there are a number of progressive anti-fascist Portuguese who have given, and are still giving their lives so that the shameful history of colonial Portugal should be buried for ever, so that a new history may emerge containing humanitarian and progressive pages, where there is no longer looting and murder and where the words JUSTICE AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE PEOPLES can be written!

But the enemies of the Angolan people are not only the colonialists ! On our own Continent there are counter-revolutionaries in the pay of imperialism who are also against our struggle. And hundreds of patriots for whom REVOLUTION means advancing inside our LAND, fighting and directing the struggle against the colonialists, have been the victims of their savagery. Seized under the most illegal conditions, since in such cases justice does not count, they were submitted to the most medieval tortures.

Beaten in the face and on the soles of their feet, instead of food they were forced to feed on their own excrement.

Our MPLIA has strongly protested against these prisons, in forming the whole world about the obstacles the counter-revolution is putting in the way of our just cause.

This protest found an echo among various progressive organisations. But it cannot be denied that reaction, at the cost of money, can sometimes achieve more successes than the just indignation of a people. These hundreds of conscious Angolan militants, who for years suffered torture in the subterranean cells of the notorious Kinkuzu concentration camp, somewhere in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, were basely and vilely murdered.



IRENE COHEN



ENGRACIA dos SANTOS



DEOLINDA RODRIGUES



TEREZA AFONSO



LUCRECIA PAIM

# BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE during the last six months of 1969

In Angola there has been a substantial increase in the volume of armed struggle in support of the just political demand for the complete and immediate independence of the Angolan people.

Under the leadership of the MPLA, the sole defender of the true interests of the fighting Angolan people, the legitimate representative of their aspirations, there has been activity on a number of combat fronts.

Despite the presence of the considerably more than 70,000 troops the colonial fascist government has concentrated in Angola, and despite the settlers' militia organisations and the foreign mercenaries in the pay of Portuguese colonialism, great victories are scored daily, reflecting honour on the Angolan fighters and their vanguard organisation, the MPLA.

The second half of 1969 was a period of overall progress .

Our Movement's watchword, "generalise the armed struggle throughout our national territory", continued to be implemented, making it possible to introduce important measures for the consolidation of the controlled regions and to adopt new forms of combat.

However, special emphasis should be given to the progress achieved in the Fourth (districts of Lunda and Malange) and

With hatred and bitterness we remember that it was in this same accursed camp that our HEROIC COMPATRIOTS, untiring defenders of the liberation of our country and of the emancipation of the Angolan Woman, DEOLONDA RODRIGUES, IRENE COHEN, ENGRACIA DOS SANTOS, TERESA AFONSO and LUCRECIA PAIM, lost their lives under inhuman conditions. It was in this lair of death that our GREAT COMMANDER BENEDITO, a fighter from the earliest hours, was blinded and finally, died, barbarously murdered.

HOW MONSTROUS !!!!!!!!!!!!!

What an unpardonable crime has been perpetrated by the executioners of our people. We swear vengeance ! Implacable vengeance against the butchers of the ANGOLAN PEOPLE !

DEOLINDA, IRENE, ENGRACIA, TEREZA and LUCRECIA, five young Angolan girls for whom life had smiled with the promise of a limpid and free morning. But the counter-revolution made in unrealisable.

To you, sadly-missed compatriots, who will never see children jumping and playing in our FREE ANGOLA, we swear vengeance. We affirm that we will avenge your blood.

"We shall not then mourn the dead", but we shall make of their blood a balsam to give us more energy, more initiative and more responsibility to do our DUTY.

HONOUR AND GLORY TO OUR ANGOLAN HEROES!  
WHO HAVE SHED THEIR BLOOD SO THAT ANGOLA  
MAY BE FREE, COMPLETELY INDEPENDENCE!

VICTORY IS CERTAIN !

Fifth (district of Bie) Regions.

The process of mobilising and making further went smoothly and according to plan, despite the activity of the Portuguese air force, which bombed and strafed the civilian population in the most barbarous way.

The district of Moxico and Cuando Cubango - which have been under MPLA control since 1967 and the first of which was visited by an OAU Military Commission early in 1969 - were subject to regular air raids during the dry season.

The most common forms of attack were bombing and strafing, together with dropping paratroopers. Troops transported by helicopter were rather frequently involved and they tried to capture the local people in order to imprison them in "Sanzalas da Paz" (peace villages); i.e. internment camps or "strategic hamlets".

As regards the so-called psychological campaign, the enemy continued the use of brisery and threats and stepped up work on economic and social - also strategic - projects, such as hospital and school building and extending and improving the network of roads, runways and airports. Attempts to bribe the population made themselves felt above all in the urban areas, where some Angolans were given jobs and salaries usually reserved for settlers.

In the urban areas the struggle has already advanced beyond the stage of mobilisation and organisation and has entered into its operational stage. A commando from the urban area of Luanda, hijacked a Portuguese plane and forced it to land on the territory of the People's Republic of the Congo, capturing three military men.

During the election period - October 1969 - tremendous agitation shook all the urban areas. The MPLA's watchword calling upon those Angolans allowed to vote to abstain from doing so was adhered to by great majority.

### In the areas under our control

In the areas under our control, activity advanced in especially the following sectors; Defence, the Training of Cadres, Agricultural Production, Education and Medical Care.

All these kinds of activity are interdependent and subject to the major objective which, at the present stage of our struggle, is the generalisation of the armed struggle throughout our national territory.

Defence is ensured by the guerrillas, seconded by the village militia units. The civilian population is also called upon to give its assistance, which is always effective, especially where the defence of the controlled regions is concerned.

The CIR's (Centres of Revolutionary Instruction) ensure the training of politico-military cadres. Each Region now has its CIR and a number of zonal ones. The three to four month courses, depending on the militant's level, make it possible to heighten the militants' political consciousness.

Intensive bombing and the pursuit of the local population by colonial troops have failed to prevent the volume of agricultural production from increasing. Agricultural production, which holds a leading place in the activities in the controlled regions is directed by the trade union leaders of the National Union of Angolan Workers (UNTA) and by leaders of the Organisation of An-

golden Women (OMA). During the six month period referred to, more than 40 cooperatives were formed.

Education warrants the special attention of our Movement, since it is one of the regular activities at every village. Adult literacy courses are also given wherever our Movement is. New text books have been written for use in the schools, which are constantly growing. There are now about 40 schools in operation.

The Portuguese colonialists have admitted to heavy losses during the six-month period.

But resorting to demagogic tactics, Marcelo Caetano has promised "gradual advance towards autonomy", on the one hand, while taking steps to intensify repression, on the other.

Aid to Portugal from the NATO countries is still guaranteed, and South Africa and Rhodesia are strengthening their alliance with Portugal.

Not all the settlers are of the same opinion. A minority of them are against the colonial war, the majority are for maintaining the status quo and the big capitalists uphold the idea of an autonomous white minority regime in the style of South Africa or Rhodesia (perhaps on the same lines as Marcelo Caetano).

We are convinced that any change of attitude on the part of the fascist Portuguese government can come only from the development of the armed struggle in the three African colonies - Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau.

In the meantime, in the regions under our control, under the leadership of the MPLA, the guerrillas and the civilian popu

lation have heroically and effectively resisted every offensive, which made it possible for the Angolan people's armed forces to go on to the attack and to achieve extremely significant victories :

- \* 3 aeroplanes and 2 helicopters shot down
- \* more than 500 troops put out of action
- \* about 30 African traitors eliminated
- \* 20 military vehicles destroyed
- \* a great quantity of weapons captured, especially the G3 and FAL.

The barracks at Caripande, Muie and Lumbala in the Third Region (districts of Moxico and Cuando Cubango), and those at Sangamongo, Miconge and Tchimongo in the Second Region (district of Cabinda) were successfully attacked by our forces, resulting in heavy losses for the colonial army. The Tchimongo barracks were later abandoned by the colonial forces.

Despite the isolation of the guerrilla fighters in the North, in the First Region (districts of Luanda, Cuanza Norte, Zaire and Uige), the armed struggle continued actively, always under the leadership of the Angolan people's organisation, the MPLA. Enemy offensives failed to immobilise the guerrillas there, who retained the initiative. There were a great number of successful armed operations on the outskirts of the capital and this was pretty effective in helping to mobilise the urban youth.

Although the shortage of drugs is a great obstacle to the further expansion of the Medical Assistance Services (SAM), they are operating everywhere where the MPLA is carrying out its political and military activity. There are now five doctors working in all the regions as a whole. Each doctor heads a school for training nurses and each detachment is accompanied by a nurse .

In proportion as the struggle advances, the anachronistic Portuguese colonial system is being dealt ever greater blows by the Angolan people and their vanguard organisation, the MPLA.

Despite Ceatano's demagogic measures and the strengthening of the alliance with South Africa and Rhodesia, supported by NATO, we know that we will make 1970 a year of even greater victories. Fighting, reconstructing and strengthening our solidarity with other oppressed peoples fighting for justice and freedom, the Angolan people are advancing with giant strides towards their sacred objective : the conquest of complete Independence and the reconquest of their lost dignity.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN !