



# ANGOLA in ARMS

Information organ of the

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA



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Vol. 2

## M.P.L.A.'s MILITARY ACTIVITIES

4th FEBRUARY, 1961/4th FEBRUARY, 1971 — 10 YEARS OF  
ARMED STRUGGLE

IT IS still too early to make an assessment covering the whole of 1970, because of the late arrival of communiques for November, December and even October from the remoter areas, and especially because these were the first months of the rainy season, when there is naturally a big upsurge in our activity. However, a general assessment is already possible and certain special features can also be pointed out.

Firstly, from the beginning of the year the MPLA's Armed Forces prepared themselves for the twofold task of facing up to the visible

intensification of enemy offensives and of strengthening themselves structurally in

order to maintain our advance towards the west and north-west.



## EDITORIAL

ON 4 FEBRUARY 1971, the MPLA commemorates the tenth anniversary of armed struggle in Angola. Ten years of heroism during which the finest sons of our land have selflessly given their lives in order that Angola may be free! Ten years of irreversible victories of our people who, over five centuries of foreign domination, never accepted slavery and always fought with courage and determination for the Independence of our country.

The MPLA militants had long before decided to free the leaders and other nationalists held in the Luanda prisons. The reasons for this audacious act were to be found in the climate of terror reigning everywhere in the country and in the national awareness of the masses of the people.

Seizing the opportunity of the presence in Angola of 60 journalists, so that their act would alert world opinion, our comrades resolved to go into action immediately.

The weapons used by the MPLA militants in their assault on the Luanda prisons that historic night of 4 February 1961 were ones they had seized from the hands of the Portuguese police in a previous attack on police Jeeps patrolling the outlying districts of the capital.

And as from that night ten years ago, the hearts of the murderers of the Angolan people have been gripped by insecurity and fear.

The 3,000 patriots massacred on 5 February 1961, in reprisal for the death of a few Portuguese soldiers during the assault on the prisons, were the first in a long list of heroes who have fallen in these ten years, in the fight to win back the Dignity and Independence of the Angolan people.

The MPLA is fighting throughout our national territory! Nothing can deter our people's advance to Victory!

**ANGOLA WILL BE FREE!  
GLORY TO OUR HEROES!**

A necessarily brief analysis of the activity in each region will show the extent to which our aims were realised.

### FIRST REGION

The problem of the lack of freedom of transit across the Democratic Republic of the Congo is still the cause of difficulties in supplying our detachments in this region, although it has not paralysed our activity, our operations are necessarily limited as far as attacks on enemy posts are concerned, but owing to the staunch determination of the MPLA guerrillas, the operations follow one another in rapid succession. The repeated harassment of the Bula Atumba, Kitexe, Kamabatela and Ukua posts, to mention only a few, have been admitted in most of the communiques of the high command of the colonialist forces in Angola.

Although still in the early stages, liaison was established between the guerrillas and the urban resistance, which made possible a large number of small but significant demonstrations in the town of Luanda. The arrest of about a hundred MPLA militants in Luanda, some of

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# EDUCATION — A STRATEGIC FACTOR OF LIBERATION

FOR THE past 14 years, the MPLA has been waging a bitter struggle for the independence of Angola, while at the same time fighting the obscurantism used against our people by the Portuguese colonialists. From the very start of the struggle clandestine schools were a powerful instrument of combat against ignorance and for liberation.

With the launching of the liberation war and its subsequent requirements, the MPLA established specialised services to tackle the various tasks planned in fields which are complementary to the liberation struggle. One of these is the Department of Education and Culture (DEC), which is responsible for education and the training of cadres.

In the liberated regions the schools and centres of Revolutionary Instruction (CIR's) provide children, adults and fighters with the education denied them by colonial domination. The difficulties are being overcome one by one and the infrastructure of truly nationalist education is gradually being consolidated.

During the year 1969-70, we were able to produce a certain number of textbooks to fill certain gaps in primary education. Despite the fact that they are still being run off on duplicating machines for the time being, DEC has been able to supply the MPLA schools with that powerful instrument of study: the book. After corrections suggested as a result of their use, final copies of these textbooks will be produced in printed form.

In September 1969, the first Teachers' Seminar in the south of the Third Region examined some of the problems of education under the harsh conditions of our war and decided to take certain measures which have proved effective. In addition to increasing the number of schools teacher training is the major concern at this stage, since most of the cadres who could be used for this work are always inundated with the manifold tasks which are part and parcel of the war itself.

The training of politico-military cadres at the Centres of Revolutionary Ins-

truction is progressing extremely well. A succession of command leaders, political activists, defenders of the people (militiamen), and leaders for the organ's of people's power, both men and women, have all attended the courses organised by the CIR's, leaving the richer for new knowledge which will help them to fulfil the increasingly complex tasks of the liberation war and the reconstruction of our country.

The secondary education introduced to prepare candidates for university studies includes a crash programme which involves mainly basic subjects. This secondary education precedes the indispensable technical education which is not as yet underway owing to the tremendous material difficulties to be overcome.

A programme is being prepared for bringing out literacy textbooks in the languages of Angola and training literacy teachers. There is also a scheme to build a complex to house the present Fourth of February Hostel and the Angolan Institute of Education at Dolisie (Congo Brazzaville), near the frontier of the Cabinda Region.

The training of nurses (carried out by the Medical Assistance Service) and the teaching of other skills more closely related to military affairs, is also proceeding at a very satisfactory rate.

In carrying out its education programmes, the MPLA has already been able to count on the active solidarity of a few individuals and some institutions. However, the scope and complexity of the task to be fulfilled obliges us to appeal for further manifestations of solidarity, particularly as regards the following urgent needs:

- 1 The construction of a Teaching Complex at Dolisie, comprising five blocks (hostel, Primary school, secondary school, secretariat and kitchen,) with an approximate total of 50 rooms.
- 2 Equipment for the physics, chemistry, zoology, botany and mineralogy laboratories, including wall maps.
- 3 Four Land Rovers (or their equivalent), one of them a van.
- 4 Four typewriters with carriages at least 50 cm.

long and keyboards adapted for the Portuguese language.

- 5 Gestetner-type duplicating machines and accessories.
- 6 Hostel equipment for 500 persons: sheets, camp beds, blankets, towels, covers, plates, mugs, saucers, kettles, tents and knapsacks.
- 7 School material: exercise books, pencils, ball point pens, erasers, coloured pencils, school satchels, drawing sets, rulers, set squares, protractors, geographical maps, skeletons, blackboard compasses and protractors.
- 8 Equipment for agricultural work, including seeds.
- 9 Sports equipment (football, volleyball, basketball, athletics, chess).
- 10 An offset litho machine and screens.
- 11 Three-speed tape-recorders.
- 12 16 mm. movie cameras with projectors and screens.
- 13 Slide projectors.
- 14 Two generating sets.
- 15 Supplementary food for children (milk, wheat flour, oil, tinned foods).

We request all our friends, in considering our needs, to remember that consignments for secondary education should be addressed to:

DEC/MPLA

B.P. 2353

Brazzaville

People's Republic of the Congo

Other consignments should be sent to:

DEC/MPLA

P.O. Box 20793

Dar es Salaam

Tanzania.

We shall be glad to provide any further information, including information on the address to which any particular goods should be sent. And we shall be most deeply grateful for all such help!

For Independence, for  
Education Victory is  
Certain!

DEC No. 2

December 1970.

# War Communique No. 18

## FOURTH MILITARY REGION

### DISTRICT OF LUNDA

THE MPLA's fighting forces are continuing their military operations in such a way as to ensure the carrying out of the watchword: "GENERALISE AND INTENSIFY THE ARMED STRUGGLE THROUGHOUT OUR NATIONAL TERRITORY".

Indeed, more determined and better organised and armed, our guerrilla corps is inflicting ever greater losses on the colonial forces temporarily stationed in Angola and on their Katangese lackeys, who have for a long time now been fighting alongside the Portuguese colonialists against those who are ensuring respect for order, equal rights and national independence.

On 21.7.70, in Zone B (Kalua-Dala), the reactionary Katangese forces stationed in the strategic hamlet of Chingolo-Dala opened up heavy fire with automatic weapons in sign of protest. The mutineers stated that they were no longer prepared to die like flies. According to reliable sources, their action was prompted by the cowardly attitude of the Portuguese colonialist troops, who refused to fight the guerrillas outside their own defence lines and forced the mercenaries to do so without let-up.

On 18.8.70, at 12 p.m., a similar attitude was shown by Katangese mercenaries at the Luna Kassai post. They attacked the barracks of the colonialist troops of that area. The losses in men and material caused by this mutiny are not known.

On 2.9.70, in Zone B (Ndandanda de Saluso), a platoon

of Katangese mercenaries in the service of Portuguese colonialism ambushed the village of Saluso, causing numerous casualties. Unable to cover up for this event, the colonialist authorities at Dala apologised, claiming that the Katangese mercenaries had mistaken the local population for MPLA guerrillas, "since", as the Portuguese colonialists put it, "it is hard to distinguish between them".

On 8.9.70, in Zone B (Ndandanda de Nhakapamba), in riposte to an enemy ambush mounted on the banks of the River Kalua — a tributary of the Chimbo — an MPLA guerrilla detachment which was escorting a supply column inflicted 16 losses on the colonialist army bandits: 11 killed and 5 wounded. Various types of war material were also captured.

On 12.9.70, a colonialist platoon guided by a traitor attempted to take one of our detachments by surprise. Our guerrillas evacuated the area in time, leaving the assailants to open fire on empty houses. The colonialists ended up shooting each other in their own cross-fire. Two colonialist soldiers fell dead in the midst of all the confusion and a number were wounded.

On 24.9.70 on the Luna-Dala road, a Portuguese army Unimog vehicle proceeding from Luna to Dala set off an anti-car mine laid by our valiant fighters. As well as totally destroying the vehicle, the explosion put 24 colonialist soldiers out of action: 21 killed and 3 wounded.

On 30.9.70, in Zone B (River Canage-Dala), in one

of their failed operations, after burning down an old and already abandoned camp of ours, a colonialist platoon returning to their unit at Dala fell into an ambush laid by our guerrillas. The colonialists lost 9 men in this operation: 4 killed and 5 seriously wounded. No losses were registered on our side.

On 21.10.70, in Zone B, as a result of a blow struck against one of our detachments, the colonialists suffered 3 casualties — 2 dead and 1 wounded — owing to the prompt reaction of our comrades, who fought heroically, thus causing the colonialist operation to fail. On our side we regret the death of one comrade.

On 31.10.70, in Zone B, (Ndandanda de Nhakapamba), at 8 a.m., a group of militiamen taking the people to the fields fell into an ambush set by our guerrillas. The puppets lost 4 men and 1 was seriously wounded.

On 5.11.70, in Zone B, while maintaining contact with the population under enemy control, our guerrilla comrades intercepted a group of militiamen who were patrolling the area. Ambushed the puppets suffered 9 casualties: 5 dead and 4 wounded.

**VICTORY IS CERTAIN:**  
The Executive Committee of  
the MPLA

Angola, 20 November 1970  
DIP

### PORtuguese Die In P.A.I.G.C. VICTORIES

The African Party for the Independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde Islands (P.A.I.G.C.) has announced several military victories over Portuguese troops last month.

In a communique issued here last night, it said an attack against the town of Gabu, in the centre-east of the territory, and an ambush near Mime, in the east, had killed 22 Portuguese troops while a T-6 aircraft was destroyed on an airstrip at Cabeddu, in the south.



# MILITARY ACTIVITY - 1970

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

whom have been deported to the Cape Verde Islands and ten of whom are being tried in Lisbon, is a result of this Urban action. It is clear that FREEDOM OF TRANSIT would have the effect of increasing the military activity of our forces, of whom the enemy say in their laconic weekly communiques: "The terrorists are maintaining the type of activity they have adopted for some time, kidnapping the population in order to dominate them, launching attacks and looting farms for supplies, laying explosive device to impede the advance of our troops and destroy equipment and, on each encounter with the forces of order, riposting and then avoiding contact."

The propagandist language of this excerpt from a communiqué (12 to 18 April) cannot conceal the fact of the constant activity of the MPLA forces in the Dembos region, despite the lack of supplies due to the obstinacy of the authorities in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, who have refused the

the enemy troops cut. The posts of Sanga Planicie, Mikonje, Tchimbete and Sangamongo were continuously subjected to harassment by our forces and the enemy often reacted only to fall into our ambushes or minefields. The arrest of Alexandre Taté by his colonialist friends spread confusion among the "TE" special troops. The MPLA was able to refurbish zone B the better to control the movements of traitors in their attempts to violate the territory of the People's Republic of the Congo. There has also been a considerable number of Angolans deserting the Portuguese colonial army in this region.

### THIRD REGION

Our forces' total control of this region is being consolidated. It is here that the MPLA is transforming small guerrilla units into units which are both quantitatively and qualitatively greater. This has already given very positive results in five of the six zones in this region. Out of this transformation there naturally arose the need to adopt new tactics which the fighters are

sively on the crops of the people who, after recovering from the first shock, found certain methods of lessening the criminal effects of the chemicals. Organs of people's power are being consolidated in this region, as is the health and schooling infrastructure. There are now four doctors in the region. Their work is not confined only to medical care, since they are also training first aid assistants and nurses. About fifty first aid assistants have been trained by the Medical Assistance Service (SAM) and most of them are already working with fighting units. The centres of Revolutionary Instruction (CIR's) have trained almost two hundred different types of trainee (military leaders, political activists, defenders of the people (militiamen), Action Committee officials, women's organisation leaders and also fighters for certain types of specialised work: explosives, mortars, cannon, scouts.) Various zones in the region were visited by British, Algerian, Soviet, Finnish, West German and Italian journalists and film makers.

Region	Barracks attacked	Vehicles destroyed	Boats sunk	Ambushes	Bridges sabotaged	Mines set off			Portuguese liquidated	Puppets liquidated	Mercenaries liquidated
							anti-air	anti-personnel			
I											
II	7	12		12	2	7	31	82	33		
III	17	39	7	93	12	23	152	721	141	19	
IV	4	19		32	4	15	67	374	86	23	
V	5	7		39	7	12	78	286	38		
Totals	33	77	7	176	25	57	328	1463	298	42	

MPLA what is considered to be a vital route. This has led us to envisage other methods of ensuring supplies for the First Region. Since distances are decisive, the MPLA will assume its responsibilities in order to achieve that which the Democratic Republic of the Congo has not as yet permitted.

The Portuguese aggression against the Republic of Guinea shows the extent to which it is in the interest of neighbouring states closely to co-operate with the liberation movements leading the struggle in their countries...

### SECOND REGION

This front was successfully revitalised on the basis of shelling barracks to force

assimilating directly in the field. The most important posts were regularly attacked (Karipande, Kayanda, Muie, Kazombo, Ninda, Chiume, Monteiro, Luakano, Kango-mbe, Kavungo, Longa, M'pupa), while other barracks were always harassed.

The enemy evacuated the Sete post definitively. Enemy offensives, often employing large-scale means, put our forces to the test, but they were able to repulse all enemy attempts to create bridgeheads in the liberated areas.

Therefore, the enemy resumed their napalm bombing and resorted to the use of herbicides and defoliants, which they sprayed inten-

### FOURTH REGION

The progress registered at the beginning of the year has been consolidated. New areas were opened up and, despite the constant threat of enemy aircraft, new fronts were established. The enemy's desperate attempts to open up and improve new roads were systematically countered by our forces, who destroyed a considerable number of bulldozers and road-building equipment.

Having consolidated the rear of this front (which is more than 400 kilometres from the Zambian border), our detachments made substantial advances, despite the tenacious opposition of the

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# 1970 military progress

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enemy AIDED BY MERCE-NARY KATANGESE FORCES. The main features of our forces' activity in the Fourth Region have been attacking and harassing the enemy posts of Cazaje and Samayna, as well as numerous ambushes, road-mining and the destruction of road-building equipment.

It should be pointed out that it is in this region that DIA-MANG exploits the largest diamond deposits. Furthermore, the fact that this re-

gion borders on the First Region (which, as we have stated, is isolated because of the refusal to allow MPLA forces and material to pass through the Democratic Republic of the Congo) gives it tremendous strategic importance.

As in the Third Region, organs of people's power, the Medical Assistance Service, CIR's and schools are already in operation, giving the people a taste of the first fruits of independence.

An Algerian journalist paid a lengthy visit to this region and was able to see the

achievements and organisation of our fighting forces.

## FIFTH REGION

If no other feats had been achieved by the MPLA in 1970, the consolidation of the Fifth Region front would alone be sufficient evidence of success. In fact this region is, so to speak, the touchstone of this liberation war. The most populous region in Angola, the Fifth Region, as especially the district of Bie, takes on a strategic value out of all proportion to its position and geographical features. The enemy understood this from the very start and set up a line of defence they thought to be invulnerable until the MPLA fighters proved otherwise.

The natural barrier they were relying on to prevent our advance — the River Kwanza was crossed and our detachments are operating intonsively well beyond that river. The troops based at the barracks of Catota, Mumbwa, Mutumpo and Umpulo have already experienced the violence of our fire, and the armoured cars, aircraft, helicopters and even horses used by the enemy have not been able to impede the slow but sure advance of our forces. The ambushes, the road mining, the destruction of bridges and the sacking of barracks cease only when they give way to other, more advanced, forms of combat.

The great handicap of both this and the Fourth Region is the tremendous distance from the border, which makes supplies difficult. It should be noted that the supply columns, made up of members of the population, carry everything on their backs. These columns spend more than three months (at the minimum) on a two-way journey. This fact makes military planning very difficult.

A commander who wants a certain type of material or ammunition to be brought for a particular operation is obliged to plan the operation at least six months in advance, since allowance has to be made for the time lost at the border looking for this or that type of material.

If we were to give a brief assessment of this activity, it can be said that the advance towards the west and north-west was intensified

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## URGENT APPEAL

Unable to halt the expansion of the MPLA's liberated areas in Angola, the Portuguese war criminals have once again begun to spray herbicides and defoliants on our people's crops.

From the effect of these chemicals, they can be identified as:

- 2, 4 D (2,4 dichlorophenoxyacetic acid)
- 2,4,5, T (2,4,5, trichlorophenoxyacetic acid)
- cacodylic acid
- picloram (made by the Dow Chemical Company under the commercial name of Tordon).

Considerable acres of cassava, maize, sweet potatoes and fruit trees have already been destroyed. Furthermore, cattle and wild life in these areas show signs of poisoning. Fish in the rivers and lakes die in the first few days after the chemicals are sprayed.

These chemicals also have very harmful effects on human beings, causing pulmonary constriction, digestive disorders and mouth bleeding. 2,4,5 T caused congenital malformations in children born of affected pregnant women. Cacodylic acid is particularly poisonous since it contains arsenic, the lethal subcutaneous dose of which is one gramme per kilo of body weight. As for picloram, not only does it destroy vegetation, but it completely stops all growth in the soil for a period of about two years.

As a result of these new crimes, thousands of Angolans in the liberated areas are now in an alarming state of hunger and none of the measures taken to counter this situation can have any immediate effect.

Without urgent assistance, thousands of human beings — men, women and children — will remain in a state of terrible distress while the colonialist criminals intensify their continuous bombing raids.

The MPLA medical Assistance Service (SAM) urgently appeals to all support committees, organisations and people of goodwill to help mount an immediate and a massive campaign for food and seeds for the victims.

SAM also calls upon international organisations, particularly the UN and the OAU strongly to denounce and condemn this new crime perpetrated by Portugal and to seek ways and means of preventing the continued use of such methods.

Food, clothing, blankets and medicines should be sent to the following address.

P.O. Box 20793      MPLA Medical Assistance Service  
Dar es Salaam,  
Tanzania.

# Ivory Coast — Anti-African Collaboration

NEWS reports from a number of broadcasting stations, cynically applauded by South Africa, reveal that President Houphouet Boigny of the Ivory Coast is trying to convene a high-level conference of African countries with a view to convincing them to open a dialogue with the racist governments of the Racist Republic of South Africa and Portugal, to discuss matters related to these countries' policy in Africa. The same sources also report that an Ivory Coast delegation is being sent to African capitals to explain their views in detail. South Africa and Portugal have expressed an in-

terest in this matter, according to these same sources.

Since Senegal's unilateral initiative, yet another African country has set itself up as a spokesman unacceptable to the liberation movements particularly those in the Portuguese colonies. The MPLA therefore feels in duty bound to state the following:

The national liberation struggle in Angola is the necessary, inalienable and noble duty of the Angolan people, to achieve the independence of Angola and to liberate our

continent from the foreign yoke. This struggle would cease to be the just cause of the African peoples, and of the Angolan people in particular, if it were to accept deviations, compromises or interference which would remove the authentic revolutionary content which is essential to safeguarding the true purpose for which we are fighting: the total independence of our country.

Moreover, the MPLA notes with surprise President Houphouet Boigny's sudden interest in the cause of national liberation, since his attitude towards it has al-

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## WE SHALL NOT MOURN THE DEAD

On the earth that covers you  
Comrade

We shall not drop tears  
or flowers

The liberation of the Motherland requires blood  
On the earth that covers you  
Comrade

We shall let the children play  
with their wooden rifles  
with their wooden rifles  
The liberation of the Motherland requires blood  
The blood of her best sons and daughters  
We shall let the children play  
We shall let feet hardened

by rough walking  
without end  
pass over the earth that covers you  
Comrade  
and follow the path  
of the fields  
where the cassava swells

We shall let feet hardened  
by rough walking  
without end  
pass over the earth that covers you  
Comrade  
The liberation of the Motherland requires blood  
The blood of her best sons and daughters  
We shall let the grass grow

high  
to the height of the savanna.  
We shall let the rains fall  
We shall let the rains fall  
and may the earth that covers  
you  
Comrade  
give out that smell good  
and warm  
that free smell  
which is the smell of damp earth  
which is the smell of fertile  
earth.

The liberation of the Motherland requires blood  
The blood of her best sons and daughters  
On the earth that covers you  
Comrade  
We shall let the children play  
We shall let feet hardened  
by rough walking  
without end  
pass over the earth that covers you  
Comrade  
We shall let the wind blow.  
We shall let the grass grow

high  
to the height of the savanna.  
We shall let the rains fall

On the earth that covers you  
Comrade

We shall not drop tears

or flowers,  
On the earth that covers you  
Comrade

We shall follow the example  
of your heroism,  
of your valour,

in order to advance  
and,  
thus,

make your heroism  
useful to our people

On the earth that covers you  
Comrade

I shall not speak  
of those who necessarily fall  
in the struggle

I shall not speak  
Comrade!

But on the earth that covers you  
Comrade  
great,  
with the immense greatness

of the liberation of Angola

every hour  
every instant

I shall utter the cry

the cry

which was your last cry  
and which resounded

in the hearts  
of the comrades  
who were attacking

beside you

the last enemy barracks  
you destroyed,  
the cry

which was your last cry

and which resounded

in the terror

of those

who thought

they had killed you,

the cry

which was your last cry

and which resounded

in the immensity of the earth

and raised thousands

of other cries

like yours.

Every hour  
every instant

I shall utter the cry

the cry

which was your last cry

MPLA Advaassance

# PORUGAL OFFER MILITARY BASES

THE FASCIST and colonialist Portuguese have not yet given up their hope of "westernising" the colonial wars. Although the economic and political moves they have made to this end have met with some response, the same cannot be said of the military sphere. The innumerable more or less discreet attempts made up to now have proved unsuccessful.

The Lisbon government recently took up this matter again in a somewhat noisy way, possibly to exert pressure on its NATO allies. Minister of Defence Horacio Viana Rebole, a notorious fascist, former governor-general of Angola and a conceited individual of limited intelligence, proposed at a banquet that Nato establish military bases in the Portuguese colonies of Cape Verde, Guinea and Angola.

The true significance of this offer cannot escape the more



## IVORY COAST

(Continued from Page 6)

ways been one of indifference. His role in the OAU has always been quite passive as far as this problem is concerned.

Therefore, the MPLA, the vanguard of the Angolan people in arms, categorically rejects and most vehemently denounces all manoeuvres aimed at compromise or at deflecting the heroic efforts of the Angolan people towards objectives which are alien to us.

The MPLA is the only spokesman of the Angolan people, the only Angolan force fighting Portuguese colonialism and the only possible interlocutor in the event of any discussions on Angola and its future.

If the intention ascribed to President Boigny were to be carried out, it could be interpreted only as total disrespect for the will of the fighting African peoples, whose war is the highest expression of the sacrifices the people of this continent are making for their common freedom.

**VICTORY IS CERTAIN**  
The executive committee of the MPLA

Lusaka, 8.11.70

attentive observer. Portugal knows it cannot win the unjust and criminal war it has imposed on the peoples in the three colonies and it is in urgent need of reinforcements. It is already not sufficient that it has increased beyond all measure the period of compulsory military service for its citizens. The pressure and the successes of the national liberation movements in the colonies are forcing it to beg its allies for support. The Caetano government is prepared to go even further than that of Caetano's predecessor and master Salazar in the sale of its country and the colonies.

The MPLA fighters, for their part, are firmly determined to carry the glorious national liberation struggle through to the end. The signs of weakness now being displayed by the Angolan people's mortal enemy serve merely as an encouragement to all MPLA fighters and militants to improve their work further and achieve even greater successes. All MPLA militants are aware that victory is going to be determined by arms and that is why they see armed struggle as the most noble task of all truly nationalist and revolutionary Angolans.

In the meantime, there have already been some reactions from NATO countries to Portuguese colonialism's

sell-out offer.

The Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs has stated in his country's parliament that in his opinion NATO should not accept such offers for fear of finding itself either directly or indirectly engaged in Portugal's colonial wars.

Allowing ally Portugal a way out, the Minister said he considered these offers to be false reports ascribed to our enemy. This will enable Portugal to take a step backwards in its crab-like progression.

Whether there are NATO bases or not, under the leadership of the MPLA, the Angolan people will liberate Angola!

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and that our control over the liberated areas was strengthened. Moreover, owing to the requirements of this new stage, our forces have been restructured in such a way as to be more powerful and effective, small units having been regrouped into larger and better armed units. The first experiments have been crowned with success, both as regards driving our heliported commandos and in attacking enemy posts and barracks.

Despite the still incomplete information available, the following figures can be noted for the first three quarters of 1970:

# NEWS IN BRIEF

## DR. E. MONDLANE

Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, President of FRELIMO, was assassinated on 3 February 1969. This abominable crime adds to the shameful list of the crimes of imperialism, which hopes to keep Africa under its yoke.

Dr. Eduardo Mondlane was a courageous fighter for the freedom of his country, personifying the heroic Mozambican people in their struggle for independence.

Honouring the memory of its first President, FRELIMO is carrying on the struggle and the brother people of Mozambique will be free! The MPLA pays tribute to that illustrious son of Africa Dr. Eduardo Mondlane.

## 200 ENEMY DEAD SAYS

### FRELIMO

BETWEEN September and November this year, Frelimo forces killed more than 200 Portuguese soldiers, destroyed 27 vehicles, one U.S. built aircraft and attacked six posts during 30 major operations in Cabo Delgado and Niassa, a communique issued in Dar es Salaam stated yesterday.

The communique said that the situation had returned to normal in the liberated zones following the defeat of the Portuguese September offensive to "wipe out" Frelimo in a few weeks.

The new general appointed last March as military commander in Mozambique, Gen. Kaulza de Arcliams were un-

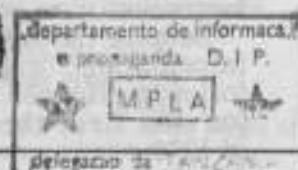
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Dept.,  
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People's Movement for the  
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Sent by: DIP DELEGATION,  
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Dar es Salaam, TANZANIA.



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founded, the communique added.

"The Portuguese reports have begun to defeat their own objective. For, if Frelimo had been wiped out in June, how could they be wiped out again in August and then in October and now again in December?" the communique

## FREEDOM FOR ALL IMPRISONED PATRIOTS

Thousands of Angolan patriots are being held in PIDE cells in Angola, Cape Verde and Portugal. Many others have had their freedom of movement restricted, living under house arrest in various places both inside and outside our country.

The national liberation struggle, which has produced so many heroes of our people, is a just struggle and it will continue until final victory owing to the tenacity and coherence of the sincere patriots who, whether in the guerrilla ranks or engaged in clandestine work, are upholding our right to independence!

On this glorious date in our history, we hail our imprisoned comrades and pay tribute to their courage and dignity.

Always firm and facing the enemy with heroism, they are still engaged in the struggle and defending the rights of the Angolan people!

## GERMAN AID

THE TIMES of Zambia has recently reported that, through investment in Zambia, the Federal German government intends to give about 32 million dollars worth of aid to the liberation movements in Southern Africa. This attitude of Willy Brandt's social Democrats is a direct consequence of the advance of our liberation struggles and, in particular, of the liberation struggle in Angola led by the MPLA. In fact, the ten years of the Angolan people's heroic armed struggle have already become a decisive factor in bringing about structural changes in Southern Africa.

The Rome Conference, the audience granted by the Pope to the leaders of the MPLA, the PAIGC and FRELIMO, the stand taken by Sweden and the demonstration held by organisations in western countries, news of which reaches us daily, all provide ample evidence that even in countries allied with Portugal the scales are beginning to tip in our favour.

In all these manifestations of solidarity with the anti-colonial struggle and against Portuguese fascism, the name of the MPLA appears as the movement which is "most structured and the most formidable adversary of Portuguese colonialism in Southern Africa", to use the words of Al Venter, racist South African journalist.

Willy Brandt's contribution is indicative and it merits reflection. The only way to ensure the complete independence of our country is to intensify the armed struggle.

## ANTI-COLONIALIST ACTION BY THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE

A sabotage operation carried out by a group of anti-colonialist Portuguese prevented the Cunene, a ship transporting troops to Angola, from setting out from Lisbon to Luanda. If such operations, in this case a grenade exploding in the engine room, were repeated many times, they would greatly contribute to the immediate defeat of Portuguese fascism and colonialism.

Combining MPLA military operations with actions of the Portuguese people against the colonial war and against fascism is the best way to ensure that the problems which divide us are solved.

Power in Angola must pass into the hands of the Angolan people led by the MPLA.

Power in Portugal must pass into the hands of the Portuguese people, who have been deprived of it for more than forty years.

PORUGUESE STUDENTS ASSOCIATION  
COMMITTEE  
45, FAIRLAND HOUSE  
36, MASON'S HILL BROMLEY  
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LONDON  
ENGLAND

TO:

VIA AIR MAIL



# ANGOLA in ARMS

information organ of the  
PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA



No. 3

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Vol. 2

## PORTUGUESE PROPAGANDA MEDIA TO FOOL OUR PEOPLE

TEN YEARS ago the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola launched in our country the armed struggle on the initiative of heroic MPLA militants. With tenacity and intelligence the guerrilla war has advanced on many fronts and our people's revolutionary attitude has been accentuated and become clearer. The expansion of our struggle and its thorough-going nature are not to be measured only by the military fronts and areas under our control; another more essential yardstick is the very character of the struggle, the way in which the idea of revolution has taken root in the minds of our militants.

Today we can be certain that the eyes of our people are upon the MPLA as the irreplaceable vanguard in our fight. Driven to despair by

the fact of struggle in three of their colonies — Angola, Guinea and Mozambique — the Portuguese colonialists are trying to salvage their position by barbarous repression against the peoples in these African countries, carrying out a shameless and torrential mind-poisoning campaign and using all the propaganda media at their disposal to try to fool our people.

Apart from the additional technical means supplied to their war apparatus and its growing budget allotment, the Portuguese colonialists are also seeking to deceive, bribe and corrupt the population through their so-called psycho-social campaign. Although there is no doubt that our enemy, the Portuguese colonialists, have been forced to make certain political

concessions to the Angolan people, these concessions are sheer demagogic. They can never achieve the major objectives of our struggle. They are no more than signs of the dawn which is shattering the colonialist night.

The improved living standards of a few Angolans, the growing number of schools and hospitals and the benefits suddenly accorded to Angolans, including certain social benefits, are all victories which our people have won through armed struggle.

The recent proposal put forward by Marcelo Caetano, President of the Portuguese Council of Ministers, is a further victory for our people and is clear evidence of the extent to which the colonialists are feeling the burden of the war. But such victories are hardly sufficient to satisfy our people's right to Independence. The Angolan people do not accept crumbs from the colonialist oppressor. We are fighting to win favours and graces from the Portuguese government, which has exploited our land and oppressed our people and which is hated by all patriots. We are fighting for a right. The right is TO BE FREE. The right is TO GOVERN OURSELVES. The right TO PRESENT OURSELVES TO THE WORLD WITH OUR OWN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PERSONALITY. The right TO BE RESPECTED AS A PEOPLE who have for centuries contributed to the progress of mankind.

The proposals for the autonomy of the colonies and, hence, for Angolan's autonomy, are full of all the Portuguese government's habitual ambiguity and demagogic. The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola once again affirms that it will not be swayed by Senhor Caetano's demagogic tactics. The only possible outcome of this struggle will be TOTAL INDEPENDENCE. Our struggle will continue,

## EDITORIAL

THE meeting which took place in Lisbon between the Foreign Ministers of member countries of NATO and Caetano's government, constituted, in the first place, a declared support on the part of the NATO for the Portuguese colonialist policy and simultaneously a manoeuvre 'in extremis' to fortify and save a moribund Portuguese colonialism. The fact that NATO has proposed and accepted a Portuguese capital to hold its meeting is a further addition to the aggression that is being waged against Africa in general and against the countries that are fighting for their liberation. The NATO countries participate, to a large or small extent, with their capital in the exploitation of the people of Angola.

On the other hand Portugal possesses, in Europe and in her colonies, geographical positions which could serve as bases for offensive and defensive operations in Europe. Similarly, Portugal wants, in connivance with racist South Africa, to enlarge the aggressive zones of operation for NATO in the South Atlantic — be it by offering her bases in the colony; be it by making way for complete imperialist investment. This could be explanation enough of NATO's wish to uphold the 'status quo'.

By using NATO weapons in the colonial war, with the silent and veiled approval of NATO Portugal involves all member countries since a long time, in the conflict between Portugal and our people and makes them accomplices of genocidal and criminal aggression. In making the conflict an international one by supporting Portugal, NATO serves the expansionist interests of imperialism which wants to transfer its defeat in the Far East to carry out greater massacres in Africa on the people under colonialism and apartheid.

The experience of a ten-year progressive war on our part will transform the focus of the international war which the Lisbon meeting wished to create into defeats for European expansionism and American imperialism.

MPLA strongly condemns Lisbon's aggression and will continue its struggle against all enemies of independence and liberty for the Angolan people — be it the Portuguese colonialist or any other countries or organisations which support Portugal.

(Continued on Page 2)



# WOMEN'S DELEGATION VISITS ANGOLA

A DELEGATION from the WIDF, the Women's International Democratic Federation, consisting of Comrade Cecile Hugel, Secretary-General, and her secretary Comrade Deniele Jeannet, have just been inside Angola, invited by OMA, the Organisation of Angola Women, the MPLA's mass women's organisation. Accompanied by Comrade Tchiungue, a leading member of OMA, the delegation visited one of the regions in our country under MPLA control and, through their contact with the civilian population, with OMA militants, partisans and MPLA leaders, they were able to see for themselves the intensive and hard, but inspiring work of a new political

(Continued from Page 1)

## Portuguese propaganda

regardless of all manoeuvres. Structured to carry on the fight until our people are completely free and until total independence can be freely enjoyed by our entire population, we will carry on with our struggle.

Side by side with the Portuguese colonialists are their congregated allies, the imperialists and racists of every brand, each trying out his own political tactics in our country for the purpose of safeguarding interests built up on the backs of our people. These imperialists are bent at all costs on opening breaches between Angolans, financing and sponsoring puppet groups which call themselves liberation movements so as to make it appear to the world that we are divided and, therefore, incompetent.

Puppets have made their appearance here and there, some short-lived and others more persistent. All of them have been backed by the formidable machinery the imperialists have at their disposal and known so well how to manipulate. Yet the mercenary character of these groupings, which makes them fall prey to narrow tribalism and preconceptions of all kinds, makes it impossible for them to win the confidence of even those Angolans they say they want to defend. The MPLA trusts in the power of its political orientation and in the justness of its ultimate objectives.



Mrs. Cecile Hugel, Secretary General WIDF

reality: independence in embryo in a country of which a large part is still occupied.

This visit by comrades Cecile Hugel and Daniele Jeannet was also in implementation of the decision taken by the WIDF Council to stimulate worldwide solidarity with the women and peoples in the countries under Portuguese colonial domination, and Angola in particular, in their national liberation struggle. This visit also came within the broad framework of direct contact between the WIDF Secretary-General and member organisations in Africa on the occasion of the International Year of Struggle against Racism and Colonialism proclaimed by the UN.

The WIDF representatives visited Mali, the Republic of Guinea and Congo Brazzaville before spending some time among the MPLA fighters in Angola.

In the following interview initially broadcast direct to Angola in the Fighting Angola programme, they gave their impressions of their visits:

Q. Comrade Cecile Hugel, what do you think of the emancipation of women within the MPLA and in the regions you visited?

A. The emancipation of the Angolan woman comes within the context of the people's overall struggle, under the leadership of the MPLA, for the independence of Angola and for a future of progress and democracy, which is the necessary condition for the emancipation and equal rights of women. By making their contribution to the Angolan people's struggle in every sphere of health, supplies and child education, women also taking part in the actual armed struggle, they have won the great respect of the men comrades. We also met ordinary women of the people and considering the level of Angola's development, we were struck by the astounding

awareness of these women. But they still have great difficulties and in order to carry on the work they have started they need the fraternal help of their men comrades and the combined efforts of all the women.

Q. Comrade Cecile, what does the Federation see to be the importance of OMA in the general struggle for the emancipation of women in Africa and the world?

A. As the Angolan women's mass organisation, OMA is at present involved in an experience which holds our full attention on a worldwide level and also in relation to Africa, where many problems relating to the position of women in society, at work and in the family still remain to be solved. The fact that the leadership of the Women's International Democratic Federation unanimously decided that the visit to Angola should be made by the Secretary-General herself is a reflection of the importance the Federation attaches to OMA. Like our Vietnamese sisters, they are giving tangible proof of the contribution that women can make to the struggle of their people as a way of advancing the women's rights cause itself.

Q. Comrade Cecile, taking the world anti-imperialist strategy as a whole, what do you think to be the place held by the MPLA and the Angolan people on that combat front?

A. Since Angola is one of the largest countries in Africa and one of the richest, owing to its vast and only partially tapped resources, it offers brilliant prospects for the future. Moreover, its strategic position is of special importance to Southern Africa and, therefore, to all of Africa, which puts it in the forefront as far as its international role is concerned.

(Continued on Page 3)

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## DELEGATION VISITS ANGOLA

By fighting for the liberation of their country, the people of Angola, led by a unitary national liberation movement which, as we saw, is extremely popular, are making a great contribution to the overall struggle of the peoples against imperialism which, seeing its approaching defeat in Indochina, is increasingly concentrating its efforts and its attempts at interference on Africa.

Q. After your contact with MPLA militants, what do you think of the principles of the MPLA's political orientation in the independence struggle?

A. During our visit and the discussions we had with

for our visit, especially from the point of view of safety, protecting us from any contact with the Portuguese colonialist troops.

Q. Could you give us your impressions of the seminar jointly organised by OMA and the WIDF during your visit?

A. We found the OMA comrades who attended the seminar for 4 days to be full of good will and eager to benefit to the full from the experience of other women's organisations affiliated to the WIDF which for many years have been fighting with their people for their country's national liberation. They showed that they wanted to play



OMA and MPLA militants and with the Angolan people who received us in the liberated regions, we were able to see for ourselves that the struggle waged by the MPLA is a just struggle against colonialism and imperialism, waged in a spirit devoid of all racism and tribalism. Consequently, this fully corresponds to the concept of national liberation struggle which we uphold and which we call upon women to take an active part in.

Q. Did you note or hear of any influence in Angola of any organisations apart from the MPLA?

A. We walked for days inside Angola and we were able to question the people. From this we can state that no such influence exists. When people speak of national liberation in Angola, they speak of the MPLA.

Q. What can you say about the presence of the Portuguese?

A. Owing to the military successes of the MPLA, which has retained the military initiative, our Angolan comrades were able to ensure the best conditions

an even more effective part in the Angolan people's struggle. Of course they lack even the most basic things. But the WIDF has promised to help them to the best of its ability, as it did for our sisters in Indochina. We think such a seminar could be repeated with other Angolan women and we must say that we learnt a very great deal from it, since it gave us far more insight into the problems of Angolan women.

Q. Are you considering new forms of solidarity with our fighting people?

A. Of course after such a visit, after meeting the people we have met, after seeing the problems faced by the Angolan people, especially the women and children, it is logical that we should be considering new forms of solidarity, both political, moral and material. We are going to launch a big propaganda campaign on the Angolan people's struggle as quickly as possible and for this we will publish a booklet with the many photographs we took in Angola. We also have plans for the training of women cadres, especially midwives,

as well as for an international bank account for solidarity with the fighting Angolan women.

Q. Comrade Cecile, if you would like to send a message not only to the Angolan people, to the Organisation of Angolan Women, to those who were with you during your stay in Angola in the MPLA's liberated areas, but also to the women in the part still under Portuguese colonialist control who are also impatient to play their part in our national liberation cause, the microphone is yours.

A. First, we should like to address ourselves to all the OMA and MPLA comrades with whom we spent such unforgettable and inspiring days. To Comrade Tchiungue, who represented OMA at our side; to Comrade Chipenda, member of the CCPM and co-ordinator of the MPLA's mass movements, who showed us such kindness and did every thing in his power to help us in our task; to Comrade Dangereux, the political commissar who had the great responsibility of taking us into his country and returning us safe and sound to the comrades who couldn't come with us; to the comrades inside, Silivelli, Mankandy, Dezoito de Maio, Quatro de Febrero, and especially Comrade Chapa Kisi, who gave us a magnificent demonstration of the participation of Angolan women in the national liberation struggle, who welcomed us with the military honours of a women's detachment; to Comrade Guayro of the Information Department, with a grateful and affectionate thought for the constant assistance he gave us; and finally, to all the comrades we saw, with whom we lived in an atmosphere of deep fraternity, we express our heartiest thanks and we wish them lots of success in their struggle and assure them that we will do all we can to justify the confidence they have placed in us and, through the solidarity of the women of the whole world, to help effectively to support their courageous and just struggle. To the Angolan women who are still under the yoke of Portuguese colonialism, we say have courage and hope, because the visit we have just made has further strengthened our conviction that this hope is justified, that victory is certain and that this victory will be that of all the peoples in the world who loved justice, freedom and progress.

# CHILDREN'S DAY

On 20 November 1959, seventy-eight nations proclaimed the Declaration of the Rights of Children at the United Nations General Assembly.

This Declaration states, and we quote: "The child shall be protected from practices which may foster racial, religious and any other form of discrimination. He shall be brought up in a spirit of understanding, tolerance, friendship among peoples, peace and universal brotherhood and in full consciousness that his energy and talents should be devoted to the service of his fellow men" (end of quotation).

On INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S DAY, it is impossible not to refer to the millions of children throughout the world who are deprived of the care they need for the full development of their abilities; the children who daily suffer terror and the effects of the aggressive wars of fascism, colonialism and racism. So many millions of children without food, clothing or shelter... abandoned. Among these millions we included the Angolan children who are the innocent victims of colonialism, racism and the barbarous repression of the Portuguese soldiers.

There are countless numbers of Angolan children who die of hunger; lack of medical care, poverty, napalm burns, bombing raids and even under the machetes (pangas) of the sadistic murderers in the Portuguese colonial army. None of the Rights of Children proclaimed in the United Nations Declaration are respected in Angola.

Angolan children suffer racial discrimination in schools, churches and hospitals. In no aspect of the life they are forced to live in a colonial society do they meet with the spirit of "understanding, tolerance and friendship."

In the liberated areas of Angola, the MPLA gives special and loving care to educating and looking after the children who represent the future of our country and who are those who will continue the Angolan Revolution..

Unable to halt the expansion of the MPLA's liberated areas in Angola, the Portuguese war criminals have once again begun to spray herbicides and defoliants on our people's crops. Considerable acres of cassava, maize, sweet potatoes and fruit trees have already been destroyed. Furthermore, cattle and wild life in these areas show signs of poisoning. Fish in the rivers and lakes die in the first few days after the chemicals are sprayed. The chemicals also have very harmful effects on human beings, causing pulmonary constriction, digestive disorders and mouth bleeding. They caused congenital malformations in CHILDREN born of affected pregnant women.

As a result of these new crimes, the Angolan children in the liberated areas are now in an alarming state of hunger and none of the measures taken to counter this situation can have any immediate effect. Without urgent assistance, thousands of human beings -- men, women and CHILDREN -- will remain in a state of terrible distress while the colonialist criminals intensify their continuous bombing raids.

The Angolan children urgently appeal to all people of goodwill to help mount an immediate and a massive campaign for food and seeds for the victims of these crimes.

## Message from Angolan youth

Message from the youth of Angola to all the peace and progress loving peoples.

BECAUSE the Angolan revolution is a link in the chain of the world revolution, the youth of Angola, who are fighting inside their country under the leadership of their vanguard, the MPLA, form an integral part of the youth of all countries who love peace, democracy and social progress.

Led by the MPLA, the youth of Angola are well aware of the political realities of the world youth, which helps them to solve many of their problems.

The relations which have been established between the youth of Angola and the various international youth organisations make it possible for young Angolans to know about the activities of other young people who are working for a better future, while at the same time the youth of the world are kept informed about the problems of the Angolan youth.

At a time when the barbarous fascist Portuguese colonialists are using chemical warfare in Angola, destroying crops in order to sow misery and famine in the areas under the control of our armed forces, at a time when the Portuguese colonialists are showing their savagery by burning our people



with napalm, never forgetting the suffering of the heroic brother people of Vietnam, the valiant Indo-chinese peoples' courageous struggle against US imperialism, the brave Palestinian people's liberation struggle and that of all the other peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America who are fighting for their freedom, the youth of Angola reaffirm, before all the peoples in the world, their determination to fight colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism to the end.

The youth of Angola will always remember the active support of friendly countries and call upon all the peoples in the world who love peace, democracy and progress to help the Angolan people's liberation struggle.

TONY HALL TALKS TO MPLA's IKO CARREIRA

# ANGOLANS FIGHT NEW RACIAL BARBARISM

Interview published in  
"The Standard" (Tanzania)  
April 23, 1971.

Q. After ten years of your armed struggle I believe the situation now is that the MPLA is controlling considerable areas of Angola — but that you face serious problems of food shortage because the Portuguese are using defoliants and napalm.

A. Yes.... today we control about one-third of our country. The front has advanced towards the centre of Angola, about 500 kilometres — or 45 day's march — from the Zambian border. From north to south the liberated area covers about double that distance.

The Portuguese thought that with the large infantry at their disposal, and a certain amount of mobility in transport, they would be able to bar the way to our advance. But they realised they were not going to succeed this way, so they made a tremendous effort to develop their air force by buying bombers and helicopters.

And the country which has supplied Portugal with its most effective weapon, the helicopter, is France.

Recently the Portuguese have started using the SR 330 Puma. This is much larger than the Alouette. It can carry three times as many troops and has considerable fire power, with its 20 millimetre machine-gun and rocket.

Since 1968 the tactic has been massive bombing, followed by sending in commandos. They weren't able to stop the advance of our fighters this way either.

Now they are using the last weapon they have — famine. The destruction of all crops with defoliants. They want to destroy life in the liberated areas through hunger.

Today two-thirds of our crops in the liberated areas have been completely destroyed, and the destruction is continuing. The bush has lost most of its leaves.

They are throwing chemicals into the rivers to kill the fish. From helicopters they are shooting wild game, which is the source of meat for our guerrillas.

Q. This sounds like the second attempt in history to do away with a massive number of Angolan people. As we know the population has not yet recovered in size from the days of slavery. Where are these defoliants coming from?

A. It appears that the Portuguese can now manufacture defoliants themselves. But at first the defoliants came directly from the United States the same place where the Angolan slaves were sent... There's one thing I'd like to add about this question of chemical weapons. Although they may be effective in our rear, in those areas where the population have no kind links with the Portuguese, if they were to start this tactic of chemical warfare in the area where we are now advancing they would be hitting the very people they claim they are fighting to defend.

Our situation is difficult, but we are continuing to advance. This doesn't affect the guerrilla so much as the population in the liberated areas. We are making a tremendous effort now to supply foodstuffs to these areas but we need more international help.

Q. What is the area over which they are spreading defoliant, and how many people are affected?



Iko Carreira is a member of the MPLA Executive Committee and of the movement's "High Command." In a life committed to Angolan liberation, he deserted the Portuguese Air Force on the orders of MPLA to join the armed struggle when it was launched in 1961.

A. It is not easy to estimate. They drop defoliants in all the areas where the people were growing their crops along the river banks. The liberated areas are in two districts, Cuando Cubango and Moxico, covering about 350,000 square kilometres. The last estimate of the population was 250,000 people, but we don't know how many have fled because of the devastation of their farms.

Q. How is it that you are able to operate a front so far into Angola, even though the enemy is trying to cut off your rear in this way?

A. The enemy tries but they are not going to succeed. They may burn our crops but we will grow more. In any case we are making this tremendous effort to supply the area with food,

We are also making big efforts to get the kind of arms that we need to shoot down planes — not old weapons of the First World War, but modern ones that will really be effective.

Q. You talked about the urgent need for international support to help you feed the people. In the same way you talk about the need for more and better arms. How can people around the world help the MPLA in this problem of supply?

A. Our struggle is part of the anti-imperialist struggle around the world, but is not as well known as the struggle in Vietnam or the Middle East. What friendly organisations and individuals can do is to help break down this silence around our struggle so we can get the aid we need so much to destroy this colonial monster.

Of course in a country like Tanzania where there is a party the political commissar should be the man trusted by the party. He is the man who introduces the party's directives for implementation.

In our country the political commissar is also responsible for liaison between the mass movements. But he is also the second in command of any unit, and his decision is always of very great importance in the decision of any organ of power.

It should be something similar for

independent countries who are going to organise themselves in this way. But I don't think one should make the political commissar the key man in the whole political-military organisation.

I think that the key to any organisation is a firm, clear and correct line, and good mobilisation. That is the key.

As far as arms are concerned, there is no African country which manufactures them. It will be necessary for the socialist countries to do more in their solidarity. This will come about not only through conviction and through internationalism, but also through pressure from friends — to make people realise the importance of helping more than they do at present.

About the Western countries we have no illusions. They are linked to Portugal through Nato and through their interests. Even so we ask the people of those countries to help with medicines and other similar supplies.

Q. The political and military orientation of liberation movements is of great interest to Tanzania at the moment. In his speech to introduce the Tanzanian Guidelines President Nyerere said: "In the great struggle before us the Party will be a liberation movement like Fretilino and MPLA. The Army will be the liberation army, the shield and power of the liberation..." What is a liberation army? How does it differ in structure and activity from the more traditional concept of a national army that African states inherited at independence?

A. We are touched by President Nyerere's clear understanding of the importance of revolutionary organisation — either to win independence or to keep it. The only way to win complete independence and keep it is to mobilise the masses of the people; to give them a correct political line, and to arm them. In other words no distinction should be made between what is political and what is military.

It is the coming together of these two which makes the strength of the

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# THE NEW RACIAL BARBARISM

(Continued from Page 5)

people. Among us there is no such difference. There is no separate political and military hierarchy — the two are integrated. Those who go and attack the Portuguese barracks, the guerrillas, are at exactly the same level as those who defend the people, normally known as the militia. And those who can lead in a battle can also lead at a political meeting.

The regular fighters, the militia and those who are involved in education are closely inter related. The question of education, of justice, of mobilising people, of leadership — all these are completely integrated. The same people who are fighting will do this other work.

The only difference between the army and the militia is that the militia is more or less static, they stay to defend the people in the village. The guerrillas are more mobile.

Women are also mobilised, they also have military training and carry weapons, and even in Primary schools the pupils start to learn to handle weapons. We are a people in arms. Armed with a certain political ideology and also with guns. Our president is also commander of the armed forces.

Q. The next question may not be so relevant to you because you are in an armed struggle and people are highly mobilised — but how do you cope with the problem of arming people with guns when they are not already armed with understanding, with ideology?

A. I think in order to arm people for a struggle like this they have to have an ideology and the road ahead has to be absolutely clear. This is the prerequisite for arming the people. The worst thing is to give someone a weapon when he does not know what to use it for.

In our situation it is not difficult

the general movement. This should be taken advantage of.

Q. In his speech the President brought in liberation movements in two ways. He said that the army should be LIKE MPLA or Frelimo, but he also said that the struggle in Southern Africa is Tanzania's struggle. The implication is that any setback in your struggle is also Tanzania's loss; that your victory is Tanzania's. In what ways, do you think, can the Southern African struggle be shown as relevant and immediate to Tanzanians in their everyday lives?

A. President Nyerere has always understood very well the importance of the struggle in Southern Africa. We are talking about frontiers which were arbitrarily established by the colonial powers. It is simply a fact that Africa will never be genuinely independent until the whole of Africa is independent.

What is now known as "Pale Power" in Southern Africa endangers the whole of Independent Africa. Therefore the struggle which is being waged in the Portuguese colonies in Namibia, in Rhodesia and in South Africa is also the struggle of the Tanzanian people.

I think Tanzanians should feel they are part of the liberated areas of Angola. And like the population in our liberated region Moxico, they should produce more than they need, in order to help the fighters.

Sometimes here and sometimes in Zambia we are looked upon as people from outside ... unfortunate refugees who are forced to take up arms... In Angola if there is difficulty and distress in one area, then the people in another area will make an extra effort to help them. The people of Tanzania should feel the same way.

Q. I think President Nyerere has led the way to a different attitude to liberation movements by calling them the vanguard of the struggle. Not only because they are on the front lines, but also because of their level of awareness and mobilisation.

A. Well, we are sure that Africa is going to become much more united. We have the same confidence in the Tanzanian people as we have in our own people.

Q. What is the role of the political commissar in the fighting forces? What is his power? This may become relevant in the Tanzanian situation...

A. I don't know if our experience can serve as an example for a country like Tanzania, since we are a liberation movement. But the political commissar is the person who gives political guidance among the forces. He directs and controls the force politically. He is the political representative of the leadership of the organisation.



## War Commuque

**HELIPORTED** Portuguese terrorist troops attacked the Centre of Revolutionary Instruction (C.R.I.) in Zone "C" of our Third Region. The enemy were driven back and suffered an uncounted number of losses.

The M.P.L.A. mourns the death of Pioneer Augusto Machele, who showed great bravery in defending his school, which is the same as saying the MPLA's school and that of the Angola people.

Augusto Machele is yet another child who has been cut down by the Portuguese colonialist bands of assassins, who try to show their courage by attacking minors or settlements made up of defenceless old people and women.

In memory of Augusto Machele, action and ever more action to make his total sacrifice useful to our people.

**VICTORY IS CERTAIN**

The Executive Committee of the MPLA

Angola,  
22 March 1971.

to make our people understand what exploitation is, and who the exploiter is. In an independent country it is rather more complicated. But in an African country which has not long emerged from colonialism there are still elements which can make this explanation easier.

Of course the image of modern towns, and African administrators enjoying privileges can hide the real truth — that most African states are still dependent.

Some leaders are afraid of announcing an ideology which will mobilise the masses. If the leaders don't find an ideological line the masses will. What is needed is a vast campaign of mobilisation and explanation, so the masses can see what has to be done to continue the struggle which the independent countries still have to wage.

There are already now in the towns a certain number of workers who can easily follow this line. They can give a firmness, a definite orientation to



# War Communiques

THE progress of the war calls for action and ever more action corresponding to each stage of its development. The MPLA, the vanguard of the Angolan people, is using every means to fight an enemy characterised by monstrous crimes, cold-blooded murder and the use of genocide. The struggle being led by the MPLA is, therefore, not only a war for the liberation of our homeland, but a fight against institutionalised banditry, against crime raised to the level of law and against murder transformed into Portugal's system and method for remaining in Africa.

During the period between January/March 1971 there were important operations, among many others, the following:

On 9 January, 3 enemy vehicles proceeding from Kuito Kuanaval barracks to Lipiri entered a minefield laid by our sappers near the Nsito river. One vehicle was completely demolished. Six of its occupants were killed and 3 gravely wounded.

On 10 January, MPLA guerrillas attacked colonialist forces quartered at Chief Kavanga's concentration camp. The enemy suffered losses. We captured uniforms and 31 head of cattle.

On 11 January, near the River Kakele, there was a clash between our forces and a large Portuguese terrorist



group. There were losses on both sides.

On 14 January, a motorised enemy column hit a mine laid by our guerrillas on the road from Samahina to Cazage. One vehicle was destroyed and there was an unknown number of dead and wounded.

On 23 January, in the area of Kuito Kuanaval, a group of heliported colonialist troops were ambushed by our guerrillas. The Portuguese terrorists suffered four dead and two wounded.

On the same day, heliported colonialist troops attacked a settlement inhabited only by civilians -- old people, women and children. During the attack so characteristic of all colonialist operations, the only guerrilla comrade who was close to the village at that time rushed to help

the defenceless people and was killed. Our comrade, Kahanga Makaio, from Mavinga, forced the troops to retreat until a treacherous bullet killed him. He died gloriously.

During the same period, the MPLA's fighting forces attacked the Kapoxi concentration camp. Five civilians who were being held prisoner there were released.

Also in this period, MPLA guerrillas attacked the ndandanda (concentration camp) of Chief Kandondo, inflicting losses on the enemy and taking colonialist soldier David Muchongo prisoner.

On 24 January, our fighters attacked the Portuguese colonialist camp on the river Wefu. The enemy sustained 3 colonialist troops killed and 1 wounded. Later in the day, again in the Kuito Kuanaval area, MPLA fighters attacked a "ndandanda" (strategic hamlet) and released 3 Angolans who were being held prisoner there.

On 27 January, an ambush prepared with mines laid along the lines of retreat inflicted 5 dead and 6 wounded on uniformed colonialists reinforced by a large group of Katangese mercenaries. Our forces seized war material and equipment.

On 1 February, an enemy platoon hit a minefield laid by our sappers, while the remainder of the column fell into an ambush near the River Canage, an area under MPLA control. Verified enemy losses were 6 dead and 7 wounded.

On 3 February, the Kari-pande barracks was attacked. 185 shells destroyed all the barracks, the radio house, one tractor and the landing strip. Special mention should be made of the participation of some of the members of



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# War Communiques

(Continued from Page 7)

an MPLA women's brigade in this attack.

On 6 February, colonialist planes bombed the Chalala area. Three of the bombs failed to explode and were taken by our guerrillas for identification. There were no victims of the bombing raid.

On 8 February, 2 jeeps were ambushed on the road from Sange Planicie to Caiojembé. There were six dead and a number of wounded.

On 11 February, in the area of the River Canage, a company of dragoons was ambushed by our forces, suffering 3 dead and 5 wounded. The MPLA guerrillas mourn 1 loss. Again in the River Canage area, the MPLA fighters attacked a bivouac inflicting 10 dead and 14 wounded on the Portuguese terrorists. This large-scale operation caused total disarray in the enemy ranks. We mourn 1 loss as a result of an accident with a weapon.

On 15 February, at 9 a.m., a column of Unimog was ambushed. There was an unverified number of dead and wounded. One of our guerrillas was wounded.

On 24 February, a heliported company attempted to attack an MPLA guerrilla detachment east of the Luvuei barracks. This foolhardiness cost the colonialists 5 dead and 7 wounded. When they retreated in disarray, one of the platoons entered a minefield and suffered a further uncounted number of losses.

On 5 March, our guerrillas spotted a group of colonialist murderers heliported from the Mule barracks to the banks of the Kutaihi river for the purpose of attacking an MPLA detachment. Counter-offensive measures were taken immediately and the MPLA fighters gave the terrorists the punishment they deserved. Enemy casualties were 3 killed and 5 wounded.

On 7 March, as the group of terrorist mercenaries were preparing to regain their iron and concrete enclosure,

they were once again ambushed by our fighters, suffering a further one dead and 4 wounded.

On 7 March, at 11.20 a.m., an enemy boat on its way to the ruins of the Karipande barracks was sunk with its cargo of fascists and war material. It was not possible to verify the number of losses, owing to the rapidity with which the colonialist vessel sank. Colonialist soldiers following some distance behind in another boat attempted an encirclement manoeuvre, as a result of which

combined MPLA forces attacked the Lumbala Leste colonialist barracks, containing a company reinforced by naval gunners. The MPLA artillery destroyed more than one third of the barracks infrastructure, silencing enemy riposte and inflicting dozens of dead and wounded on the Portuguese terrorists. Our forces came to within 200 metres of the enemy barracks, in open field, in order to unleash the violent attack which destroyed this colonialist island in MPLA-controlled territory.



there were a further 3 losses on the enemy side and one of our valiant fighters was wounded.

On the following day, a reinforced group from the Mule barracks was spotted on the way to the Kusihí river. An ambush was laid about 2 km, from the colonialist barracks, and the MPLA fighters severely punished the Portuguese terrorists, inflicting on them an unverified number of casualties. The enemy fled in disorder and we seized 5 offensive grenades and 90 rounds of FNM ammunitions.

On 9 March, an enemy convoy of Unimog vehicles set off an anti-car mine laid by the MPLA sappers and one of the vehicles was destroyed. That same night, and during the morning of the 10th, an MPLA detachment attacked an enemy bivouac with heavy machine-gun and bazooka fire, inflicting heavy losses on the colonialist enemy.

On 29 March, at 8 p.m.

Our attack forced the colonialists to involve large-scale forces, and it was also a tribute which our guerrillas paid to Commander Hoji ia Henda and to 14 April, Angolan Youth Day.

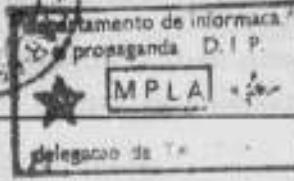
However we mourn three losses, before whom Angola in arms and our people bow their heads in gratitude, in their unshakable determination to continue to flagellate colonialism until it is driven out of our heroic land for all time.

During the following days, colonialist naval gunners patrolled the Zambezi, Xifume and Luena rivers and the Lucusse and Saliente de Cazombo roads, searching out guerrilla paths. Acting against these movements was successful.

The MPLA is fighting and it rejects colonialist manoeuvring. The MPLA is destroying the colonialist bastions. Bit by bit, the MPLA is liberating Angola from the clutches of colonialism.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN

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# ANGOLA in ARMS



Information organ of the  
PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA



No. 4

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Vol. 2

## MPLA statement on OAU's withdrawal of recognition of "GRAE"

The Organisation of African Unity has just made a decision which we have no hesitation in considering to be a historic one: the eighth Summit of African Heads of State and Government has withdrawn recognition of the so-called "revolutionary Angolan government in exile" (grae), refusing to accept this puppet body among its members.

The resolution, which does honour to the OAU, is not only the just reparation of a tragic mistake, but it is also a tribute paid to the MPLA militants in their armed struggle for national liberation. This resolution crowns the ceaseless efforts our Movement has consistently made to show that the MPLA alone represents the Angolan people's aspirations for national independence.

Here we briefly recall the main stages which have led to the present situation:

1. On 5 April 1962, two tribally-based political groupings, UPA and the PDA, which had come together nine days previously in a cartel named the FNLA, announced the setting up of a so-called government of the Angolan republic in exile.

2. Immediately afterwards, on 15 April 1962, the Executive Committee of the MPLA addressed a memorandum to the Heads of State to warn them of the dangers implied in recognition of this "government." The conclusions of the memorandum were as follows:

"It is certain that the formation of the alleged provisional government of the republic of Angola will sanctify old factors of division between the Angolan people and introduce and maintain new dividing factors. Furthermore, the Angolan people's aspiration to freedom and the sacrifices they are making to free



themselves from foreign domination are being betrayed. Africa's personality and freedom are also diminished by this intrinsic alienation of the alleged provisional government of the republic of Angola to foreign interests".

3. However, the Organisation of African Unity was created in 1963 and it considered that the liberation struggle should be led by a unitary movement or, in the absence of one, by a united front of all the movements fighting in the same territory.

4. Arbitrarily basing itself on the creation of the FNLA, and at a time when the first meeting of the African Liberation Committee was taking place in Dar es Salaam, on 29 June 1963, the Congo Kinshasa government, through its Secretary for Foreign Affairs, announced its de jure recognition of an Angolan government, but this time a revolutionary one and still in exile: "grae."

5. The second African Summit of Heads of State and Government, meeting in Cairo in July 1964, recommended the recognition of "grae" and called upon this puppet body and the MPLA to "suppress their differences and form a common action front." Furthermore, the resolution "requests the Liberation Committee, aided by Congo Brazzaville, Ghana and the UAR, to use its good offices to reconcile, by all means of persuasion, the revolutionary Angolan govern-

ment in exile and the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, in order to ensure the establishment of a united front of all nationalist elements in the independence struggle". (AHG/Res 18).

From that time, the MPLA carried on a consistent campaign to explain the unjust nature of the OAU Summit's recommendation. The MPLA nevertheless worked for the unity of Angola's nationalist forces, at the same time developing its political and military activity in the field, against numerous obstacles.

After the last meeting of the "Committee of Three", held in Cairo from 10 to 15 October 1966, the two movements signed an agreement in which they agreed as follows:

(a) The immediate cessation of all forms of hostile propaganda under the supervision of an OAU body;

(b) The immediate release of all members of the two movements detained by one or the other side;

(c) The setting up on an OAU Military Commission of Enquiry to re-evaluate the situation in Angola and to make recommendations on the form of assistance required to intensify the common armed struggle and make it more effective;

(d) Immediately on conclusion of the work of the OAU Commission of Enquiry, a joint MPLA and GRAE

(Continued on Page 2)

## Statement on 'GRAE'

(Continued from Page 1)

committee will be set up with a view to examining practical forms of co-operation between the two movements, in both the military and political spheres."

It would be over-fastidious and superfluous to enumerate the unilateral violations of this agreement which, moreover, was never ratified by the policy-making bodies of "grae." The puppet body has always, in substance, been an obstacle to the Angolan people's liberation struggle.

True to its political line, the MPLA expanded and consolidated military operations in Cabinda, on the north-western front and in the south-east of the country, not without encouraging the reconciliation work of a committee of five member states (Congo Brazzaville, Congo Kinshasa, Ghana, the UAR and Zambia), decided on by the OAU Summit, meeting in Kinshasa in September 1967.

6. The meeting of the Committee of Five for Angola, held in Addis Ababa from 22 to 27 June 1968, adopted a resolution expressly recommending to the Conference of Heads of State and Government to "withdraw the recognition of the revolutionary government of Angola in exile granted to the FNLA as a step likely to promote reconciliation." The Committee of Five had reached this conclusion having noted "that the recognition of the status of government in exile granted to the FNLA had encouraged this movement to rest on its laurels and had considerably weakened its combative enthusiasm." The Committee also "considered that the withdrawal of such recognition might encourage reconciliation between the two movements."

7. Finally, the fifth OAU Summit, meeting in September 1968 in Algiers, one of the prestigious capitals of the African revolution, decided to "reconsider the status of the FNLA as a revolutionary government of Angola in exile."

One fundamental reality — the control and expansion of the liberated regions in Angola under the sole leadership of the MPLA — was visibly evident to the OAU

Military Commission which went to an area of the Third Military Region in March 1969.

In the conclusion to its report, the Commission stated flatly that the MPLA was the only force fighting effectively in Angola.

As can be seen, all of this lengthy process has ended in the historic decision taken by the eighth OAU Summit.

Such a far-reaching victory, while made possible thanks to the tenacity of the struggle of the MPLA militants, is also the victory of the governments of those African countries which have never been sparing in their aid to the MPLA, particularly Congo Brazzaville, Zambia and Tanzania. President Kenneth Kaunda, who was elected the current chairman of the seventh Summit, has also been an architect of our triumph.

It is true that the government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo still recognises the defunct "grae". This is a decision which falls within the scope of the normal prerogatives of its sovereignty. But it is our belief that the DRC would gain by conforming to the spirit and letter of the OAU resolution. A change in its attitude, which has up to now been intransigent

towards the MPLA, which gets no support from Congo Kinshasa, would be a very important contribution towards completing the liquidation of the colonial presence in Angola. We are prepared to enter into a dialogue on these lines with the DRC authorities.

The dynamic advance of our national liberation struggle is forcing the Portuguese fascist government in collaboration with the racist Vorster government, to reinforce its strategic and military apparatus in order to pursue its genocidal colonial war in Angola. It is therefore essential that all African countries and progressive forces throughout the world increase their aid in every sphere to the only vanguard movement, the guarantor of the Angolan people's aspirations to national independence: the MPLA.

Strengthened by its victory at the OAU and conscious of its historic responsibilities, the MPLA hails the current chairman of the OAU. His Excellency Mokhtar Ould Daddah and all the African peoples fighting for the total liberation of the continent.

The Executive Committee of the MPLA

Lusaka, 25 June, 1971.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN



# POEMS FROM A DEATH CELL

3



DEOLINDA RODRIGUES was born in Catecete, Angola, in 1938. She did her primary and secondary schooling in Luanda, attending an Evangelical mission school after finishing primary school.

Her father was a Protestant pastor.

In 1959, Deolinda went to Lisbon, Portugal, on her way to Brazil, where she enrolled in a religious education course in São Paulo that same year. On completion of the course, she went to the United States to study sociology at the University of New York.

But she soon left this new environment and returned to Africa, to her MPLA, where in 1962 she was a member of the Movement's Executive Committee. She was at the same time a member of the Administrative Council of the Angolan Volunteer Corps for Assistance to Refugees (CVAAR), showing the most fantastic physical stamina for the slight young woman that Deolinda was!

In 1964, she and four other girls joined a guerrilla detachment going inside Angola. On her return after carrying out an extremely dangerous mission, she and her four companions were captured and taken to the Kinkuzu concentration camp, where the traitors

to our people executed them not long after.

The second of March, the day on which Deolinda and her four companions met their death, has been made Angolan Women's Day in tribute to their courage and dignity.

Who was Deolinda Rodrigues?

This is revealed in poetry which broke through the prison bars. In danger of death, she and her companions celebrated the Fourth of February 1968 and she sent a message to MPLA militants in her poem "The Fourth of February":

"...Under the murderers' flag  
and in the cell  
three militants  
pay tribute  
to the heroes of February...."  
"...Three voices renewed  
flung beyond the cell  
"With the heroic people"  
Angolan Revolution...."  
"...Steps sound  
MPLA, Victory or Death  
three clenched fists violate the cell's  
MPLA, Victory or Death!"

In the dungeons of Africa's bastard son, as she writes in one of her poems, Deolinda never lost her courage and was full of dignity up to the end.

When the butchers wanted to take advantage of these young women, having no other defence she asked the MPLA to send her poison, since she and her companions preferred to die rather than be violated by the murderers of our people. And this last recourse to escape from the vileness of the prison was the courageous request of a woman who preferred death to betraying the principles for which she was fighting.

She wanted to live, her youth demanded it, and she wanted to help build her Angola. This is what she tells us in her poem "Wondering":

"...Wondering  
Wondering to maintain  
Constant struggle  
Between lurking suicide  
And this mad vortex  
Until morning comes  
To come out of the death camp alive  
And be able to be useful  
In freedom of choice  
Of responsibility  
And freedom of action  
To fulfil it".

Prison showed Deolinda most painfully that men, from whatever continent they may come, can only be brothers when they are united by a sublime ideal and when they advance along the same path for the purpose of building a better world, a more humane and rational world. No philosophical current can be real or lasting unless its content transcends racial barriers and continents.

Deolinda felt this bitterly and had the courage to write it in her poem "To Mama".

"...You who bore me  
Do not kill me..."  
"Do not be matricidal  
I am Angola, your Angola.  
Do not join the oppressor  
The friend of the oppressor  
Or your bastard son.  
They jeer at you.  
You have fallen in the trap  
Deceived  
Mistaking true for false  
In your candid and secular vigour  
Blinded  
And now it is you  
Africa  
Mama Africa  
Who give force to the bastard brother  
To asphyxiate me  
Stabbing me in the back  
The oppressor, the oppressor's friend  
Your bastard son  
(You too, Mama Africa?)  
Will all rejoice  
To hear me breathe my last".

Deolinda, a heroic MPLA militant, confirms the correctness of our movement's anti-racial policy. Those who read these poems attentively will see that it is necessary to forge ahead to seek freedom for all peoples and fraternity between them. Only thus can we advance towards harmony in the world.

And when our Angola is free, it will be the land that our heroes saw as their ideal and for which they have given their lives.

May flower petals cover their bodies  
and may they be gently cradled by their Motherland.

The MPLA will overcome the infernal night of colonialism and the dawn can already be glimpsed ahead.....

EUGENIA NETO

**CHRISTMAS EVE**

— At seven  
near the toilet  
do not fail, one by one  
I have everything ready  
to take you to the other bank.  
Know only how to run  
for the pilot is here waiting.  
If you are discovered I am shot  
What reward do I get for this risk?

It is past seven.  
Jail teaches one to fool oneself;  
when the arranged signal does not come  
one dreams in anticipation;  
tomorrow is Christmas  
Christmas in freedom.  
Oh! to be with the comrades  
breathing the air of dignity  
to be myself again.

The signal?  
Let's go?  
— Not yet ... later,  
first the payment  
to be mine here in the grass.  
You don't want?  
Think yourselves too good?  
Right, I'll get you at midnight.

Is it the signal? No.  
It is day  
A night of vigil  
and all in vain.  
It is Christmas  
Christmas in prison.

**FOURTH OF FEBRUARY**

The paralytic cell table  
is not bare  
in the centre an emblem  
our emblem  
and round the table  
three MPLA militants.

Under the murderers' flag  
and in the cell  
three militants  
pay tribute  
to the heroes of February

to the anonymous heroes  
in the bush, in pide prisons, in exile  
tribute to Cienfuegos  
special reverence to the young Kamy  
martyrs  
success to the detachments heading  
inside.

Victory to the Angolan people  
under the banner of the MPLA.  
Victory to heroic Vietnam  
to Africa and Latin America.  
There is no watch  
the minute of silence gone by.

Three voices renewed  
flung beyond the cell  
"With the heroic people"  
"Angolan Revolution"  
and the dynamic "Sad history".

Steps sound  
MPLA, Victory or Death  
three clenched fists violate the cell's  
air  
MPLA, Victory or Death!  
MPLA, Victory or Death!

**TO MAMA**

Africa  
Mama Africa  
You bore me in your womb  
Born in the colonial typhoon  
I sucked your body's milk  
Grew  
Atrophied but I grew  
Swift youth  
Like the fleeting star  
When the nganga dies.  
Now I am a woman  
Young or old I no longer know  
But it is to you I came  
Africa  
Mama Africa  
You who bore me  
Do not kill me  
Do not curse your own offspring  
Else  
You have no future  
Do not be matrifocal  
I am Angola, your Angola  
Do not join the oppressor  
The friend of the oppressor  
Or your bastard son  
They jeer at you  
You have fallen in the trap  
Deceived  
Mistaking true for false  
In your candid and secular vigour  
Blinded  
And now it is you  
Africa  
Mama Africa  
Who give force to the bastard brother  
To asphyxiate me  
Stabbing me in the back.  
The oppressor, the oppressor's friend  
Your bastard son  
(You too, Mama Africa?)  
Will all rejoice  
To hear me breathe my last  
But Africa  
Mama Africa  
For the sake of coherence  
I want still to believe in you,

**WONDERING**

Murderer of UPA men  
spy of the Tugas  
prostitute  
woman meddling in politics  
this is my label here  
wondering what end to this nightmare  
wondering  
each time the rough steps sound  
the military jeep roars  
the bugle calls full parade

Is it the butchery squad  
my turn, his  
a comrade on the right bank  
captain Conga come to take us  
Now or never?

Here I am wondering  
always wondering  
In the isle of hell no tunnel,

Vietnam ended Yankee abuse  
Colombia regained the path of dignity  
Another bomb exploded in Pretoria  
Above all  
Kipanzu  
(with Cienfuegos, Kamy and the others)  
advancing  
mending the spoiled  
driving out the colonialist  
building the logical.  
Brasza broadcast the Kamy march?

Wondering  
wondering to maintain  
constant struggle  
between lurking suicide  
and this mad vortex  
until morning comes  
to come out of the death camp alive  
and be able to be useful  
in freedom of choice  
of responsibility  
and freedom of action  
to fulfill it.



JOAQUIM MACHADO

# 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 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.

Comrade Dr. Mwambaka Videira is a Regional Director of the MPLA's Medical Assistance Service, in our Fourth Politico-Military Region, on the Eastern Front. He has just returned after a year of duty inside our country and is going to tell us about the development of SAM activities in that Region. We present an interview with comrade Dr. Videira:

Q. Comrade Videira, could you please tell us when the Medical Assistance Service was established in the Fourth Region?

A. Medical Assistance has existed in our Fourth Region practically since the time when our first fighters reached there in the Bomboco column, in nineteen sixty-eight. But only in 1969 were we able to provide the Region with a contingent of first-aid assistants, and with medicines to treat not only the guerrillas, but also the numerous members of the population who immediately and spontaneously responded to the MPLA's call to join the guerrilla fighters. Therefore, our great progress was made in the course of 1970, with

(Continued on Page 6)

## WAR COMMUNIQUE

### THIRD REGION

#### (Districts of Moxico and Cuando-Cubango)

ON 23 APRIL last, at 5 p.m., a vehicle proceeding from the Muie colonialist barracks was completely destroyed by the explosion of an anti-car mine laid by our guerrillas about one kilometre from that enemy post. The colonialists suffered 10 dead and 3 wounded.

Driven to despair by their heavy losses, the colonialists took reprisals against a group of colonial soldiers -- known as GE's, or special groups -- whom they beat up violently, claiming that they were responsible for the GM mine operation.

The enemy have been utterly confounded by the impact and the consequences of our operations which, apart from the losses they are causing them, are bringing to the surface the tremendous contradictions within their criminal ranks.

When the enemy start to carry out reprisals against their own men, the first of the many conclusions one can reach is that our blows are hitting home and that the colonialists are already in the grip of fear and suspicion.

On 2 MAY, an enemy column of 6 military trucks transporting troops from Ninda to Xilume, fell into an ambush set by MPLA forces, who attacked them with bazookas and automatic wea-

pons. This operation resulted in the total destruction of 4 trucks and the enemy left behind 40 dead and wounded soldiers. The MPLA suffered no losses.

On 6 MAY, MPLA guerrillas attacked what remains of the Karipande colonialist barracks, where enemy soldiers are still ensconced. The attack which lasted 10 minutes, was conducted with a battery of 60 mm mortars and destroyed a house. The enemy suffered unknown losses in lives and material.

A colonialist platoon which left the same barracks at dusk to go to the Zambezi to replenish their water supply, hit a mine laid by an MPLA patrol group. The Portuguese colonialists suffered 6 confirmed losses. There were no casualties among our forces during these operations.

On 22 MAY, MPLA guerrillas led by a group of sappers destroyed a bridge over the River Kapui, in the area of the Xilume colonialist barracks.

Victory is Certain!

# SAM-MPLA's MEDICAL ASSISTANCE

(Continued from Page 5)

the completion of a three-month elementary course for first-aid and nursing assistants, in which nine new medical workers were trained, five boys and 4 girls recruited in that same Region. Training this personnel on the spot made it possible to open new health posts and to expand our network to almost all the detachments in both Zones A and B, thereby strengthening our activity considerably.

Q. What were the greatest difficulties encountered?

A. There were many kinds of difficulties. But of course the great distance between the Fourth Region and our logistic base, together with the shortage of previously trained personnel in the Region are the major obstacles. Lunda is a Region where the colonialists are concerned only with diamond mining. The illiteracy rate

is staggering and it was not easy for us to recruit comrades who were literate enough to follow our courses, although they are elementary. But our persistent search for capable and interested people and our constant appeals finally met with success and now we have about twenty medical workers. The problem of distances and, therefore, of regular supplies of equipment and medicines has also finally been solved, thanks to the co-operation and understanding of the members of the Regional Command and thanks, above all, to the willingness and the efforts of our people, who go long and exhausting distances on foot to get these supplies from our borders.

Q. What kind of colonial medical care was there in that area?

A. It can be said that in the area now liberated by our military forces, medical care was non-existent.

There were just small hospitals and health centres in the big urban centres along the railway, in the district capital and in the diamond company, but these were for the tiny minority of Angolan working directly for the settlers. The whole of the population outside the urban centres who are the overwhelming majority had absolutely no idea of what medical care was. We need only take the example of the Angolans who go for treatment at the Bucaco health centre, on the road from Luso to Saurino, and who are made to work in the medical officer's vegetable garden before or after the consultation and before or after each injection they get.

Q. What diseases do you come across most often in that Region?

A. We can say, in order of frequency, that the cases we come across most often are deficiency diseases, diseases resulting from deficient nutrition, like the well-known kwashiorkor. In children there are, first, various types of anaemia and vitamin deficiency. Second come malaria and intestinal parasites and, third, infectious diseases of an epidemic type, like scabies and conjunctivitis. Finally, there are the war wounded and fractures.

Q. What, in your opinion, is the value of traditional medicine in that Region?

A. Traditional medicine -- so stupidly disparaged during the colonial occupation and unknown to many of us -- is highly developed and of great value in that Region. Unfortunately, it was not possible for me to collate or seriously study the diseases currently treated with plants and roots. This kind of medicine, which is generally practised by tribal elders or specialised healers, has nothing to do with magic or fetishism and is of great social value. One need only mention that in an area which is now having to struggle against tremendous difficulties as far as products for personal cleanliness, like soap, are concerned, the venereal diseases which plague some so-called civilised areas are non-existent there, because they are treated by inges-



(Continued on Page 7)

## MPLA's

(Continued from Page 6)

tion, baths or irrigation with products made from certain roots.

Q. How have the people reacted to the introduction of the scientific medicine you are practising?

A. Like all rural people, their initial reaction to anything new is a distrustful and circumspect attitude, but they are profoundly pragmatic. They only believe in thing they can see with their own eyes, in spectacular results. So, in general, when care has been taken to administer the treatment correctly, they flock to us without any hesitation. One has to win their confidence, after which everything becomes easy. The people appreciate scientific medicine, especially for infectious and febrile diseases, where the effects of medicines, and especially of injections, are spectacular and immediate. They appreciate everything having to do with surgery, but they still rely on traditional treatment for diseases which involve a complicated, protracted and repeated cure, like the example of epilepsy I gave before.

Q. What can you tell us about the effects of the chemical warfare that the Portuguese have been using recently?

A. As you know, chemical warfare can be defined as the voluntary use of chemical agents for the purpose of destroying all forms of human, animal and vegetable life. The genocide which has always characterised the Portuguese colonial war is being further proved and aggravated by the ever increasing and more dreadful use of herbicides and defoliants, not only on the crops of the population living in our liberated areas, but also on some of the forests inhabited by the rebellious population.

I have seen with my own eyes the activity of Portuguese aircraft in the Fourth Region, along the banks of the River Luena and on the north bank of the Cassai, especially during the months of May and June 1970 and in January 1971. During these periods, which are the times when the crops are ripe, the enemy come and destroy our food, in the hope of dislodging us and liquidating us through hunger and mass

## MEDICAL ASSISTANCE

poisoning.

It is obvious that this criminal form of warfare, which has been unanimously condemned by mankind and in numerous international agreements, will not stop unless public opinion is massively mobilised against Portugal, especially in the countries which supply Portugal with the chemicals used. There is also the fear that because of the steady advance of our struggle, the use of herbicides and defoliants will increase with the increasing despair of the fascist colonial army.

We are aware of this danger, and also of the importance and influence of public opinion in this battle. That is why SAM is preparing the necessary documentation so that, as from now, we can launch an appeal requesting that everything be done to avoid another Vietnam.

Q. What are the chemicals used and what are their effects on the human organism and on plants?

A. We do not yet have the scientific proof of analysis of the chemical agents used, but studies of their effects and of the way in which they act on people and plants has led us to believe that these are the same agents as have already been used in Vietnam. These chemicals are known commercially by the name of "Agent Blue" and it is also possible that in some areas they have been using certain arsenic derivatives, such as Phytar.

As for the effects, we can distinguish two distinct types. In people they produce a chemical burning of the skin and mucous tissues, with irritation of the respiratory system and of the mucous tissues of the eye. On plants there is also a chemical burn without carbonisation, as though they had been subjected to prolonged drought starting with the leaves and then invading the stalk and the roots or tubercles. They finally undergo putrefaction similar to what would happen if they stayed in stagnant water for a long time.

Q. What are the prospects for the future?

A. It can be said without any hesitation whatsoever that the prospects are good. Since the fresh impetus gained over the past year

with the training of new medical workers and the opening of new medical posts, we are getting over the most difficult phase, that of establishing the basic structure. As from now, our progress will be less spectacular, but more solid and durable. It will partly depend on the progress of the organisation as a whole and on the medical care capacity it can give us. We are well aware of the tremendous amount of work still to be done and of the obstacles that will necessarily have to be overcome, but we are ready to face them and optimistic as to the final results.

## War Communiqué

### THIRD REGION

(North Sub-region)

When the enemy manage to obtain information on the existence of a group of men in a given area of our vast fighting front, they mobilise a huge arsenal of forces, so completely disproportionate that it can only be explained by the fear which is gripping them.

Indeed, in one of the sectors of our Zone A, on the right bank of the Kassai, Portuguese colonialists intending to capture and murder members of the population came repeatedly in helicopters and with numerous heliported troops to carry out their crime.

The MPLA fighters having been warned of the unwarranted and criminal presence of the Portuguese terrorists, a guerrilla group set out immediately and severely punished the enemy in 4 successive battles. The violence of the last battle was such that Caetano's terrorists lost 5 men and suffered 6 wounded. Together with equipment and ammunition, they left behind them eloquent evidence of their precipitous flight.

This battle, which took place on 5 April 1971, greatly increased the number of Portuguese war cripples which the Lisbon government sends to Federal Germany with impossible promises of social rehabilitation.

The people living in the area of the Lumege Barracks, who have selflessly borne the brunt of enemy incursions, were once again subjected to the impotent rage of Portuguese colonialism. After the battle of 5 April, in an act of revenge so characteristic of the enemy we are fighting, 3 Angolans living in the enemy's own strategic hamlets were murdered in cold blood, on the grounds that it was they who had informed the MPLA guerrillas, the liberators of the Angolan people.

Victory is Certain!  
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF  
THE MPLA

# THE ORGANISATION OF ANGOLAN WOMEN AND THE REVOLUTION

In these ten years of the Angolan people's struggle against Portuguese colonialism, notable among the MPLA's mass organisations has been the Organisation of Angolan Women (OMA) and the role of women in our Revolution. In Angola, as in Vietnam and all the countries where a true revolution is taking place, women are taking an active part in all tasks.

With each passing day, hour and second of the war, the revolutionary Angolan woman is suffering the most atrocious consequences of retrograde Portuguese colonialism. She is falling under the bombing raids and under the defoliants sprayed by the murderers of our people. This daily experience which

*Nothing makes her retreat,  
Fighting with arms in hand,  
For a free Angola giving,  
Even her life for our land ...*

is imposed on her is making her ever more conscious and accounts for her direct contribution in every sphere.

In a short space of time women have come to be of tremendous importance in the work of mobilisation, carrying out one of the aims of the Organisation of Angolan Women, which is to mobilise all the abilities of women for the Revolution, in order that they may bring a higher consciousness to their work for the rights

and interests of women and children and create favourable conditions for the total emancipation of the women of Angola.

Within the MPLA, OMA feels responsible for the lives of the thousands of innocent children who are advancing with us in the areas liberated by the Angolan people's only vanguard Movement, the MPLA.

On 1 June this year, International Children's Day, the Organisation of Angolan Women appealed to all friends and organisations to show their solidarity with us by donating clothing, shoes, milk, babies' bottles, money, etc. to be sent to the children in the areas liberated by the MPLA.

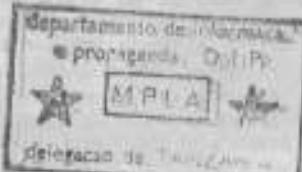
On this occasion, many of our friends demonstrated their staunchness and friendship by responding to our appeal with generous donations.

The Organisation of Angolan Women (OMA) thanks all those who have once again helped to protect Angolan children from the cold and to stay their hunger.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!  
UNITED WE WILL WIN!



Sent by : DIP DELEGATION,  
Box 20793,  
Dar es Salaam, TANZANIA.

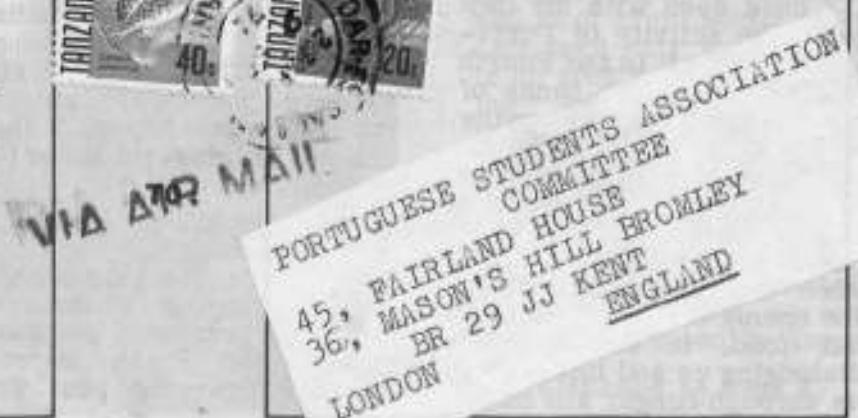


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# ANGOLA in ARMS

information organ of the  
PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA



No. 5

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## EDITORIAL

At 3 p.m. on 15 July 1971, owing to three years of permanent encirclement and constant punishment, the Portuguese colonialist army evacuated the Karipande Barracks (municipality of Kazombo), which they are no longer able to defend.

This is undoubtedly a great victory for the Angolan people and one of particular symbolic significance, since it was at Karipande, on 14 April 1968, that our Commander HOJI IA HENDA, member of the Executive Committee of the MPLA and Co-ordinator of its Military Commission, fell on the field of honour.

To honour the memory of this heroic fighter, who symbolises the indomitable will of our People to reconquer their Independence, the Regional Assembly of the Third Region, meeting in the District of Moxico in August 1968, decided to declare 14 April "ANGOLAN YOUTH DAY" and to honour Commander HOJI IA HENDA with the posthumous title of "BELOVED SON OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE AND HEROIC FIGHTER OF THE MPLA".

It was for the purpose of planning offensives and ensuring the extension of the armed struggle on the Eastern Front that Commander HOJI IA HENDA went to the District of Moxico, where an enemy bullet took his life, on 14th April 1968, in Karipande Barracks.

As Comrade Agostinho Neto, President of the MPLA, has said, "The liberation of our country requires blood, the blood of its best sons".

The MPLA is destroying the colonialist bastions. Bit by bit, the MPLA is liberating Angola from the clutches of colonialism.

## MPLA OPERATIONS IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1971

THIS balance sheet refers solely to the Third, Fourth and Fifth Politico-Military Regions: Lunda and Malange, Cuando Cubango and Cunene districts:

Barracks attacked	12
Barracks evacuated by the enemy	2
Barracks completely destroyed	2
Enemy dead	335
Enemy wounded	243
Ambushes	21
Anti-car mines set off by the enemy	40
Helicopters shot down	2
Vehicles destroyed	12
Boats sunk	2
GE prisoners (traitors serving the enemy)	11
People freed from strategic hamlets	655
Material captured:	
Rounds of diverse ammunition	3,300
Bombs	5 350 kg
Pistols	6
Carbines	9
Varied equipment and tinned foodstuffs	
Oxen	76

There were more than 39 operations in which the enemy suffered an unknown number of losses.

Throughout this period, the enemy has been intensively bombing cultivated areas, using defoliants and herbicides. They bombed the Kalunda Barracks area and blamed the Republic of Zambia for this operation. This criminal act by the Portuguese colonialists claimed 50 victims avowed by the enemy.

Also during this period, the MPLA mourned 14 losses, including 5 through firearm accidents and 1 by drowning. Three of the victims were young pioneers whom the enemy cut down in their murderous fury. Some of the arms captured were immediately used against the enemy themselves by our guer-

rillas.

During the period from January to May 1971, the MPLA has reached new areas, extended the armed struggle to new fronts, brought into the Movement very many Angolans who want to liberate our country and increased the MPLA's prestige both at home and abroad. In some operational zones the war has attained a higher level and the certainty of victory is becoming even clearer.

The MPLA is advancing! The MPLA is winning! The MPLA is liberating Angola!

Angolan, emigrant Angolan in the colonial army, Angolan in the areas not yet reached by the guerrilla war, join the MPLA. More united, more numerous, we will be stronger and we will liberate Angola faster.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!



# War communiqué

## THIRD REGION

### (North Sub-region)

When the enemy manage to obtain information on the existence of a group of men in a given area of our vast fighting front, they mobilise a huge arsenal of forces, so completely disproportionate that it can only be explained by the fear which is gripping them.

Indeed, in one of the sectors of our Zone A, on the right bank of the Kassai, Portuguese colonialists intending to capture and murder members of the population came repeatedly in 5 helicopters and with numerous heliported troops to carry out their crime.

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**Victory is Certain!**

The Executive Committee of the MPLA



# War communiqué

## (THIRD REGION)

On 7 March 1971, an enemy column on a patrolling mission from the Chizambula Barracks fell into an ambush laid by an MPLA group. The column retreated to the barracks after suffering an unknown number of casualties.

On 26 March, an enemy column from the Kavungo Barracks entered a minefield laid by our forces, suffering 4 confirmed dead and 2 wounded.

On 27 March, one of our detachments operating between Massivi and Lago Dilolo was attacked by a heliported enemy combat group. The prompt reaction of our detachment threw the enemy in disarray and they abandoned 2 magazines and 3 grenades.

On 27 March, an MPLA sabotage group prepared a booby trap on the bridge over the Kounuji. Two supply Unimogs set off the device which blew up the bridge, at the same time destroying 2 vehicles which fell into the river with their men and cargo, there being an unknown number of losses. For many hours afterwards, 2 helicopters went to and fro between Massivi and the destroyed bridge, recuperating the wrecks and dead bodies.

On 4 May, a section of the Liwanwangu Squadron launched a firing assault on the Massivi Barracks. The enemy abandoned the barracks and only reacted when our forces withdrew. The assault resulted in many casualties, including 6 confirmed dead and 7 wounded. There were no losses on our side.

On 4 May, our fighters ambushed the enemy near the Kuzumbi river, in the Mavinga Barracks area, inflicting 8 losses on the colonialists including 2 second lieutenants. The following

day, another enemy group from the same Mavinga Barracks were also ambushed by our comrades, on the banks of the Lomba, suffering 3 dead and 4 wounded.

On 28 May, a group of MPLA guerrillas fell into an enemy ambush. Our comrades reacted promptly with intensive fire from automatic weapons, killing 3 of the enemy troops and wounding 5. The MPLA fighters came out of this operation unharmed.

That same day, MPLA guerrillas mounted an ambush for the colonialists on the banks of the Kuhilili river, causing them 11 losses.

On 9 June, in the Kaianda area, near the former Mukosai strategic hamlet, there was a clash between an enemy combat group from the Kaianda Barracks and an MPLA patrol. Taken by surprise by our patrol's heavy firing, the enemy retreated precipitously, leaving behind an unknown number of casualties which were later picked up by helicopter.

On 9 June, the enemy made a further attempt to establish a ground link between the Massivi and Kaianda barracks. Two Unimogs entrusted with this mission set off explosive devices laid along the road by our forces. They were completely destroyed and there was an unknown number of losses. In their vengeful fury and sorely affected by the intensification and frequency of the battles, Caetano's terrorists are liquidating the peaceful population in numbers proportionate to the losses they suffer. In the Massivi area, where the enemy suffered 30 losses, they raided a village and killed 30 persons.

On 15 June, and 15 July,

(Continued on Page 3)

## War communiqué

No. 21/71 Third region

In the course of this war pitting us against Portuguese colonialism, the defence of our schools has already produced heroes who are venerated by our people. It was barbarous and criminal Portuguese colonialism that added the names of Augusto Ngangula, Augusto Machele and other MPLA pioneers to the long list of its victims by murdering them as it did, by making martyrs of them.

Their worthy comportment and dignity has made them heroes venerated by our people.

On 6 May 1971, an MPLA school was once again defended by its pioneers and two Angolan children distinguished themselves as examples of courage and dedication.

Three helicopters and colonialist infantry forces invaded the Henda School after days of fighting. During the counter-offensive, MPLA guerrillas and pioneers fell into an enemy ambush.

The courage of two Pioneers, Firme and Disciplina, who threw two grenades and discharged their magazines at the colonialists, reversed the situation and the Portuguese terrorists suffered very heavy losses.

During the operation, the colonialists destroyed children's books and school material and equipment in a display of impotent rage.

The MPLA suffered no casualties.

**VICTORY IS CERTAIN!**  
The Executive Committee  
of the MPLA

# A 12-year-old Hero — an MPLA Pioneer

AUGUSTO NGANGULA was a child of twelve who used to leave his village each morning to go to a school in the forest at a guerrilla base. It was evening before Ngangula would reach home again.

This was in 1968, in Moxico District, the MPLA's third military region.

But on the first of December, at dawn, Ngangula was stopped by colonialist soldiers when on his way to the MPLA school.

The soldiers searched him and found MPLA books on him.

Ngangula was lost: if he did not indicate the way to the guerrilla base, he would die. Pioneer Augusto Ngangula knew this.

They questioned him and he said nothing. Although brutally beaten, he remained silent. His blood started to flow, but he still refused to talk.

The colonialist soldiers then lost their heads and

hacked him to death with axes.

This 12-year-old child, this worthy son of the Angolan people, fell heroically, preferring to die rather than to betray the MPLA guerrillas, to betray his people.

Augusto Ngangula was posthumously named Heroic Pioneer of the MPLA and today he has become the symbol of our fighting youngsters.

This year, the pioneers at the Fourth of February Boarding School went into the interior of Angola to take supplies to the guerrillas and to celebrate with them the anniversary of the heroic death of Pioneer Augusto Ngangula.

The pioneers pledged to continue their revolutionary activity and to follow the example set by Pioneer Ngangula in further operations against the Portuguese colonialist enemy and for the liberation of our homeland.



Cecile Hugel, Secretary General of the Woman's International Democratic Federation, inside Angola.

## War Communique

(Continued from Page 2)

respectively, owing to three years of permanent encirclement and constant punishment, the Portuguese colonialist army evacuated the Lwatamba Barracks (municipality of Luso, capital of Moxico district) and the Karipande Barracks (municipality of Kazombo), which they were no longer able to defend.

At 3 p.m. on 15 July, the Portuguese flag ceased to float over Karipande, a forecast of what will happen in the very near future in every part of Angola still under Portuguese rule.



**VICTORY IS CERTAIN!**

## THE EFFECTS OF COLONIALISM ON

ONE of the most serious aspects of colonialism has been its effect on the culture of the African peoples.

A social system based on the exploitation of man by man in its most extreme form, seen as a whole, colonialism means the economic plunder of the land of the politico-social servitude of man. But it is not only this. Based on the enslavement of man, as in every situation of privilege in history, colonialism seeks to perpetuate this enslavement. Firearms and the whip not being sufficient, colonialism resorts to the destruction of the African, in this identifying him with any other colonial and making him lose his identity with himself through the destruction of his culture. Therefore, colonialism is also cultural genocide. It has plundered the land and debilitated men. It tried to wipe out their past in order to depersonalise them in the present and obstruct their future. Depersonalised meant "tamed", which ensured the perpetuation of the colonial relationship.

This is how colonialism understood it and how it acted.

To avoid uprisings, the ideal conditions for enslavement had to be created, imbuing the slave with acceptance of his situation, that is making the slave accept being a slave.

How? Firearms and the whip could not serve this purpose. There was only one way to proceed: to destroy the colonial's culture and make him either submit or be alienated by the "superior culture" of his oppressor.

Attacking culture has been the most tragic of colonialism's manoeuvres to enslave peoples, since it afflicts men, their institutions, their mode of behaviour and their way of thinking. And its consequences are even more serious in that while it is "profitable" to the oppressor in the long run, it is also only in the long run that its effects can be rooted out.

A subtle and imperceptible weapon, it is nevertheless the most effective one for the colonialists' desired perpetuation of their privileges. "The better to dominate and exploit him (the colonial), colonialism places him outside the historical and social, the cultural and technical circuit," writes Albert

Memmi in his "Portrait of the Colonial." But what is meant by culture?

Avoiding all over simplified definitions of "the sum of knowledge", whether it be at the individual level or that of a people, we find that their culture is the body of ideas and patterns of behaviour which come from them, all of which is related to a body of social structures which supports them. To this must be added also technology, which is essential to the survival of any community, as well as a measure of feeling, which gives culture certain nuances from one people to another.

From this we will agree that there is not only one culture. Given the different material conditions under which it exists and upon which it develops, and the variations in the realm of feeling, one is forced to admit that there are different cultures.

Culture is a repository with which each individual identifies himself as belonging to a people. That is, it is an acting and thinking entity to which he wants and feels himself to belong.

In the colonialist attempt to destroy the colonial, the intention is precisely to break this link of the individual's identification with the entity to which he belongs. In the initial phase, they start by denigrating the values of the colonised — cultural racism is the beginning of cultural assassination and its manifestation. Similarly, they deny that the colonial has a past deliberately drawing a curtain of oblivion over the past. Then they loudly proclaim that the values of the black man (or of any other colonial) are immoral and unaesthetic, or insignificant, that this is an "inferior culture". "The black man has no history," is said with the utmost insolence and emphasis, so as to lead to the logical conclusion that the history of the black man started with colonisation.

There follows a whole process of manipulation to create in the black man an inferiority complex towards that which is his by inculcating in him the idea "everything African is vile." The colonial stops using that which belongs to him as his cultural heritage. An inferiority complex about African

culture having been created in him, he tends to deify European culture. The deification of the allegedly superior European culture is the most characteristic feature of the alienated colonial.

Colonialism kills the colonial spiritually and creates barriers which prevent the black African from situating himself in time and finding himself, making of him an empty receptacle to be filled with manipulated education. If the colonial should want to put an end to the sub-human condition, he has to forget what he is and "rehabilitate" himself through the mode of reasoning of the oppressors, adopting their values and language. All that is African has to be left behind and only in the family circle can he perhaps retain his links



with that which is his. The nature of his country is unknown to him, his people's history forbidden him and the heroes of his people are classed as murderers and shameful opponents of "progress", brought by the European, of course. The colonised man knows nothing about his country or its people.

Hence the disuse, if we may use the term, of African culture which leads to its being forgotten. This is the amnesia colonialism wants. Amnesia and an inability to understand both past and present historical events. In addition to not having a memory, the black man (the colonial) must not be able to see ahead.

Then comes the next phase of the process, that of getting the "superior culture" of the master accepted in the present.

It is here that the problem of the effects of colonialism on culture becomes most critical. In fact this is the culminating moment when the colonial moves away from himself, i.e. from his people,

# THE COLONISED AFRICAN PEOPLES

to adopt the culture which is alien to him.

Portuguese colonialism calls this "assimilation". It makes a great deal of noise about it and presents it as the alleged cornerstone of its method of colonising or, as they say, of "civilising".

The ideologies of Portuguese colonialism claim that Lusitanian colonisation is "different"; that Portugal, which alone has divine attributes, can adapt to any ecological and cultural environment, having an enviable ability to get close to the people there. Everything was done without friction and what happened was a result of osmosis between the Portuguese and the people there, through natural interpenetration. Hence the "different" way of colonising — sorry! — of "civilising"! But



history shows that this tendency towards assimilation happens only in one direction: it is the black man (the colonial) who, if he wants to affirm himself, has to adopt the patterns of the oppressor.

This cultural racism was even institutionalised in the 1933 Salazarist constitution, which is still in force and which says that the "native", to be considered "assimilated", must, among other things, adopt European ways of life and renounce African customs and traditions, i.e. African patterns of thought and behaviour. This means that the African has to renounce African culture if he wishes to lose his slave status in the eyes of the coloniser.

Nothing could show more clearly that cultural destruction forms a part of the essence of Portuguese, just like any other, colonialism. In the process of "assimilation," the African has almost always to adapt to an education unconnected with his own world and follow patterns

of learning which are at odds with the ecological reality of the environment of his future activities.

Training and education, those essential aspects of culture, often take place in different fields and also different places. Therefore, if, despite everything, early training still manages to uphold traditional values, i.e. African culture, it is not completed and backed up by appropriate formal education, since the formal education given to the budding "assimilado" is intended precisely to destroy all African values in him.

It is easy to see what distortions and traumas are caused by this situation.

The so highly lauded interpenetration finally results in a hierarchy of values. Elements of African culture rarely appear in the "superior culture" of the European. They are wholly rejected or, at most, tolerated either because they do not offend European canons or because of the touch of exoticism they provide, all of which merely goes to show how "magnanimous" the masters are. "Now you can see that we have nothing against African culture, that we do not want to destroy it. Indeed, we even use and accept some aspects of your culture." Thank you very much! The truth of the matter is that such aspects are adopted are few and it can virtually be said that in the formal education handed out by colonialism African culture is rejected as a whole, especially since the rare aspects "used" are watered down through adjustment to European models.

(Then they say that "this is proof of the inferiority of African culture"! You see, if it had more "good" features for adoption, our culture would certainly have adopted them, as it has the few features "made use of".) "Assimilation and colonisation are contradictory, since they tend to smash the colonial relationship, to suppress privileges, to remove the difference between colonisers and colonised," A. Memmi states in his "Portrait of the Colonial". This means, therefore, that "assimilation" cannot go beyond a certain point if it is not to become a negation of that which it serves — colonialism.

In substance a farce, "assimilation" does however have an important part to play in the act of colonisation, that of numbing and destroying black African culture (or any other colonised culture).

For the newly independent African states, the most serious heritage is that which results from this facet of colonialism. The problem of culture is of particular importance and requires urgent solution, especially since the attacks on African culture continue even after independence.

One of the major weapons of neocolonialism and imperialism is still the conquest of the mind, of the "soul" of the colonised man. It is not surprising that we should see a proliferation of "cultural centres" libraries, "friendship circles" etc. in the newly independent African countries. Colonialism and neocolonialism are identical in their essence, the one using some of the methods of oppression of the other.

Neocolonialism is also a powerful gag to stifle peoples culturally so as to continue colonial relations indefinitely. The independent African countries need to display a will of iron in reviving African culture. This task of restoring the African to himself is now one of the most crucial problems in the construction of the new independent African states.

But construction implies renovation, so that in African re-personalisation it is necessary to react against the patterns of education imposed by the coloniser — often mechanically transferred from his country to the colonised country — and make every effort to define African culture, or to redefine it for the requirements of progress.

Both things must be done courageously, with all the political and economic responsibilities and consequences implied. The definition of a cultural policy is an urgent need in the independent African countries if they wish to free Africa more rapidly from the effects of colonialism and to struggle more effectively against the economic and political dependence to which many African countries are still subjected.

## ELIMINATION OF BARRIERS ORGANISATION OF ANGOLAN WOMEN (OMA)

THE barriers between the professional woman and the worker are based on class differences. In the specific case of Angola, there is only a small minority of women who have been able to overcome the difficulties imposed by colonialism to acquire professional training. One cannot really speak of class differentiation, since this small group have identified with the problems of the great majority of Angolan women, putting all their knowledge and abilities at the service of the Revolution.

One of OMA's concerns is the setting up of schools in the areas liberated by the MPLA and teaching women literacy, so as to remove the gulf between the peasant, the worker and the pro-

fessional which different levels of education sometimes give rise to. No less important is OMA's work in the political education of its militants, giving them a revolutionary consciousness which does away with all complexes, whether of superiority or of inferiority.

The common objective shared by all OMA militants — the liberation of Angola — makes all differences in level disappear, uniting all Angolan women who are prepared to devote their every effort to eliminating class contradictions. What our militants want is to play their

part in advancing the struggle and consolidating the gains of our Revolution in the already liberated areas.

In her desire to be useful to the future Angolan society, the OMA militant feels proud to be laying the foundations for her emancipation. Like every revolutionary, the Angolan woman, who is playing an ever greater part in the liberation of her country, organised within OMA, has but one burning desire — the liberation of Angola — and is creating the conditions which will enable her to ensure her right to work and to occupy a place of dignity in society.

### GUINEA BISSAU — Pidjiguiti

On 3 August 1959, the people of Guinea Bissau were once again the victims of atrocities perpetrated by the colonialist assassins. This was a day of suffering, violence and mourning for that heroic people and for all conscious Africans.

The patriots massacred at Pidjiguiti did not, however, fall in vain. They had given even further proof of the courage and determination of those who are prepared to make every sacrifice to reconquer the dignity and independence of their land. Twelve years have passed. Twelve years of struggle and victories.

Today that same people, led by their vanguard Party, the African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), have made 3 August the day of the new sun, a day of renewed national consciousness. And freedom and justice loving progressive mankind has adopted this day as the day of international solidarity with the fighters and people in Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands.

On behalf of the Angolan people, the MPLA, which is facing the same oppressor — Portuguese colonialism and its imperialist friends — hails the brother people of Guinea and Cape Verde and wishes them every success in our common struggle, which is the struggle of all of Africa for Freedom and Independence.

## URGENT APPEAL

Unable to halt the expansion of the MPLA's liberated areas in Angola, the Portuguese war criminals have once again begun to spray herbicides and defoliants on our people's crops.

From the effect of these chemicals, they can be identified as:

- 2, 4 D (2,4 dichlorophenoxyacetic acid)
- 2,4,5, T (2,4,5, trichlorophenoxyacetic acid)
- cacodylic acid
- picloram (made by the Dow Chemical Company under the commercial name of Tordon).

Considerable acres of cassava, maize, sweet potatoes and fruit trees have already been destroyed. Furthermore, cattle and wild life in these areas show signs of poisoning. Fish in the rivers and lakes die in the first few days after the chemicals are sprayed.

These chemicals also have very harmful effects on human beings, causing pulmonary constriction, digestive disorders and mouth bleeding. 2,4,5 T caused congenital malformations in children born of affected pregnant women. Cacodylic acid is particularly poisonous since it contains arsenic, the lethal subcutaneous dose of which is one gramme per kilo of body weight. As for picloram, not only does it destroy vegetation, but it completely stops all growth in the soil for a period of about two years.

As a result of these new crimes, thousands of Angolans in the liberated areas are now in an alarming state of hunger and none of the measures taken to counter this situation can have any immediate effect.

Without urgent assistance, thousands of human beings — men, women and children — will remain in a state of terrible distress while the colonialist criminals intensify their continuous bombing raids.

The MPLA medical Assistance Service (SAM) urgently appeals to all support committees, organisations and people of goodwill to help mount an immediate and a massive campaign for food and seeds for the victims.

SAM also calls upon international organisations, particularly the UN and the OAU strongly to denounce and condemn this new crime perpetrated by Portugal and to seek ways and means of preventing the continued use of such methods.

Food, clothing, blankets and medicines should be sent to the following address.

P.O. Box 20793      MPLA Medical Assistance Service  
Dar es Salaam,  
Tanzania.

# PORUGAL — The 1971 Defence Budget

SINCE the policy of President Caetano, like that of his predecessor, Salazar, gives absolute priority to overseas defence, Portugal's defence budget is relatively larger, in terms of value, than sustained by any other European country, because since 1962, the year when operations were started to maintain order in the overseas provinces, it has amounted to about 40% of the overall budget. The overall budget for 1971 is a balanced one: total income amounts to 32,052 million escudos and total expenditure amounts to 32,049 million escudos, of which 10,755 million has been earmarked for national defence.

The budget is drawn up in two stages. First, the House votes on the budget estimates. These include, on the one hand, the ordinary budget which provides allotments for defence and for maintenance expenditure on the joint defence section and the three branches of the armed forces, excluding the forces stationed overseas; and, on the other, the extraordinary budget which covers allotments and investment sums related to the large-scale programmes, i.e. for the civilian sector, everything that comes within the scope of the development plan, and for the military sector, the bases, naval programmes, NATO participation and also the maintenance and equipment of the forces stationed overseas.

Secondly, in the course of the year additional allotments help to increase extraordinary expenditure. The forces stationed overseas get most of these allotments. Indeed, over these past years, actual budget expenditure proved to be about 30% higher than the initial estimates and the exact total of expenditure in the budget year cannot be known before the publication of the

national accounts.

In 1971, the ordinary defence budget amounted to 3,732 million escudos (i.e. 130 million US dollars). The apportionment to each branch of the armed forces remained almost unchanged in relation to 1970. The increase in extraordinary expenditure has been more or less steady: 8.1% in 1971 as against 7% in 1970, but still lower than the increase in the overall ordinary budget (10%).

The extraordinary defence budget amounts to 7,022.8 million escudos (244 million US dollars), i.e. an increase of 10.7% over 1970.

The following variations should be noted: The allocation of 1,000 million escudos voted for in 1970 to re-equip the overseas ground and air forces (notably for the purchase of Alouette III's and SA 300's) has already increased to 1,617 million.

The sums allotted for the Beja air base seem to indicate that operational activity on behalf of the Luftwaffe might resume there—the seconding of part of a transport squadron is planned in 1971. Moreover, the Federal Republic of Germany is going to continue to run the Alverca aeronautic establishment and the extension of its installations is to be pursued at the same rate as in 1970.

Efforts made in the naval equipment programme have been somewhat slowed down by the fact that in 1970 only

three of the six corvettes ordered were delivered. Federal Germany supplied the third and last of the "Joao Coutinho" type, in October 1970, while Spain only fitted out the first one, the "Augusto Castilho" at the end of November.

At the moment, the total defence budget amounts to 10,755 million escudos (i.e. 374 million US dollars), which represents a 9.8% increase over 1970. The overall budget having increased by 11.6%, the part set aside for the defence budget remains about 33%. This proportion is no more than an indication, and indeed in 1969 the addition allotments (2,500 million escudos) boosted the defence budget's share of the overall budget to between 36 and 42%. However, if additional allotments are not significantly increased, as has been noted in the past two years, the share of military expenditure in the budget will start to show a decrease which seems to correspond to the very great efforts undertaken in national education and the development plan.

Furthermore, to lessen the burden on the metropolitan budget, part of these additional allotments might be transferred to the individual budget of each overseas province in the form of endowments for participation in military operations against the rebellion, which would be in line with the greater administrative autonomy advocated by Mr. Caetano. If the Portuguese government hopes, in this way, to pacify public opinion both at home and abroad, it is nonetheless true that the efforts being made for overseas defence are still a heavy burden on the national economy which in the absence of sufficient productive investment, cannot attain the desirable rate of expansion.



# Poem

Wind kissanges\* weeping  
nameless flowers fading  
savannahs of April drying  
dry-eyed mothers shushing

Fourteenth of April, Commander!

Guerrillas are marching  
pioneers are singing  
nameless flowers blooming  
wind kissanges playing  
marching onward and singing  
singing onward and marching

Fourteenth of April, Commander!

With voice of the earth bleeding  
Hoja ya Henda advancing  
Son of the People marching  
with the whole people advancing

Fourteenth of April, Commander!

Pioneers onward singing  
singing onward and marching  
the whole people marching  
marching onward and singing  
Henda's guerrillas marching  
marching onward and singing  
marching, marching and singing  
marching, singing and winning

Fourteenth of April, Commander!

1969  
Poem by  
Costa Andrade

\* musical instruments

#### ANGOLA IN ARMS (English edition)

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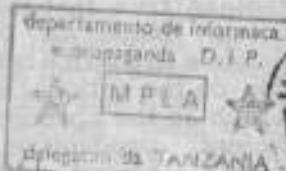
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# NEWS IN BRIEF

## CABINDA OIL EXPORTS

("Diario de Notícias",  
Portugal, 11 August 1971)

July oil exports from Cabinda amounted to 444,286 tons, as against 126,000 tons in June. Three of the nine tankers involved went to Japan, three to Canada, one to Denmark, one to Portugal and one to the US.

## PORUGAL AND GULF: PARTNERS IN COLONIALISM

Gulf Oil Corporation discovered oil off the coast of Angola in 1966 and has

been very much involved in oil prospecting, heavily investing in the natural resources of Portugal's African empire.

It is an unquestionable fact that Gulf Oil Corporation is giving vital support to Portuguese colonialism. By supporting the colonial regime in Angola, Gulf is helping to sustain the entire system of oppression and exploitation in Southern Africa and is a direct enemy of the Angolan people.

The Angolan people, led by the MPLA, are fighting Portuguese colonialism and all its friends. ANGOLA WILL BE FREE!



AIR MAIL  
TO: PORTUGUESE STUDENTS ASSOCIATION  
COMMITTEE  
45, FAIRLAND HOUSE  
MASON'S HILL BROMLEY  
BR 29 JJ KENT  
ENGLAND



# ANGOLA in ARMS



Information organ of the

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA



No. 1

January/February/March, 1972

Vol. 3

## PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

**COMPATRIOTS! COMRADES!**

Today our Movement is completing 15 years of life. A life of continuous action, of 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, winning for the Angolan people not only freedom in one part of our national territory, but also the respect and esteem of other peoples, new and more just relations at the international level, affirming in a today uncontested way its political personality in the world, quite distinct from that of Portugal, as is felt by its citizens, who 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, 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, expressing the Angolan people's deep-seated desire to struggle for independence. About four years later, on 4 February 1961, the armed struggle of resistance against shameful slavery, for freedom and democracy, was started.

These still are our objectives: the struggle for national independence and democracy.

It required several years of clandestinity, using various forms of action, 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 prides itself on having built itself up from the North to the South of the country, embracing all classes and social strata in fraternal unity in the struggle for independence and dignity.

Guerrilla war was organised and is inflicting signifi-

### Message from President Agostino Neto on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the MPLA

cant losses on the enemy, both in lives and equipment. Military activity in Cabinda, Cuanza-Norte, Luanda, Moçambique, Cuando-Cubango, Lunda and Bie is increasingly discouraging the colonialist generals, who think of themselves as great strategists — though they are in fact specialists in retreating — and whose genocidal acts, cruelty and savagery cannot halt the advance of our Movement's military units in the field.

Since 1961, the enemy, Portuguese colonialism and some of its allies, have never ceased to shout in ridiculous despair either that the war has ended or that the corpses carried away by helicopter are a consequence of operations by small groups infiltrated in from adjacent countries.

Even now, when cannon shells are destroying their barracks in the East and when they are being forced to withdraw their troops from some positions, the Portuguese generals are just as insolently and shamelessly 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 or prisons.

But the soldier, the trader, the farmer, the truck-driver and the administrative official know perfectly well that Angola is at war and that it is a war which will end only with the victory of the Angolan people.

It is not difficult for anyone to understand the embarrassing situation in which the situation in which the Portuguese rulers now find themselves. They are now threatening each other in Lisbon because they do not know how to break with the Salazarist line and make a graceful 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 started in Angola. They were not able to solve it in 1963 and war broke out in Guinea. They did not want to face facts in 1964 and that year armed struggle started in Mozambique. Since 1928, the Portuguese fascists have failed to understand that the Portuguese people must be freed from PIDE oppression and misery in Portugal itself, and that the Portuguese people's present demand for an end to the colonial era must be met. And today they are coming up against the violence of Armed Revolutionary Action.

Today they are having to fight on four fronts for only one reason — colonialism.

They are having to fight in Angola, Guinea, Mozambique and Portugal. Such is the "peace" the colonialists and fascists talk about so much.

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 constantly grow.

The attention and prestige we have throughout the world today is great. This evolution is clear proof of the fact that, determined and firm, the Angolan people are invincible.

Therefore, the Portuguese government cannot ignore the Angolan people's will or the will of the Portuguese people. Both 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 the way to broad and genuine coopera-

(Continued on Page 2)

(Continued from Page 1)

tion 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 eliminating the white man from our country. It does not mean the appropriation of honestly acquired property. What it does mean is that political power must be in the hands of our people. Our country's economy must be controlled by our people and made to serve a free and more progressive life.

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

And why this war? What is this war for? To mortgage Angola off to foreign countries? To make the farmer and trader pay more taxes? To oblige the landowner to maintain a military unit of soldiers who are mostly demoralised? To make it impossible for anyone to say what they think about the problems of their country without being bothered by the PIDE?

What is this war for? In the name of what is it being waged? Of Portugal's prestige? For the defence of the West? For economic reasons?

If it is none of these reasons, then what is this war for? Why murder Angolan people, old people, children and women, destroying crops with herbicides and committing the greatest atrocities?

Is it in order to hand Angola over to South Africa or to the United States of America?

There is no way out of this situation apart from the one leading to recognition of our people's right to Independence. Without such recognition, without the Portuguese government handing over power to the genuine representatives of the Angolan people, there will be no peace, no respite for any Portuguese in Angola.

It would be good if the settlers were to understand that it is not in their interests to throw themselves into the arms of South Africa, the United States of America, France or Federal Germany. In this event, they would be as colonised and exploited as us.

Their interests can only be protected through the establishment of just relations

## PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

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 because of the war, because of the disastrous policy of Lisbon, which has taken the road of repression.

The armed forces of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola are increasing their capacity from day to day. Conscious of the situation we are now passing through, they will neither retreat nor be fooled by the fake "peace" the colonialist mentality is offering in the villages.

We will not accept any kind of autonomy as a solution, nor the honorary titles on which some Portuguese rulers appear to be banking at present. No solution can be found for Angola without the concrete participation and agreement of the MPLA.

So long as shells have not yet 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 knows where the rear is, this is the time to safeguard lives and property.

COMPATRIOTS,

COMRADES,

With dedication and the spirit of self-sacrifice, the MPLA militants are ever more effectively fighting the colonialist barbarian who has been exploiting us for centuries.

But we still have a long road to travel and we are

prepared to endure a protracted war.

We have entered a new phase of our national liberation struggle.

We effectively control a vast part of our territory, where it is difficult for commandos or special troops to penetrate or operate on the ground. Whenever they try to leave their barracks, the enemy suffer heavy losses.

In the areas under our Movement's control, we have organised our people's independent life, establishing simple forms of people's power and organising schools and medical care.

The colonialists' crime of using chemical agents on 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 increasingly broad-based. Practising an independent policy, our Movement is not subordinated to the policy of any other country or bloc of countries. Because of this line we are today able to maintain friendly relations with different countries in the world, both socialist and capitalist. One of the principles guiding our relations with other countries and political organisations is that each respects the other's independence and right to follow the road 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 we mechanically follow the policy or ideology of any one of them, even if their experiences are useful to us. In any case, the campaign

(Continued on Page 3)

## THE REVOLUTION IN ANGOLA

**Life histories and documents from guerrilla war**

A book written by  
DON BARNETT and ROY HARVEY

It will be published by BOBBS - MERRILL  
in the Spring 1972

# Message from President Agostino Neto

(Continued from Page 2)

mounted by the enemy and their lackeys claiming that the MPLA is a communist organisation, sometimes linking it with the Soviet Union and at other times with China, can only be seen as propaganda intended to fool our people. What is certain is that Portugal is becoming increasingly isolated politically.

Because it is progressive, 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. At the same time, the MPLA is authentically African in that it is defending the frontiers of freedom in Africa in close cooperation with other African peoples.

Yet the enemy are still in our country and are treacherously hatching intrigues, bribing or attempting to bribe neighbouring countries and manoeuvring politically to stay in Angola. For this reason, our fight must be continuous and increasingly vigorous.

All Angolans united, we must fight Portuguese colonialism. We must deal it blows from all sides, 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 of no use to us. 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, increased salaries and the introduction of higher education are merely consequences of the war. The enemy are trying to give the impression that they are introducing measures for the progress of our people. But these measures have been taken only because the enemy can feel the tips of our bayonets at their throats. That is all.

The rural reorganisation campaigns are merely intended to officer and control the Angolan people to prevent them from contacting the guerrillas easily.

Indeed, 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.

All this is comprehensible if we consider that since 1482 Portugal has never been interested in the progress of the Angolan people. What did

interest it was stealing land and using our resources for itself. It was greed for material wealth that gave rise to colonialism.

Anyway, how can a country like Portugal where in a single night, according to the daily "O SÉCULO" of the 4th of this month, they had to arrest more than 200 vagrants and prostitutes in Lisbon's Bairro Alto 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?

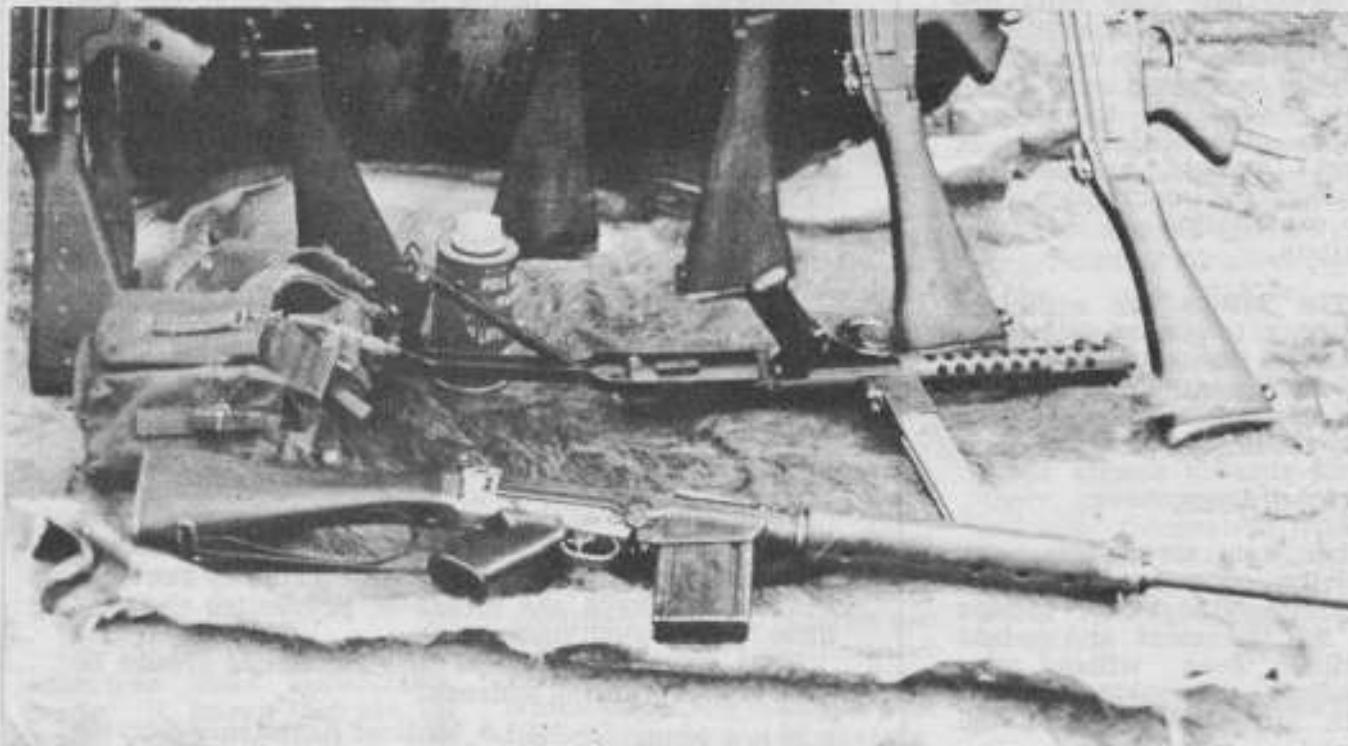
COMPATRIOTS,

COMRADES,

We must free 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 our country can join the MPLA, which will give them weapons and make fighters of them.

A few compatriots are allowing themselves to go along with reactionary and counter-revolutionary cur-

(Continued on Page 4)



Arms captured by our Liberation forces.

# President Agostino's message

(Continued from Page 3)

rents 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 admit the mistakes they have made. They will be well received and will rid themselves of their present anxiety.

The 15 years of our Movement's activity have taught us to adopt a policy of clemency, even towards captured soldiers or those who come of their own free will 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 district of Cabinda have already realised the mistake they were about to make by accepting the Portuguese government's wily proposals. Alexandre Taty, Nzita Tiago and other traitors who still held illusions 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 organise themselves within the MPLA, arms in hand, to fight against the abuses, the corruption and the exploitation of the colonialists.

The MPLA has sufficient weapons to give to each man, it has an ideology and a policy for the liberation of the country. It really is our people's only leading force.

## COMRADES,

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

Many MPLA groups para-

lyse their action for lack of contact with the leadership. They are eternally waiting for directives.

But it is easy to arrive at directives by analysing the concrete conditions on the spot. Political mobilisation, either through personal contact or through leaflets, contributions in money and kind for the guerrilla war and other higher forms of action are permanent directives which must be put into practice.

Everywhere action is needed. In the offices and in the factories, in the barracks and in the neighbourhoods, in the mines, in the

villages and towns.

The road to our independence is being travelled over the blood of the most beloved sons of our people. The dedication and heroism of our militants is a decisive factor for the outcome of this struggle. And despite the machinations of the enemy, our people will triumph.

On this historic date when we are celebrating the 15th anniversary of the founding of our Movement, we are happy 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 achieved.

## OUR VICTORY IS CERTAIN

# URGENT APPEAL

Unable to halt the expansion of the MPLA's liberated areas in Angola, the Portuguese war criminals have once again begun to spray herbicides and defoliants on our people's crops.

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Dar es Salaam,  
Tanzania.

# THE NIXON-POMPIDOU MEETING IN THE AZORES

Prime Minister Caetano's haste in flying to the Azores to play chief steward to Presidents Nixon and Pompidou, on their arrival in "their domains" to discuss the major international problems of the day, is a new development in the crisis which is eroding the Portuguese regime.

Indeed, the United States and France have important bases in the Azores.

The Lajes air base, NATO's biggest, has been in the hands of the Americans since 1954 and it is also used as a logistic support base for the fleet in the Mediterranean, while the Port of Santa Cruz is used, among other things, as an operational base for tracking French rockets.

In exchange for these facilities, Portugal is trying to manoeuvre the United States and France into granting it substantial financial and military aid to enable it to pursue Mozambique and Guinea, and to intensify its repression against the Portuguese people in Portugal itself.

Caetano's coming to power and the American interest in the possibility of using the port of Praia da Vitoria, near the Lajes airport, as a Polaris submarine base, has led the Portuguese government to put forward new demands for increased military and financial assistance.

As for France, it too is playing a role of prime importance in giving military support to the Portuguese colonialists.

As is well known, France is the only country that supplies arms to Portugal, helicopters in this case, without any restriction regarding their use in the colonial wars.

On 10 December last, the American State Department made it known that the US would grant Portugal a 400 million dollar loan in exchange for the renewal of the agree-

ment on the Lajes American base, under which American forces are to be stationed in the Azores until February 1974.

It is also known that there are now differences between Caetano's government and Federal Germany, which is showing greater reticence on the question of financial support and arms supplies for Portugal, especially after noting that its air base in the Beja region of Portugal (210 million marks) was being used for only 12 percent of the initially intended turnover. If it is to permit the Beja base to be adapted to meet the Luftwaffe's present needs, the Portuguese government wants fresh supplies of arms, ammunition and transport planes, which West German Ministry of Defence is refusing, at the same time pointing out that the DO-27 aircraft supplied by Federal Germany were used in Angola, after being adapted for the war, and that this was condemned by public opinion in Germany.

1971 was from every point of view a disastrous year for both the Portuguese colonialist army and the Caetano government. There was an overall offensive by the patriotic forces in Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, there was violent armed opposition in Portugal itself, obliging the government to extend martial law to itself, obliging the government to extend martial law to its own territory, and there were political defeats and vexations in all the international organisations, including NATO, and all this despite French and American diplomacy's paternalist promises to the Portuguese government.

Neither the good offices of American Vice-President Spiro Agnew, culminating in the restoration of diplomatic relations between Lisbon and Kinshasa, nor the dissonant chorus of African countries which support a dialogue with the colonialists and racists, could prevent the bitter diplomatic defeats the Portuguese

have met, the corollary of the military defeats they have suffered.

In Angola, the appointment of General Rodrigues, former Portuguese Minister of the Army, as commander of the operational region which embraces the areas liberated by the MPLA, did not prevent the fact that during the last dry season the MPLA's armed forces always retained the initiative, even attacking fifteen enemy barracks, and obliged the colonialist army to fall back to a prudent defensive, contrary to what usually happened during that season.

Caetano therefore sees the Nixon-Pompidou meeting as an opportunity to restore a little of his government's badly-shaken prestige.

Discredited both at home and abroad, forced to use Salazar's methods of police repression, seeing his unpopularity everywhere on the rise, isolated and disappointed by the growing support which even his own allies are giving to the MPLA, the PAIGC and FRELIMO, and incapable of dealing with a disastrous economic situation, Mr. Caetano had no hesitation in running to President Nixon and Pompidou to solicit advice and to beg for new support in exchange for new concessions. Portuguese propaganda would have the Portuguese people believe that this was a Caetano-Nixon or a Pompidou-Caetano meeting. What a ridiculous claim...

The Portuguese government's isolation is growing. The MPLA counts on friends of the Angolan people in every country, and especially in the NATO countries, to continue their efforts towards forcing their governments to dissociate themselves from the colonialist war of aggression the Portuguese government is waging against our people.

## VICTORY IS CERTAIN

The Executive Committee  
of the M.P.L.A.

# Message from Comrade Lucio Lara

## Member of the Executive Committee of the M.P.L.A.

Given by Comrade LUCIO LARA, member of the Executive Committee and of the Politico Military Co-ordinating Committee of the MPLA on the occasion of the official opening of the month of solidarity with the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies.

It is for me a very great pleasure to address the Brazzaville press, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the MPLA, in response to the fraternal solidarity of the Congolese Socialist Youth Union, which has been so good as to organise a month of solidarity with the peoples in the fighting Portuguese colonies.

Thank you for having come here today.

Our Congolese brothers' decision to hold this month of solidarity throughout the country comes within the framework of the support that the People's Republic of the Congo has long been giving to the liberation movements in Africa. This decision shows a militant attitude which is an example in Africa today. Indeed, the people of the People's Republic of the Congo, who are working unceasingly for the consolidation of their independence, have chosen a path of development which takes into account Congolese realities, without at the same time forgetting to fulfil their duties towards brother peoples still subject to colonial oppression.

Some African countries are now showing a propensity for the enemies of Africa, either by advocating an absurd dialogue or by opening the way to new forms of colonial exploitation which do not take into account the aspirations of the people or the sacrifices made by the martyrs. This is a further challenge to Africa's consciousness and the only way to meet that challenge is through efforts such as the one in which we are participating today.

When we speak of solidarity, we are not demanding it for the liberation movements alone. Now more than ever, it is becoming an urgent need for all the countries in Africa, to say nothing of other

continents. The imperialist powers have not changed their objectives. The exploitation of our resources is continuing at an even more intense pace, even if our budgets do show a slight increase.

Presidents Pompidou and Nixon, seated squarely on Caetano's back, did not even bother to think about the situation in Africa, since their preoccupations were elsewhere. The American giant is somewhat relieved by the incoherence of France's present policy in Africa. Although the British government has recognised Ian Smith's rebel regime, South Africa is threatening Zambia and intervening in the war in Angola, and Portugal is using Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique for underhand aggression against adjacent neighbouring countries, none of this worries the US and French governments. Quite the contrary, they are ever more firmly supporting colonial Portugal and South Africa.

It is a fact that a meeting took place on a small island which harbours the largest American airbase in the Atlantic. It is a fact that France also has an important base in the Azores. If there was a foreign head of state on Terceira island, it was indeed Caetano, who was not even entitled to have the four thousand American troops defending the Lajes base stand at attention for him. All this has to be paid for and Caetano had come to present them with the bill.

The gift of a ship worth eight million dollars, one million dollars for so-called education projects and five million for the purchase of assorted equipment, plus a 430 million dollar loan — this was the price paid by the US a few moments before the meeting. As for France, it has promised, among other things, helicopter reinforcements for Portugal's air power, military equipment and political support, especially in respect of Portugal's entry into the Common Market.

And all these deals are being made with the utmost contempt for the interests of the people who are fighting for their independence.

And here it is especially France's attitude which shocks us, we who are fighting. General de Gaulle at least respected "those who fight". And because of this, despite all the reservations one might have about his political ideas, he was respected by fighters. Everyone respected his independent spirit, which made him recognise the just nature of liberation struggles throughout the world. And this position made France itself independent.

Today one wonders what French policy is driving at. The drawn chess game played in the Azores may not benefit the French people, but it goes without question that it will be detrimental to the peoples of Africa, because Portugal and South Africa came out of it better off. They will continue to get Puma and Alouette helicopters to kill our people. French and American gifts, loans and investments will continue to stop the gaps in Portugal's military budget, and so on and so forth...

And all this at a time when most of the countries in Western Europe are trying to dissociate themselves from Portugal's colonial policy by giving direct assistance to the fighting peoples. I can give the example of the Scandinavian countries, which not only denounce Portuguese colonial policy at NATO meetings, but also give direct material aid to the liberation movements. This example is being followed by other countries in Europe and America.

And because Portugal is finding itself more and more isolated, France is also running the risk of being isolated and losing the sympathy it had started to win in Africa in General de Gaulle's time.

This is why we were delighted with the decisions of the last East and Central African summit conference, which flatly denounced the so-called

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# M.P.L.A. Committee Member's message

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dialogue policy, which many believe to have been French inspired. One is tempted to establish a relationship between this policy and that outlined by American Vice-President Spiro Agnew on his grand tour of Europe and Africa, when he arrived in Lisbon from Kinshasa and stated that the Zaire government was prepared to hold a dialogue with Portugal on the future of Angola.

One senses here the imperialist tactic of wanting to short-circuit the fighting peoples in order to impose on them solutions which are not solutions, because they are contrary to the true interests of these peoples.

Today everyone knows that the Angolan war is suffering from a delay caused by the fact that the MPLA cannot use the territory of the Republic of Zaire for supply-

ing the Northern Front. If the colonialist army is still suffering defeats there, it is solely due to the heroic abnegation of MPLA fighters who have not yielded an inch, despite constant reprisal raids by heliported enemy troops.

When one sees the advance of our struggle in the three vast regions which constitute the Eastern Front, one is forced to admit that if the Northern Front has not advanced to the same extent, it is precisely due to the logistic difficulties the Zairean blockade has caused us. As Angolan patriots, as true Africans, we are entitled to ask why there is this blockade.

It has been claimed that it is because the MPLA was bringing "foreign ideologies to Africa"..... This is absolutely unwarranted!

For fifteen years now in Angola, the MPLA has been

the only Angolan political organisation whose principles and ideology are authentically African and authentically Angolan. Our principles and ideology were dictated by the life of our people, with all their conditioning, all their virtues and all their aspirations. They are the expression of a fruitful experience of struggle among our exploited masses, without this implying that we have ignored the rich experience of other peoples who have rooted out exploitation and oppression from their countries.

We are consistent with our programme, we are very conscious of the feelings of our people and we are making an ever greater effort to restore our social and cultural values, which is helping to make the MPLA even more deeply-rooted in all strata of the Angolan population.

The fact that more and more of our people are joining the MPLA and the achievements we have accomplished in the liberated areas in the fields of production, education and health, are encouraging evidence of the correctness of our positions.

And those who are responsible for holding up progress on the Northern Front will not escape the judgment of history.

It is for this reason, Ladies and Gentlemen, dear Friends and Comrades, that we need even more active solidarity in Africa. The two thousand kilometres of frontier between Zaire and Angola must effectively serve the liberation struggle, as was unanimously decided at the time of the founding of the OAU. Therefore the MPLA, which is leading the liberation war, must at least enjoy the right to cross Zairean territory. We are still confident that the brother people of Zaire will help us to make up for lost time.

MPLA activity in 1971 resulted in many important victories. The liberated areas expanded considerably. Military organisation was strengthened and improved and we changed the structure of our basic units. The war material improved. Our effect-



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14 APRIL  
ANGOLAN YOUTH DAY

# Message to Liberation Movements

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ves increased substantially, as did the numbers of transport volunteers. The number of operations was greater and so were the qualitative results. The artillery developed further. A good number of enemy barracks were destroyed. Six of these barracks were definitively evacuated. The natural barrier formed by the Kuanza river, which cuts Angola in half in the central region, was overcome once and for all, and since the beginning of the year our forces have been advancing on the western bank of the river.

Allow me to read you the most recent dispatch from the Eastern Front, which arrived here yesterday.

**\*30 NOVEMBER — OUR FIGHTERS ATTACKED GARRISON STRATEGIC VILLAGE XINDUPU NEAR SANDANDU STATION STOP DESTROYED TWO BARRACKS MILITARY POLICE FIVE BARRACKS MILITIA STOP FOUR SOLDIERS FIVE MILITIAMEN PUT OUT OF ACTION STOP SEVERAL WOUNDED STOP AFTER AT-TACK ENEMY RETALIATED ARRESTING CIVILIAN POPULATION STOP CONFIRMED MANY ALREADY DIED IN PRISON FULLSTOP\***

This is how the enemy react. Incapable of fighting us effectively, they turn on the local population. The criminal destruction of crops (two-thirds of our cultivated land) with the aid of defoliants and other chemical agents, is creating problems for the population which it is only possible to remedy because of the dedication of the organs of people's power.

The creation of special enemy units composed exclusively of Angolans has proved fruitless. After a little experience, these "special troops" realise that they are being used as cannon fodder and they desert in massive numbers. On the Cabinda Front, for example, the enemy were obliged to withdraw all the "special troops" born in that district and transfer them to central and northern Angola. Today our fighters there are again having to deal only with Portuguese soldiers.

The advantage the enemy had in previous years during the dry season in the savanna regions, when they were able to carry out large numbers of reprisal raids against the

civilian population, was lost this year when our forces, properly regrouped, besieged and shelled many of their barracks. This is one of the reasons for the growing demoralisation which now reigns in the enemy ranks.

The economic crisis now smouldering in Angola is sharpening the ferocity of those responsible for colonial policy, who already feel that time is against them.

Their military expenditure in 1970 — 140,000 million CFA francs — was four times higher than in 1961, when the war broke out. Over the past three years, there has been an average annual increase of 11%.

The budget for Angola bore 20,000 million of this. Costa Oliveira, Portuguese Secretary for Planning and the Treasury, said over the official radio in Angola on 21 December last:

".....If we take into account the high extraordinary sums spent on counter-subversion (establishing civilian administrative network, building roads and airports, telecommunications, regrouping and progress of population) and which come under the Angolan budget, it is easy to conclude that the budget figures related to defence are far below what is actually spent."

This war effort which loans from the United States and other sources are failing to cover, is wearing away the finances and economy of both Portugal and Angola.

The public debt is rising all the time. In 1970 in Angola, it was 4.5 times greater than in 1961, and in the past three years alone it has increased by 50%. The same phenomenon is apparent in Portugal, where the public debt amounts to 350,000 million CFA francs. This figure is very much higher than the budget itself.

This state of affairs is already giving rise to disarray and panic among the settlers, who are divided as to the position they should take. Some wish to organise themselves on racist lines, as in Rhodesia, and to break with Portugal. Others are addressing themselves to us and asking what future we foresee for them. As President NETO said in his message on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the founding of the MPLA:

".....It would be good if the settlers were to understand that it is not in their interests to throw themselves into the arms of South Africa, the United States of America, France or Federal Germany. In this event, they would be as colonised and exploited as 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."

Our victories, which the enemy themselves cannot conceal, have won us the sympathy and support of a great number of governments and organisations.

Today, in addition to the solidarity of a great number of African countries and socialist countries, we enjoy the active sympathy of some Western governments and numerous support groups in Europe and America.

Many governments receive the leaders of the liberation movements to express their unconditional support.

On the other hand, Portugal's isolation is growing and demoralisation is gaining ground in the ranks of the colonialist troops.

Once again, we thank our Congolese comrades, and this on behalf of the PAIGC, FRELIMO and the MPLA, for this proof of active solidarity they are now offering us and which, we are certain, will be a brilliant success. Our friendship will emerge from it strengthened. Our enemies will feel the results.

**OUR VICTORY  
IS CERTAIN!**

Brazzaville  
27.12.71.

## ANGOLA IN ARMS (English edition)

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# War Communiqué

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 co-ordination 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 co-ordinate repression.

Thousands of troops, civil defence militia, PIDE/DG 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 Pereira d'Eca (Njiva) with a view to ensuring full psychosocial 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 the 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.

## *Extracts from a report sent from Southern Angola by an M.P.L.A. 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 manifesto is written in English, Afrikaans 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 the 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 Angolan 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 hundred 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 who were siding with the Portuguese authorities.

But the rebellion is spreading to the other side of the frontier. On 18 January, the people at the Honguena 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 machetes, 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 battalion arrived at the frontier. They opened fire, but there were no victims. There were many arrests.

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# War Communiqué

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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 PIDE" 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

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. 12 January the people of Cunene District in Southern Angola also entered armed struggle. This action is further expression of general revolt of Angolan people against Portuguese colonialism and for freedom independence in implementation of watchword launched by MPLA for generalising armed struggle throughout territory. The Action in Cunene District taking place when Namibian people waging powerful struggle constitutes fundamental step to end colonial domination in the region. Particularly direct threat to imperialist project construction Cunene Dam by South Africa and Portugal.

This explains why Portugal and South Africa reacted promptly and simultaneously and jointly in such desperate and barbaric way. Incapable of facing the armed forces of MPLA Portuguese and South African troops engaged in systematic attacks and massacres against population of villages old people, women and children have been slaughtered in Cunene-District. MPLA denounces these new crimes against Angolan people which are result of

persistence Portuguese colonialism and fascist racist regime of South Africa. 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.

## VICTORY IS CERTAIN

The Executive Committee  
of the M.P.L.A.



M.P.L.A. President inside Angola

Excellency  
Diallo Telli  
General Secretary OAU  
Addis Ababa

I have honour call your attention to new developments and armed struggle in Angola. 12 January the people of Cunene District in Southern Angola also entered armed struggle. This action is further expression of general revolt of Angolan people against Portuguese colonialism and for freedom independence in implementation of watchword launched by MPLA for generalising armed struggle constitutes fundamental step to end colonial racist domination in the region. Particularly direct threat to imperialist project construction Cunene Dam by South Africa and Portugal. This explains why Portugal and South Africa reacted promptly and simultaneously and jointly in such desperate and

barbaric way. Incapable of facing the armed forces of MPLA Portuguese and South Africans engaged in systematic attacks and massacres against population of villages. Old people women and children have been slaughtered in Cunene District. MPLA denounces these new crimes against Angolan people which are result of persistence Portuguese colonialism and fascist racist regime of South Africa. Appeals OAU 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.

Dar es Salaam,

17 February, 1972

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
MPLA

MPLA-DIP branch in Tanzania

# PORTUGAL, THE WAR AND THE NEED FOR AN INCENTIVE

## PORUGAL, THE WAR AND THE NEED FOR AN INCENTIVE

The so-called official broadcasting station of Angola has announced the issuing of a decree by the Overseas Ministry of Senhor Caetano's government in which settlers who take part in the fascist army's terrorist operations are guaranteed a pension which can be rightly considered an invalid pension.

The colonialist decree constitutes a confession of tremendous importance, which the most casual observer can see to be pregnant with implications.

For a long time now, one of the major preoccupations of Senhor Caetano's government has been put an end to the mass emigration to central Europe of Portuguese of military age. The Portuguese government is already aware that its people are tired of the war, fed up with it. Emigration, increasing desertions among the youth and the general discontent, ranging from the far right, which wants more violence, to the more liberal in the regime, who want a greater display of courage in Europeanising Caetano's policy of relative democracy, are all factors which place it in an uncomfortable and difficult position. In Angola the growing disbelief in the ability of the fascist troops to resist the revolutionary forces is alarming the colonialists and causing very deep divisions in the ranks of Portuguese terrorism, weakening it in proportion as it increases its rapid criminality.

The settler ultras have created a shock group they call the Cross and the Sword, with the same characteristics as the old French OAS during the colonial decline in Algeria. This group, which has embarked upon the cold-blooded murder of Angolans and the use of all kinds of violence against members of the Portuguese population suspected of sympathies with the Revolution, would like to become a forefront armed force for the establishment in Angola of a white minority regime of the Ian Smith type.

Faced by the accumulation of insoluble problems in Caetano's line, euphemistically termed a line of continuity and liberalisation, the

Portuguese government is confronted by what are, for it, major problems. All Caetano attempts to apply the dubious and ambiguous methods of its demagogic and fake reformist stance have come up against the fierce opposition of the ultra forces, who see in this ambiguity only defeatist blunders. Senhor Caetano, for his part, cannot decree that all the settlers transform themselves into soldiers, for fear of upsets which might prove fatal, and neither can he stem the tide of war casualties, deserters or those who have completed four or more years of the colonial campaign, but he believes he has found a stop-gap solution for the situation by promising a miserable pension to settlers who help the troops to die or who fall in their stead. At the same time, by promising cash rewards to soldiers who distinguish themselves in the repression against the Angolan people, the fascist government is turning its own soldiers into mercenaries. Nothing could be more clear than the crisis gripping the fascist and colonialist Portuguese government. The campaign is going badly when, for lack of able-bodied men, they have to promise the aged invalid pensions and pay the rest rewards to make them act.

It was not long ago that Portuguese propaganda claimed that the morale of the troops was high and as firm as a rock. It was also only a short time back that Senhor Rebelo, the Minister of War, made a speech in Santa Margaride in which he expressed his confidence in the soldiers going to fight in the colonies. Present developments would appear to contradict such optimism. Neither total disapproval of a policy, nor mercenariness and commercialism employed in its implementation can provide the moral basis either for its pursuit or for its justification.

Where is the so-highly vaunted ideal moving the Portuguese soldiers? Where is the patriotism which makes men into assassins instead of elevating them? In the extra pay given for each man killed?

With such forced manoeuvres for salvation, Senhor

Caetano will not go far, just as none of the colonialists, whether stubborn or not, have succeeded. Just a trifle more intelligence and courage, a little more patriotism, would prompt Caetano to take the only possible step before it is too late, that of recognising the right of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau to independence, and of opening negotiations for the immediate transfer of power to the respective nationalist parties - the MPLA, FRELIMO and the PAIGC.

The falacious incentive of an invalid pension cannot convince a man to run the risk of dying for something in which he does not believe. In these ten years of struggle in Angola, the Portuguese who are colonialists have already had the opportunity to take up arms, to kill and to die, to create the Cross and the Sword and to safeguard the millions stolen from the Angolan people in some Swiss bank. There are others whose movements are circumscribed by fear and the certainty of eventual defeat. The others silently disapprove of a policy against which they have not yet had the courage to rebel, or else they try to safeguard the future by their absence. Whatever the reaction to the decree, it is evidence of total bankruptcy. After ten years of war, the so-called official broadcasting station of Angola has given a clear-cut definition of the failure of the policy it propounds:

Invalid pensions for the settlers who want to fight.

Rewards for the soldiers who kill and fight.

The decree, as we said at the start, is fraught with implications. Among them is one which seems to have passed unnoticed by Senhor Caetano's government itself, which is that problems requiring the solutions it usually adopts generally open the way to internal haemorrhage, cerebral congestion or a coup d'état. It all amounts to the same thing. Colonialism is finished, completely defeated.

# CONCEPT OF REVOLUTIONARY EDUCATION

Faced with a colonial heritage which is characterised by a very high rate of illiteracy, a dire shortage of cadres and a very low level of general culture, the MPLA decided at the very outset to fight for schooling and a revolution in education.

The various aspects of an education policy were drawn up little by little, experiments were tried, and now we are really beginning to have a theoretical education which is more or less adapted to our needs. The conditions are already ripe for a radical change in education structures.

The existence now of large liberated areas where MPLA schools are operating and where the masses are being taught literacy, had led us to conceive of an education of a new type, with programmes and textbooks totally unlike the colonial education and adapted to our own conditions and aims. In planning this new type of education we studied the experiences of revolutionary countries, but we have taken into account certain factors specific to us.

## PRIMARY EDUCATION

Our primary schools provide five years of study, the initiation class and four primary classes.

The pupil does not learn how to read in the initiation class. This is done the following year. Initiation involves essentially learning to use the Portuguese language, acquiring the mechanics of mathematics, observing nature and the surrounding social environment, and introducing first notions of the social and political role of man and his essential aspect, collective labour. All this is learnt through agricultural work, games, looking at pictures, song and the technique of socio-drama. The teacher is guided by a detailed manual prepared by our education services, which can be adapted to all the regions in Angola. This class, which could be called pre-primary, is of fundamental importance, because it is through it that the child comes in contact with the school and the collective life. He is given basic concepts which enable him to learn to read, write, do sums and gain knowledge of the sciences.

This preliminary year is indispensable, especially in the regions in the interior where

the children do not start off knowing the Portuguese language.

The four next classes are programmed for teaching language, mathematics, natural science and training as a militant. The history of Angola and geography come only in the last two years.

## THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

One outstanding problem is language, both in primary schools, especially in the rural areas, and in adult literacy teaching. Indeed, the vast majority of the Angolan people do not know enough Portuguese. Only the urban population has sufficient basic knowledge of Portuguese to be able to learn literacy effectively. But the urban population represents no more than 15% of the total population and, moreover, our activity is essentially among the rural masses.

Furthermore, we have eight large linguistic groups, not counting the few nuclei of people who speak Khoi-Khoi or Saan.

To teach in every language would be impossible, at least at present. Choosing one of the national languages is not practicable either, since there would still be large sectors of the population not knowing that language, which would first have to be made functional, to say nothing of the political problems this would give rise to. It is true that choosing the language of the colonisers favours the children coming from those social strata which have gained the most advantages from the social differentiation created by the colonialists. The preliminary year makes it possible partially to bridge this social and linguistic gap.

## LITERACY — AN ARDUOUS TASK

But for the adults the problem remains unchanged. It is not possible, in their case, to do one year of language learning before going on to normal education. The regions where adult literacy teaching has been tried are those where Portuguese influence has been less marked, owing to the limited economic interest taken in them. This is why literacy has been very low in those regions up to now.

## TEXTBOOKS NOT ENOUGH

We have produced a literacy textbook, basing our-

selves on the experience of other underdeveloped countries. A teacher's guide gives step by step explanations of the method, and develops the political themes to be dealt with during the course. A literacy class, which involves an optimum number of eight pupils, is conducted in the following way. At the top of each lesson there is always a drawing on a political theme. The teacher starts by asking questions aimed at stimulating discussion or stressing an essential point. The teacher therefore plays an important but unobtrusive role. The discussion is carried on by the pupils, who must arrive at the conclusion expressed by the phrase with which the lesson starts. Then words are singled out of the phrase, and syllables out of the words. From then on, the traditional method is used.

## INTEGRATE THE PUPILS

The advantage of this method is that it immediately interests the pupil in the theme, integrating him in the lesson, as it were. The other aim is to free the adult illiterate of any possible complexes and to reduce the psychological distance between teacher and pupil. A good atmosphere for collective work is immediately established. Even the seating of the teacher is important. He must sit among his pupils and never in a raised position, like a schoolmaster high on his rostrum.

## TEACH LITERACY TO THE RURAL AREAS IN THE COUNTRY'S LANGUAGES

With pupils who have some knowledge of the Portuguese language our method has proved to be excellent, since it relates rapid literacy teaching to political education. We now intend to use the same method in the rural areas, using the national languages. This will mean producing a number of textbooks and training many teachers, but the time saved in teaching literacy should compensate for these initial difficulties.

## CREATED SECONDARY EDUCATION

We are now also organising secondary education and our first secondary school

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# MOVE TOWARDS EDUCATION

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is already operating in the People's Republic of the Congo, in the town of Dolisie. Secondary education covers four years, each divided into two terms. There are two two-year stages.

The first is a common course, the second specialised. Two branches have been provided to start with: (a) intermediary and higher technical courses, (b) medical, para-medical, biological etc. courses.

If it proves possible, a third branch will be created, centred on the social sciences. This structure is due to the need to speed up the training of higher cadres, and we felt it better to forgo the luxury of six or seven years of secondary education filled with general knowledge which is certainly interesting but not essential in a country such as ours, which is extremely backward, both economically and socially. Prime importance will therefore be given to scientific education.

## NO RECITING OF READY-MADE FORMULAS

We noted, however, that the children had a tendency to recite ready-made formulas, sometimes without even having grasped their meaning. We know from our experience that historical conditions have created a tendency towards myth-making. Slogans are quickly taken up by the mass-

es of the people, but they soon become empty slogans if their meaning is not immediately gone into more deeply. And what we want are militants who are able to reason politically. The first and necessary stage of the slogan must immediately be superseded by a profound understanding of the political fact. We are therefore fighting the robot mentality among the children in our schools. And it could be done away with easily if one were to make children recite constantly changing formulas derived from direct confrontation with everyday life.

## SOCIO-DRAMAS PUT ON BY THE PUPILS

Having noted these factors, we worked out a kind of political education which, in our opinion, does away with the mechanical repetition of fundamental principles of revolutionary theory. This education is based on socio-dramas put on by the pupils.

Each course tackles a theme or part of a political theme. There are three essential elements in each class: the choir, the characters and the political instructor. The role of the choir is to explain the action and to express the political conclusion to be drawn. The other pupils play the various parts. If it is a matter of explaining imperialism, there will be monopoly capi-

talists, the workers and peasants of dependent countries, the head of a puppet government, etc. The political instructor's role is solely to give out the parts and to draw attention to the most important facts.

## THE PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

Psychologically, these three elements act as follows: (a) the necessary emotional element in the child's identification with the character or atmosphere he has recreated; (b) a rational element provided by the choir, which creates psychological objectivity and thereby prevents irrational emotional involvement; (c) a political element provided by the political instructor, or by the final choir which spells out the political principle to be remembered.

This method enables the child to identify with his part and, therefore, to know it from inside. This is very important, especially for abstract themes which the child has heard about but finds it hard to grasp the real meaning of (e.g. imperialism). This also goes for other themes such as tribalism, racism or fetishism, certain unconscious manifestations of which are not seen to be such. It is a question of making the child re-live situa-

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# POEM — By Eugenia Neto

Weep land burnt by defolants  
 Weep fertile sap become sterile  
 Weep dessicated leaves  
 Weep too the tilled soil  
 Weep immense savanas  
 Spread with moans and weariness  
 For your sons are dying of hunger and desolation  
 Raise up for men's eyes  
 Burnt pulverised branches  
 As in tellurian hecatombs  
 And resuscitate the consciousness  
 of men who defy history  
 (Oh beloved earth theatre of so much folly!)

What are the aims of men  
 Wanting to reach other worlds  
 While here on earth they kill  
 And hate one another?

Weep my unknown brothers  
 Honest men from all the continents  
 Brothers in this search for justice

Weep because you are divided  
 By philosophic concepts  
 And the monsters advance  
 And the monsters destroy!

We are the Keplers the Robespierres the Galileos  
 — Now as in the past —  
 Men reject the dialectics of the world  
 And NATO bullets  
 Fell the heroes of our century.  
 We know the future will be ours!

(But we are dying!)

And you, Mother Earth, lose your finest sons  
 In this advancing and retreating.  
 Time passes and the crime continues.

We are dying  
 Victims of philosophical discord  
 Between those who are with us and  
 Want the collapse of the past  
 (But we are dying!)

Listen to the cries of pain  
 of the infertile savanas  
 Filled with salt from the tears of its sons  
 Over these five centuries!

Listen in the voice of the wind  
 How they tell you  
 Of the colossal effort of the poets  
 Who, wanting to build lakes of love  
 Across the lands  
 Are on the battlefield!

Listen in the sound of the rivers  
 To the colossus of pain  
 Of those who learned to save the lives of others  
 And weave projects of death  
 To live and give continuity to their people  
 Weep for those between two worlds of incomprehension  
 Hated and not understood  
 Marching forward  
 Armed only  
 With their consciousness  
 (Arm yourselves with hearts of steel Oh my brothers!)

Weep the parting of sons and fathers  
 Of husbands and wives  
 Weep the lack of caresses  
 On the heads of our children

Weep the absence of tenderness  
 On marvellous nights  
 When the earth unfolds in symphonies...

Weep the perfume that leaves  
 The unclasped hands of lovers

For they are far away on the battlefield

Weep the lost friendship  
 Of a comrade fallen for ever  
 Who will never return, never!

Oh weep Just of the earth our drama  
 May the chasms echo  
 Our indignation  
 Through the molecules of matter  
 And may our hands weave the antidote  
 To oppose the cruel reality of our days.

Oh my brothers unite!  
 And let us say to the lords of the earth:  
 "YOU SHALL NOT ADVANCE!"

(The wall built by our hands  
 is unmoveable!)

The earth has belonged to you these thousands  
 of years.

Enough!

Now we shall be  
 The just of the earth holding the rudders  
 And you will see, my brothers  
 There will be no more war in Angola  
 The hands of the guerrillas will leave their  
 weapons  
 The hands of the Portuguese soldiers  
 Will go to till the soil  
 And cover it with flowers  
 And one day  
 Not far from that moment  
 Men who once killed each other  
 Can build in unity  
 The future of mankind,

## Press release - I/72

### Meeting between the Danish Foreign Minister and the President of the M.P.L.A.

In the course of the present official visit to Zambia of the Danish Delegation led by the Danish Foreign Minister, Mr. Knud Andersen, a meeting was held 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.

15th March, 1972  
 Dar es Salaam.

M.P.L.A. Department of Information and Propaganda

# ANGOLA:

## The next Vietnam?

According to the U.S. State Department: "United States policy towards Angola rests on three basic points:

1. consistent with national principles, the government believes that all people are entitled to the right of self-determination;

2. the Government's aim is to encourage a peaceful and equitable solution to the Angolan problem, based on self-determination principles; and

3. It is hoped that Portugal will be able to play a constructive future role in Angola and elsewhere in Africa." progressive government working 'responsibly' for Angolan self-determination. There is, however, a contradiction between supporting Angolan self-determination and the statement that: "The United States recognises the contribution made in Africa by Portugal and feels it is important that Portugal continue to contribute to the stability of that continent." In practice the U.S. has consistently resolved this contradiction by taking the side of Portugal. This is reflected in the voting record of the U.S. in the United Nations. Of this record the State Department says: "The United States has supported resolutions in the United Nations aimed at encouraging this (an accelerated programme of reform by Portugal) but has opposed resolutions which it has considered extreme and not conducive to the peaceful resolution of the problem." In other words, the U.S. has supported measures politely asking Portugal to treat its subjects a little better but has rejected ones which demand an end to Portugal's brutal subjugation of the Angolan people.

The support given by the U.S. has supported measures U.S. to Portugal in the Angolan war of liberation is not surprising if one considers the nature and extent of U.S. economic interests in Angola. In 1968 the U.S. took 25% of Angola's exports valued at \$57 million through direct

trade channels and, in addition, a considerable amount indirectly through the Portuguese, South African, German and British trading areas.

The real importance of this trade however is its composition. Angola's exports are comprised almost exclusively of coffee, petroleum and diamonds. U.S. control in these three industries is extensive.

Angola is the world's third largest coffee producer and now exports 2/3 of its crops to the U.S. The consequences of this dependence of a basically 'one-crop' economy on a limited range of markets are well known - dangerously fluctuating prices force economic dependence of the primary producer on the developed nations on whose markets they depend. Pierre Jalee, the well known French economist, notes that although the United Nations has negotiated an international agreement for the stabilization of coffee prices in 1962 "...the international agreement on coffee has not produced the stabilization desired by both producers and consumers". In addition, the United States has resolutely opposed many attempts in the U.N. to redesign these agreements.

Where other primary products are concerned the U.S. has had to rely more on capital penetration in order to continue its resource exploitation. U.S. owned or controlled companies are increasingly becoming engaged in tapping the wealth of the Portuguese empire in collaboration with the Portuguese government which allows the exploitation of Angolan resources — human and natural — in return for U.S. financial and military support for a repressive campaign against the indigenous peoples. For further information of this struggle see our fact sheet "The Armed Struggle in Angola".

One of the best examples of this rape of Angola's mineral resources by U.S. interests is the concession granted by the Portuguese government to the Cabinda Gulf Oil Company. In June 1958 Cabinda Gulf, backed by the financial resources of the Gulf Oil Com-

pany of the U.S., the Chase Manhattan Bank and the National City Bank of New York, secured an exclusive concession for five years prospecting and fifty years of mineral exploitation along the coastline and continental shelf off the enclave of Cabinda. This agreement gave the company full freedom to produce, save, sell and export all substances extracted from the concession area.

Contrary to most current theories of economic development this investment does not provide for any independent development of the Angolan economy that would bring progressive changes to the living conditions of the Angolan people. This industry, like others in Angola, is essentially export oriented, and therefore "... is not expected to provide many new employment opportunities in Angola". Most opportunities provided are for technical and engineering personnel and are recruited from other subsidiaries of the Gulf Oil Company.

U.S. interests are deeply involved in the Angolan Diamond Company (DIAMANG), of which the initial capital of over \$2½ million "... was divided between a 40% majority holding in 'American hands', another 40% between various English and Belgian concerns, and only 5% for the Angolan government. (Angola is governed by a white minority territorial government). Diamang has a "virtual monopoly on diamond production and yet is exempt from taxes, pays no import duty on mine machinery, no export duty on diamonds, and has at its exclusive disposal the African work force of the Luanda area". Diamang workers are the lowest paid mineworkers anywhere in Africa. The company, however, receives net profits four times the amount of wages paid to its more than 25,000 workers. In return, the company maintains its own garrison force and has given direct

(Continued on Page 16)

# ANGOLA: The Next Vietnam?

(Continued from Page 15)

financial support to the Portuguese government ... for the maintenance of peace and order in Angola".

As well as these investments, many U.S. firms are collaborating with Portuguese firms in Angola. For example, the Portuguese company MABOR, which is establishing a rubber industry in Luanda, is associated with General Tire and Rubber Company of the U.S. This type of investment is known to be increasing in recent years, although its exact extent is difficult to determine due to the complexity of these financial relationships.

In addition to capital penetration by U.S. manufacturing and primary producers, U.S. investment banks help aid and accelerate this continued exploitation through loans and aid to the Portuguese government and other Portuguese companies. For example, in 1965, \$6 million was invested in a Portuguese airline serving Angola and Mozambique that was being boycotted by the African countries. These financial interests provide backing for the war-ravaged Portuguese economy — in 1963, loans

totalling \$35 million were made to the Portuguese government, and in 1967 the Portuguese government raised \$12 million through the sale of development bonds through Dillon Reed and Company Incorporated of the United States.

With economic interests to this extent, it is not surprising that the U.S. gives military aid to Portugal, both directly, and indirectly through NATO. In spite of her declared opposition to fascist dictatorships, the U.S. sold or gave a total of \$500 million in weapons and armaments to Portugal during the period of 1951 to 1961, and since 1963 has advanced upwards of \$400 million annually for the continued support of Portugal's colonial wars. As the U.S. Secretary of Defence Melvin Laird puts it: "... we must define America's interests ... not only in Southeast Asia, but ... in other equally important parts of the world where conflicts are erupting." In this connection Laird paid tribute to "... the importance of Portugal to American foreign policy with regard both to the Atlantic community and to Africa."

The picture drawn here is one of increasing investment

in Angola by U.S. firms who take advantage of cheap labour, investment guarantees, tax exemptions and freedom to export raw materials and profits. The Portuguese government has continued to grant very favourable terms to monopolies investing in the colonies and "... by 1960, it had removed almost all the obstacles to the import of capital and export of profits." Why has Portugal allowed this? In return for these concessions, U.S. interests "... help Portugal continue its control over the territories and to finance its oppressive measures and military operations against the African inhabitants." While Portugal continues this premeditated policy and the United States continues its financial and material assistance, pleas from the United Nations go unheard: "... the international monopolies have concluded a virtual alliance with the Portuguese government for the repression of the liberation movement in Angola ... they are the main obstacles to the people of Angola."

DIP Dar es Salaam, March 1972.

## Move towards education

(Continued from Page 13)

tions in which there are manifestations of these reactions, which are often subtle and which can greatly affect our personal behaviour. Instead of blaming tribalism, racism or fetishism in an abstract way, one tries to show the way in which they reveal themselves, their mechanisms and their harmful effects. These are some of the important principles of our ideological work, the consistent aim of which is to create the new man. 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 at Dolisie, including five blocks (hostel, primary school, secondary school, secre-

- tariat 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 projectors 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 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**

# War Communiqué

In pursuing their politico-military operations, which have substantially countered and defeated planned enemy offensives aimed at destroying MPLA bases and at preventing not only the steady advance of our guerrilla forces, but also the support of the people and their participation in the guerrilla war, the MPLA fighters have inflicted further heavy losses on the Portuguese colonialist armed forces.

In a series of battles fought between 16 November and 18 December, which are described below, the following results were registered:

Known enemy losses: — 96 soldiers put out of action.

MPLA losses: — 6 fighters, 3 women and 1 child killed, 9 slightly wounded.

## EASTERN FRONT

**16/11/71** — TWO MPLA Sections were attacked by an enemy platoon near the Luxaze river. Our guerrillas promptly retaliated, killing two and wounding five.

**18/11/71** — Portuguese armed forces encircled a group of MPLA fighters on the banks of the Lunhone river. Properly organised, our guerrillas broke the encirclement and the enemy suffered five dead and seven wounded.

**20/11/71** — Large-scale enemy forces heavily supported by aircraft encircled the fortified positions of an MPLA detachment in Zone C of the Third Region.

The enemy forces were dispersed in four groups. During the fierce battle that was fought, our fighters succeeded in driving back the enemy troops, after engaging in fierce hand to hand fighting when ammunition ran short.

However, the enemy suffered twenty-seven known losses. On our side, we deeply regret the death of six guerrillas, three women and a child, in addition to nine slightly wounded.

**30/11/71** — A group of MPLA fighters attacked the Xindupu strategic hamlet situated 800 metres from the Sandandu station.

## SEVERE LOSSES INFILCTED ON THE PORTUGUESE COLONIALIST ARMED FORCES.

Two police barracks and five militia barracks were destroyed. Four policemen and five militiamen were killed and a good many more wounded.

In reprisal for the losses they suffered, the Portuguese colonialist troops retaliated against the civilian population, indiscriminately beating and seizing people. According to confirmed reports, many civilians died in prison owing to the brutality of the repressive measures used.

That same day, a Section of MPLA fighters heading towards the Luiano post ambushed an enemy military truck transporting twenty-four enemy soldiers. The vehicle was completely destroyed and all its occupants killed.

**4/12/71** — A small group of MPLA fighters on a reconnaissance mission attacked a column of militiamen from the Kwate post, killing one and wounding one. A Mauser was captured from the enemy.

**7/12/71** — Enemy troops proceeding by truck to the Gago Coutinho post hit one of our anti-tank mines laid near the Luxe river. The vehicle was completely destroyed and all its occupants killed.

That same day, at 3 p.m., another military vehicle carrying enemy troops was proceeding from the Dima post to the Kundjamba river to get water when it also hit one of the mines laid by MPLA guerrillas. Five soldiers were killed and four others wounded.

**8/12/71** — At 10 am., a group of enemy soldiers, also from the Dima post, attempted to reach the Kundjamba river on foot and entered a field of anti-personnel mines. Four Portuguese soldiers were killed and two wounded.

**13/12/71** — An MPLA squadron made up of guerrillas from Sectors 4 and 5 of Zone E of the Southern Sub-Region attacked the Mitete military

post at 1 o'clock in the morning.

The attack was carried out with mortars, rocket-launchers and bazookas, combined with intensive light arm fire from an infantry group which approached to within 100 metres of the objective, and it resulted in the total destruction of the Mitete post.

Owing to the fact that the arms and fuel depots were hit by shells, violent fire broke out and spread to the secretariat, the troop dormitory, the electricity generator and the radio installations, lasting several hours.

After an instantaneous reaction at the beginning of the attack, the enemy stopped firing completely.

In an operation combined with this attack, anti-tank mines were laid along the road from Gago Coutinho to Mitete, so as to impede probable troop reinforcements. As anticipated, three military trucks blew up on our mines and were totally destroyed. Most of their occupants were put out of action. In all these operations the enemy suffered uncounted losses.

**18/12/71** — At 7.30 p.m., an MPLA detachment once again attacked the Ninda post with intensive mortar and rocket-launcher fire. The enemy were incapable of answering our fighters' fire and they suffered unknown losses.

## VICTORY IS CERTAIN

**The Executive Committee of the M.P.L.A.**

N.B. In the course of battles fought in the months of September, October and part of November (see War Communiques Nos. 40, 41 and 42), MPLA fighters inflicted severe losses on the Portuguese armed forces, the total number for that period amounting to:

Known enemy losses: — 188 soldiers put out of action.

MPLA losses: — 6 fighters killed, 13 wounded.

**DIP  
Lusaka, 30/12/71**

# WAR COMMUNIQUE

In a new series of battles fought towards the end of 1971 and the beginning of 1972, the Portuguese colonialist armed forces continued to succumb to the effectiveness of the MPLA fighters' politico-military operations. The following results were registered:

Know enemy losses: — 85 soldiers put out of action. Material captured from the enemy: 1 individual tent, 1 G3 magazine, 2 FAL magazines, 535 rounds of 7.62 calibre NATO ammunition, 1 rifle grenade launcher, 2 hand grenades, 1 machete, 1 military cap, 1 axe.

MPLA losses: — 1 fighter killed, 1 slightly wounded.

## EASTERN FRONT (Northern Sub-Region)

4/12/71 — One enemy soldier was seriously wounded by the explosion of an anti-personnel mine laid by our fighters on a path near Mukulongo.

5/12/71 — Another group of enemy soldiers also set off one of our anti-personnel min-

es in the same place. One sergeant was killed and one Portuguese soldier wounded.

7/12/71 — A colonialist soldier was seriously wounded when he set off a mined booby trap laid on the bridge over the Luache river near Mukulongo.

That same day, a group of enemy soldiers set off a further mined booby trap laid in a place previously abandoned by our fighters, resulting in one dead and one wounded who were later taken by helicopter.

12/12/71 — At 11.30 a.m. on the Bucaco-Lumeje road, a group of MPLA fighters ambushed a column of six enemy Unimog vehicles transporting troops and members of the Angolan population who were being forced to go and destroy the cassava crops in the areas under MPLA control. Our fighters destroyed two Unimogs with rocket grenade launcher fire, putting out of action twenty-eight Portuguese colonialist troops.

That same day, at the same time, a group of enemy soldiers attempted to attack one of our detachment's ad-

vanced posts. Taken by surprise by our fighters' immediate and violent retaliation, the enemy beat a hasty retreat, leaving behind them 1 individual tent, 1 G3 magazine, 2 FAL magazines, 35 rounds of 7.62 calibre NATO ammunition and 1 rifle grenade launcher.

16/12/71 — A group of MPLA fighters attacked an enemy camp at the former Mukulongo post.

The attack, which started at 1 p.m. and lasted about ten minutes, caused the enemy twelve dead and five wounded who were subsequently taken by helicopter to the Lumeje post, to which the rest had retreated in search of help.

19/12/71 — Trying to take one of our guerrilla patrols by surprise, two groups of militiamen and Katangese mercenaries assigned to patrol the Tchonga river opened fire on each other. Six militiamen were killed and one Katangese mercenary and one militiaman wounded.

Between 19 and 24 December, colonialist troops camping between the Mulondola and Luxaze rivers were attacked by our guerrilla forces. After four battles the enemy had suffered fifteen dead and eight wounded who were later taken away by helicopter. The militiamen accompanying the colonialist soldiers fled to the Xafinda barracks where, a day later, some were imprisoned and others killed. Our fighters captured 2 hand grenades, 1 machete and 1 military cap.

29/12/72 — An MPLA guerrilla unit attacked and destroyed an enemy camp near the Lumbala barracks. Taken unaware by the swiftness of the attack, the enemy forces retreated to seek refuge in the barracks, carrying with them their dead and wounded.

## SOUTHERN SUB-REGION

25/11/71 — A large group of Portuguese colonialist troops from the Lutembo post was spotted by MPLA fighters on guard at one of our detachment's advanced posts. An ambush was immediately prepared and the enemy were subjected to intense rocket grenade launcher, bazooka and light machine-gun fire, which forced the enemy troops to beat a hasty retreat, carrying with them a considerable number of dead and wounded. The exact number is not known. One of our fighters was slightly wounded.

22/12/71 — A group of

# WOMEN'S MEETING

## MEETING OF THE BUREAU OF THE WOMEN'S INTER- NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION

At the meeting of the Bureau of the Women's International Democratic Federation which took place in Berlin from 23 to 26 November 1971, Cecile Hugel, the Secretary General of that international organisation, presented the report on the activities of the Federation's Secretariat.

".....In accordance with decisions taken some time back, the Secretariat stepped up its efforts on behalf of the women and children in the countries subjected to Portuguese rule — Angola, Guinea and Cape Verde, and Mozambique — who are living under terrible conditions in a colonial war, the victims of bombing raids, napalm, chemical agents etc. and who now more than ever need our political, moral and material solidarity.

It is in this context that one should see the visit I made to the liberated regions of Angola under MPLA control, on the

invitation of the Organisation of Angolan Women (OMA).

At the same time, this visit, the first made by an international organisation to liberated Angola, enabled us to give wide publicity to the situation and struggle of Angolan women and to call for increased solidarity with their Organisation.

Our visit to Angola showed us that OMA is faced with numerous tasks in the fields of health, education and involvement in the economic life of the liberated regions. I think we must help the Angolan women even more concretely, especially as regards the training of cadres....."

## SPECIAL UNESCO PRIZE AWARDED TO OMA

On the proposal of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), UNESCO has awarded the Nadejda Krupskaya Literacy Prize to the Organisation of Angolan Women (OMA).

It is important to emphasise and appreciate the full political significance of this UNESCO decision.

(Continued on Page 19)

# NORTHERN SUB-REGION — AN EVOLVING SITUATION

The tenth year of the Angolan people's liberation struggle marks an important turning point, militarily speaking. It is true that this new phase is characterised more by the qualitative than by the quantitative aspect, but this qualitative improvement is tending to spread and, most important, it is already giving a taste of new progress made by MPLA fighters in the art of war.

The introduction of new methods of combat, the use of new tactics and the constant improvement of both individual and collective technique has given our forces greater fighting power and driven the enemy into more defensive positions. From the beginning of this year, the strategic encirclement to which the colonialist barracks have been subjected has been tightened and at some points we have gone over to a tactical encirclement with positive results.

Our most spectacular victory in the first eight months of 1971 was the evacuation of Karipande Barracks by the Portuguese troops. Despite its ideal strategic position, owing to the effectiveness and tenacity of our attacks, the Portuguese Command were forced to cede

this position to us. Our tactic was, first, to isolate Karipande strategically through a series of both small and large operations which cut it off from other Portuguese garrisons. Then we carried out a large-scale attack followed by continual shelling. And while the tactical encirclement was being tightened, there was continued intensification of the strategic encirclement, which had as its high point the attack on Lumbala (West), with the almost total destruction of installations housing around 250 naval gunners, looked upon as crack troops by the Portuguese military authorities.

Feeling that the conditions assault on Karipande, the colonialist Command ordered the evacuation of the barracks in order to avoid a defeat which could have led to greater demoralisation among their forces. As with the other attacks, the decision to make this attack was not taken just like that. The Northern Sub-Region Command planned it after making a thorough study of the situation and of enemy tactics.

As in previous years, the

enemy launched their offensives during the dry season with the aim of searching out and destroying our bases. The essential features of our forces' military activity during this season were pitched battles, ambushes on colonialist troops and the laying of minefields. The Portuguese troops sometimes had the tactical initiative, but our fighters retained the initiative in action, and therefore succeeded in defeating enemy attacks.

Over the past years there has been a certain balance of forces, with a slight advantage to the patriotic forces, who never lost the strategic initiative. In proceeding to carry out this year's plan, aimed essentially at changing the balance of forces in our favour, the Command of the Northern Sub-Region, implementing its watchword "Mobility on all sides", decided to use the tactic of paralysing enemy activity by violent surprise attacks on points used for support purposes. It was in this connection that operation

"In Memory of the Martyrs" was planned and carried out in an area where the enemy had embarked upon activity directed principally against the local population. This operation involved simultaneous attacks on two barracks and the destruction of the concrete bridge over the Lufuta river, on the Luso-Gago Coutinho road.

The stepping up of large-scale attacks on Portuguese positions will force the enemy to evacuate them. Sudden and violent attacks, and the flexibility and detailed planning of these attacks, will confirm our initiative and reduce the enemy to passivity. And initiative and passivity cannot be dissociated from the superior or inferior position of the forces involved. Our future activity will tend, first, to force the enemy into passivity and, then, to isolate them in their garrisons in such a way as to put them entirely at our mercy and to annihilate them easily. The experience of these ten years of struggle has given us daily proof that only violence is effective, that only the annihilation of the enemy's vital forces will enable us to achieve national independence. There is no other way.

## War Communique

(Continued from Page 18)

colonialist soldiers from the Muie post suffered two dead and one wounded when they attempted to take a group of MPLA fighters by surprise on the banks of the Chikuluyi.

6/1/72 — A group of forty colonialist soldiers from the Luvuei post were heading for our cultivating fields with the aim of destroying them when they were spotted and promptly ambushed by MPLA guerrillas. The intense fire of rocket grenade launchers, bazookas, light machine guns and other weapons inflicted a high but uncounted number of losses on the enemy. The dead and wounded colonialist soldiers were carried to the Luvuei-Lutembo road in hammocks.

Our forces captured more than 500 rounds of 7.62 calibre NATO ammunition and one axe. We deeply regret the loss of one brave fighter.

10/1/72 — Persisting in their criminal assignment to

destroy our crops, a further group of about fifty colonialist soldiers from the Luvuei post was also spotted and intercepted by an MPLA guerrilla patrol which, after the first shots, made the enemy beat a disorderly retreat. They must have remembered the lesson they had been taught a few days earlier.

18/1/72 — A column of five military Unimog vehicles was proceeding from the Luvuei to the Lutembo post. At 8 p.m. on the section of road between the Luio and Lauyana rivers, the leading Unimog blew up on an anti-tank mine and was irretrievably damaged. There were many casualties among its occupants. The remaining vehicles retreated, taking away the casualties.

### VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

The Executive Committee Of The M.P.L.A.

Lusaka, DIP, 4/2/72  
Dar es Salaam, DIP, 21/2/72  
MCB/-

MONTY

# War Communiqué

The recent successes won on the combat fronts have not only raised the morale of our guerrillas, whose technical level is now considerably higher, but they have also had a mobilising effect on the Angolan people, who are steadily and surely increasing their participation and their support for the MPLA fighters, the armed wing of the Angolan people.

On 15 August the Portuguese colonialists suffered heavy losses. A group of Katangese mercenaries accompanying the occupation troops also suffered high losses. The remainder took refuge in the Congo, heading for the Dilolo-Gare frontier.

At dawn on 18 August, the MPLA fighting forces launched a violent attack on the Lutembo (Third Region) barracks. This operation, which lasted 35 minutes, was part of the combined operation entitled "In Memory of the Martyrs". The operation involved a simultaneous attack on the barracks and the installations of the puppet special groups, together with the sabotaging of the bridge over the Lufuta river, on the road linking Lutembo with Gago Coutinho. More than one hundred and fifty shells were fired from mortars, cannon and rocket-launchers, taking the enemy by surprise and inflicting heavy losses on them. The installations at both barracks were completely destroyed, as was the bridge. During this operation, which was crowned with full success, the MPLA deeply regrets one comrade was killed.

On 1 September, Portuguese colonialist army infantry troops tried to infiltrate into the forest with the aim of taking by surprise both the MPLA guerrillas and the people living in the areas under M.P.L.A. control. When they arrived on the banks of the Vimpulu river, the enemy set off a number of anti-personnel mines laid by our fighters, resulting in two dead, several wounded and the subsequent retreat of the enemy forces. Our guerrillas captured one cartridge-belt, two grenades and a quantity of ammunition.

On 5 September, an enemy military vehicle again blew up on one of our mines, on the bridge over the Kuanza which provides the link between Mutumbo and Impulo (Fifth Region). It was completely destroyed and all its occupants

killed. Also near the river, a group of colonialist troops set off five anti-personnel mines and suffered five dead and several wounded.

On 8 September, an enemy vehicle blew up on one of our mines on the path between the Huwe and Tiola rivers. The vehicle was completely destroyed and all its occupants killed.

On 13 September, two Mercedes trucks filled with Portuguese colonialist troops hit mines laid by MPLA guerrillas on the path alongside the Luela river (Fourth Region). The trucks were completely destroyed. Forty-five enemy soldiers were put out of action.

That same day, the valiant MPLA fighters attacked an enemy camp situated further along the path. Fifteen colonialist soldiers were killed and many others wounded. Four MPLA fighters were slightly wounded in the course of these operations.

On 14 September, a puppet group belonging to the so-called Special Groups (GE's), which had come from the Nhangova Ukuangali military post, was ambushed by MPLA fighters near the Luangando river. Six GE puppets were killed and five wounded. Our Guerrillas captured from the enemy six grenade launchers, three grenades and assorted military equipment.

On 25 September, an enemy patrol from the Mavinga (eastern region) post were preparing to steal cassava from the cultivated plots of the people near the Chahola river when they were taken by surprise by MPLA guerrillas. Eight Portuguese troops were killed and a good many more wounded. Two grenade launchers and assorted military equipment were captured from the enemy. On our side, we mourn the death of one of our fighters, and five others were wounded.

On 27 September, a Portuguese soldier was killed by an anti-personnel mine near the Vimpulu river. Our guerrillas found a broken boot and a torn and bloody vest on the terrain.

On 29 September, a group of guerrillas from the Chando Section went out on a mission at the Luiano post. At 11 a.m. on the 30th, near the Mpulu savanna, our guerrillas heard the sound of a moving vehicle and quickly prepared their ambush. At 11.15 a.m. a mili-

tary truck entered the ambush area and our guerrillas opened fire with bazookas followed by machine-gun fire. The military truck was completely destroyed and its occupants killed. Just when our fighters were about to go over to the assault, a second military truck appeared and opened fire in the direction of our guerrillas, who promptly retaliated. This operation lasted 15 minutes. There were no casualties among our forces.

On 30 September, four GE elements from the Kalai post were killed and three others wounded on the banks of the Wanhomba river. The following was captured from the enemy: one FN, one Mauser, one field telephone, six weapons and a quantity of ammunition. We mourn the death of one of our fighters. One other was wounded in the battle.

In the first days of October, a group of MPLA fighters again attacked the Muie post with mortar shells. Six houses were destroyed in this operation. Two of them were occupied by Portuguese troops and the four others by members of the so-called special groups (GEs), who not only serve the colonialist army as cannon fodder, but who are also shockingly discriminated against. Ten Portuguese soldiers and twelve GEs were killed. In addition, an MPLA patrol group attacked a Portuguese troop encampment near the Xizului river. The encampment was totally destroyed and the enemy troop contingent completely put out of action, having virtually not reacted to the unexpectedness and speed with which our guerrillas acted. There were no casualties among the MPLA fighters.

On 5 October, Portuguese colonialist troops fell into an ambush mounted by our guerrillas on the Chio-Cangombe road, suffering an unknown number of losses.

On 6 October, an MPLA guerrilla Section again attacked the Ninda barracks with heavy mortar fire, inflicting an unknown number of losses on the enemy. There were no casualties among the members of the Section which carried out the attack.

The following day, the enemy attempted to counter-attack, but were promptly repulsed by our fighters and suffered further losses. We mourn the death of one of our valiant fighters who fell in combat.

On 13 October, an enemy

(Continued from Page 20)

# War Communiqué

(Continued on Page 21)

Unimog military vehicle on the right bank of the Muokoi river set off one of our anti-tank mines laid on the road from Gago-Coutinho to Luso. The vehicle was completely destroyed and all its occupants killed.

On 21 October, an MPLA guerrilla detachment in the area around the Lomba river attacked a puppet group of so-called GEs (special groups) from the Mavinga post. Three of the puppet soldiers were killed and three others wounded. Our fighters captured the following from the enemy: five Mausers, two anti-tank mines, five grenades and assorted military equipment. We deeply regret that one of our comrades died in this battle.

On 22 October, an enemy column which had been sent out to attack the base of one of our fighter Sections set off one of our mines and suffered two dead and several wounded.

On 25 October, two MPLA fighters on a service mission were taken by surprise by enemy fire. The two valiant guerrillas promptly retaliated. However, we mourn the death of one of these fighters, who fell while performing his duty.

At the end of October, a large group of MPLA fighters armed with infantry artillery weapons attacked the Sessa post completely destroying three houses occupied by Portuguese troops, two others in which so-called Special groups (GEs) were quartered and a number of huts around the enemy post. The colonialist armed forces suffered heavy losses which it was not possible to count properly.

On 3 November, at 4 a.m., an enemy column proceeding from the Chiume post with the intention of taking the MPLA fighters at one of the bases in that area by surprise, did not achieve their aim, since they erupted into a village of puppet troops and a mutual confrontation ensued. The enemy forces left behind them three camouflaged military caps, one belt and six grenades. As they retreated they hit one of our minefields and suffered two losses.

That same day, thirty colonialist troops were killed in an attack by our fighters on the Jimbe Barracks, as was later confirmed by members of the local population around the barracks.

Yet on 3 November, in the

same Northern Sub-Region of the Third Region, MPLA fighters destroyed the Jimbe military barracks with mortar and rocket-launcher fire. At the same time, the principal building of the PIDE installation was severely damaged by shell fire. Two other houses were completely burnt out as a result of the intense fire of our fighters. In this operation, which lasted 23 minutes, three of our guerrillas were slightly injured. Their condition did not require any special treatment.

On 4 November at 10.30 a.m., enemy forces sought to attack a Section of MPLA fighters in one of the areas under our control. When they spotted the approaching enemy, the MPLA guerrillas who were mounting guard immediately alerted the Section, which, once it was in combat position, opened fire on the enemy and inflicted heavy losses on them.

On 7 November, two enemy platoons from the Ntiengu post set out to encircle a detachment of the 1st Section of the Sandala MPLA Squadron. One of our guerrillas who was mounting guard alerted the members of the Section, who promptly reacted, breaking the enemy encirclement and killing five and wounding three. Shortly afterwards, our fighters mounted an ambush against the enemy forces, who had retreated to their reassembly point, and who suffered fresh losses to the tune of four dead. On our side, we mourn the death of the Section's young Political Instructor, Lituai Mussole, who fell in combat while performing his duty.

On 10 November, Portuguese colonialist troops hit anti-personnel mines laid by our fighters on the path leading to the Xilume river and suffered two losses.

On 15 November, a Section of MPLA fighters from the First Squadron once again attacked the Ninda Barracks with mortar fire, inflicting an unknown number of losses on the enemy.

On 19 November, after a further attack by MPLA fighters on the Kaianda Barracks, military trucks transporting Portuguese colonialist troops and Katangese mercenaries from Teixeira de Sousa to reinforce the barracks, set off anti-tank mines laid on the Massibi-Kaianda road. Forty enemy soldiers were put out of action.

On 20 November, at 6.30

p.m., a detachment of MPLA fighters attacked the Xilombo Barracks with heavy mortar fire. Simultaneously, a light infantry Section approached to within less than three hundred metres of the said barracks and also opened heavy fire. The barracks were seriously damaged. In the course of this attack, which lasted 15 minutes, the colonialist armed forces suffered an unknown number of very heavy losses.

On 25 November, our forces flagellated the Xilombo Portuguese barracks with intensive 82mm mortar fire.

At the same time, one of our Infantry Sections, supported by rocket-launchers, machine-gunned the barracks from a distance of less than 300 metres, giving the enemy a trouncing from close quarters. During this attack, which lasted 15 minutes, 120 shells were fired. The enemy suffered substantial losses. Our forces withdrew having suffered any casualties.

With the MPLA,

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

## M.P.L.A. DIP BRANCH IN TANZANIA

Dar es Salaam  
3/1/1972  
MCB/-

## War Communiqué

**Substantial new losses inflicted on the Colonialist armed forces.**

During battles in August/September / October/November 1971, the Portuguese colonialist armed forces suffered substantial new reverses.

Known enemy losses: — 174 troops put out of action.

Unknown enemy losses: — a considerable number killed and wounded by anti-personnel and anti-tank mine explosions.

Material captured from the enemy: 5 mausers, 2 anti-tank mines, 16 grenades, 3 military caps, 1 belt, 8 grenade launchers, 8 weapons of different kinds, 1 field telephone, ammunition, assorted military equipment.

MPLA losses: 6 fighters killed and 10 wounded.

Maintaining constant activity in order to dislodge the Portuguese colonialist troops from wheresoever they are to be found, the MPLA fighters are victoriously pursuing their politico-military operations.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!  
MPLA - DIP

1/1/1972  
MCB/-



**14th April  
Angolan Youth  
Day**

TANZANIA

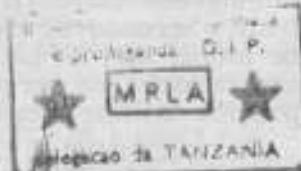


VIA AIR MAIL



Picture shows destroyed crops by Portuguese forces inside Angola using herbicides and defoliants.

**Sent by :** DIP DELEGATION,  
Box 20793,  
Dar es Salaam, TANZANIA.



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PORTUGUESE STUDENTS ASSOCIATION  
COMMITTEE  
45, FAIRFIELD HOUSE  
36, MASON'S HILL BRONLEY  
LONDON  
ER 29 JJ KENT

TO :  
TANZANIA





# ANGOLA in ARMS

information organ of the  
PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA



No. 2

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Vol. 2

## 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 justness 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 Chiume and Lumbala, 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

(Continued on Page 2)

# PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO ANGOLAN PEOPLE

(Continued from Page 1)

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 em-

brace 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 untiringly 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

Compatriots,

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.

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

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# PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

(Continued from Page 2)

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 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 im-

mediate 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 difficulties 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!

# 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, secondary 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 projectors 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 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**

# Letter of democratic movement of Portuguese women

Mr. Diallo Telli,  
Secretary-General,  
Organisation of African Unity,  
Addis Ababa,  
Ethiopia.

Mr. Secretary-General,

On the occasion of 8th March, International Women's Day, the feelings of friendship, unity and solidarity which unite Women from all continents and countries further sharpen the awareness of the countless hardships and misfortunes suffered by those women who, both personally and among their peoples, are victims of war, oppressive regimes, exploitation and repression.

It is on this date and in this connection that, on behalf of the anti-fascist and anti-colonialist women of Portugal, we have the honour to address ourselves to the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity.

We have decided to do so for very precise reasons:—

1. The sanguinary wars ravaging African countries like Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique are the work of Portuguese colonialist fascism, which launched them and is maintaining them, intensifying them and carrying their escalation to progressive independent African countries, while defying resolutions on it which have been passed by the highest bodies of the UN and OAU.

2. The Lisbon-Pretoria-Salisbury alliances are daily becoming more concrete and menacing in content. At the time of writing, we have just learnt the news of the military collaboration between Portuguese and South African troops in repressing the people of Southern Angola and Namibia in their struggle for their liberation.

While the purpose of these alliances is the maintenance of colonialist domination, the attempt to annihilate the Liberation Movements in the Portuguese colonies, the furtherance of South African racism's expansionist aims and the defence of the many imperialist interests, they are contributing to the hardening of South African and Rhodesian policy towards the opposition of the peoples in those countries and to increased violence using the most ignominious repressive methods.

3. This is not the time to tell you about the struggle of the women and people of Portugal against the colonial war. Nor is this the occasion for us to give you evidence of the monstrous barbarism unleashed by Portuguese colonialism and the colonial wars in Africa, although our very detailed knowledge about this would entitle us to do so.



Of course, it is first and foremost up to the peoples and women of Portugal and of the African countries concerned, through all forms of struggle, to develop the "arguments" which will force the oppressors and aggressors to lay down their arms and let go their hold. This valiant struggle is well known.

But, with its force and boldness and with all the attendant suffering, hunger, mourning and the bitter anguish of families split up — by war, police persecution and imprisonment — which accompany such domination, however fundamental this struggle may be, it cannot achieve its goal without the active and staunch participation of all the forces throughout the world which love peace and social justice and of international organisations which represent them and are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that they must intervene.

The OAU's wholly consistent stand encourages us to take this initiative.

4. We consider that International Women's Day, because its celebration represents a vast demonstration of unity, solidarity and friendship, is an ideal day for imparting fresh vigor to our commitments towards joint action by the Women of the whole world on the problems of peace, national independence, the sovereignty of the peoples, women's rights and the happiness of children.

We should like first to let you know, Mr. Secretary-General, how much the anti-fascist and anti-colonialist Portuguese women appreciate and rejoice at all the positions taken by the OAU on the problem of colonialist rule and colonial wars waged by the fascist Lisbon dictatorship in Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique.

We also wish to assure you of

our wholehearted support for all future OAU initiatives which can help to hasten the end of this war and this rule.

Our present aim, on this occasion, is that of addressing an urgent appeal to the UN:

(a) that concrete steps be taken towards putting the Lisbon Government in the position of having to fulfil the UN Security Council and OAU resolutions which concern it;

(b) that effective measures be taken with Marcelo Caetano's Government in order that the concentration camps of Tarrafal and Galinhos, in the Cape Verde Islands, be done away with and that the African patriots imprisoned there be released; and that all the African political prisoners, both men and women, who are in the Caxias or Peniche fortresses in Portugal (among them the Rev. Pinto de Andrade, Honorary President of the MPLA) be released;

(c) that these same steps be taken in respect of the South African and Rhodesian political prisoners — both men and women — detained in prisons and concentration camps in their countries; and that all the women in those countries who have been deprived of their liberty (some under revoltingly arbitrary conditions, as is the case with Mrs. Helen Joseph, National Secretary of the Federation of South African Women) regain their freedom and have their right to recuperate their health and rejoin their families, children and friends respected.

Please accept, Mr. Secretary-General, the assurances of our highest consideration.

For the Democratic Movement of Portuguese Women,  
Maria Luisa Costa Dias,  
Responsible for Foreign Relations,  
Council Member of the Women's International Democratic Federation.

## MESSAGE FROM THE NATIONAL UNION OF ANGOLAN WORKERS

ELEVEN years have indeed passed since the launching of the armed struggle led by the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

The Great Revolutionary Trade Union Centre, the National Union of Angolan Workers (UNTA), looks upon 4 February of each year as a 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 success 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 1972-73 period provides for the most advanced new methods of work. Above all, 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 co-operative 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 the peasants by Portuguese administrators and settlers and by the introduction of the 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 1970-71 period the population in the liberated areas responded favourably to the appeal made in a statement by Comrade Neto, President of the MPLA, concerning production.

The members of 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.

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 wish to deplore 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 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 toiled. 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 4th February 1972, UNTA 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, UNTA, 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,

N. MBIDI EMILIE

Assistant Secretary-General responsible for International Relations.

## Official opening of "Angolan children's house"

On 5 February 1972, in the presence of leaders of "AFRICA 2000" and the MPLA, the Honourable Mayor of Lusaka officially inaugurated the ANGOLANCHILDREN'S HOUSE situated in a residential area of Lusaka.

In his brief but significant speech the Honourable Mayor of Lusaka said:

"We are gathered here today to open this significant home for the children of Angola. They are not ordinary children. Some of their parents have been killed by Portuguese soldiers, using NATO weapons". .....

...."Their future deserves to be bright because their parents have paid for it with life itself — the highest price that any person can pay for freedom, independence, justice, equality and human brotherhood.

Their Angola will be characterised by self-determination, not foreign domination; by national independence, not colonial subservience; by majority rule by the indigenous people; not by the rule of a greedy minority of foreigners; by cultural freedom rather than by the domination of sick foreign cultures; by free education for all, not by mass illiteracy; by the use of national resources for the people rather than by their exploitation for the benefit of a few rich and grasping men"...

..."You of AFRICA 2000" will be justly proud of having been associated in a small way with the founding of such a future". You have contributed substantially towards the building and furnishing of this home. You will no doubt continue to contribute not just morally but also materially to its maintenance and more particularly to the care of the children for whom it will be "Home" for yet a while".....

..."I remind you in this connection of the words Dr. AGOSTINHO NETO, President of MPLA, used when he addressed "AFRICA 2000" on 11 June 1971:

"We in the MPLA appreciate very much the efforts of AFRICA 2000 and other similar organisations which are striving to help our country in humanitarian fields. When we receive medicines, when we receive clothes, when we receive food, our cause is helped by strengthening our fighters and giving us confidence in the future before us".

"These evocative and poetic words are the best expression of gratitude I can find to offer you on behalf of all those of us who are concerned with the stirring and deeply painful struggle for the freedom of Southern Africa".

# GEORGI DIMITROV — GREAT SON OF THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE

By Petra Radenkova

Candidate of Historical Sciences

The Bulgarian people will soon mark the 90th anniversary of the birth of their great son Georgi Dimitrov who was the epitome of their finest qualities — great diligence, inflexible will, fortitude, deep hatred of the op-

pressors and boundless love of freedom.

Brought up in the freedom-loving spirit of his people, Dimitrov emerged as a fearless fighter against any kind of oppression, against war and fascism, and for peace

and understanding among all nations. Throughout the whole of his dynamic life, all his thoughts and actions were linked to the interests of the people.

G. Dimitrov was born on June 18th, 1882 in a family of ordinary working people. When he was 12 years old he was forced to leave school and take a job. He became a typesetter's apprentice. However, he continued his studies through self-education and became a highly erudite personality. From his early youth G. Dimitrov was most active in the revolutionary trade union movement in Bulgaria. He constantly toured the country, delivered fiery speeches at meetings in defence of the people's interests, founded and strengthened trade union organizations, rallied and guided the working people. In 1913 he was elected national representative and in 1914, member of Sofia municipal council. In the course of a decade Dimitrov used the rostrum of the National Assembly and of the Sofia municipal council to defend with vigour and perseverance the people's vital interests.

During the First World War he engaged in lively activities in defence of peace and friendship among nations. From the rostrum of the National Assembly he fearlessly declared that the Bulgarian people should not fight for the sake of foreign imperialist interests and that the war should be brought to an immediate end. He urged the government to aid the hungry families of the mobilized men, he fought for the soldiers' rights and raised his voice in defence of the prisoners of war. For his anti-war activities he was persecuted and in 1918 was put in prison.

When the war ended G. Dimitrov was again in the front ranks of the struggle against poverty, high prices, the housing shortage and the offensive of the reactionary forces in Bulgaria which culminated in a military-fascist coup on June 9, 1923 and the overthrow of the legally elected government. After the coup which marked the beginning of the fascist dictatorship in Bul-

garia, all Dimitrov's thoughts and energies were devoted to a single aim to liberate the people from fascist oppression. In a number of articles published in the international anti-fascist press he unmasked the anti-popular character of fascism and called upon all democratic forces to rally into a united front for the struggle against fascism. "The united front of labour has become an urgent necessity," Dimitrov wrote in 1923. "Whoever is against it today, is in fact against the interests, rights and security of the working people, against the country's freedom and independence; he is a pitiable tool in the hands of reaction and fascism."

In September 1923 Georgi Dimitrov was one of the leaders of the popular anti-fascist uprising in Bulgaria. The uprising was ruthlessly suppressed and the people's tribune was forced to go into exile. It was a painful moment for Dimitrov to leave his native country, and he was forced to spend 22 years in exile.

"No matter where I was during all this time," he said on his return, "no matter what I was doing, I never stopped thinking and working for my Bulgarian people, for their future, for their happiness and prosperity." Whether in Vienna, Berlin, Moscow or elsewhere, Dimitrov always responded to any major event in Bulgaria. He wrote articles and appeals, gave recommendations and advice to anti-fascist fighters or organized campaigns in the country he happened to be against the white terror in Bulgaria.

During his exile Georgi Dimitrov grew into a remarkable international militant; he took an active part in organizing the anti-war, anti-imperialist and anti-fascist movement. At the Second Congress of the Anti-imperialist League in 1929 he was elected member of its Executive Committee. In 1932 he was included in the International Committee of Struggle Against War as a representative of the Balkan peoples.

In 1933 the Nazis framed him as an accomplice in setting fire to the Reichstag in Berlin and put him on trial. Thanks to his courage, keen mind and revolutionary optimism, the great son of Bulgaria succeeded in turning the dock into a rostrum from which he laid bare to the world the bestial nature of Nazism and warned the peoples of the impending danger of fascist obscurantism.

The faithful son of the Bulgarian people forcefully defended the dignity of his nation. He vigorously protested against the attempts of Nazi publications to represent the Bulgarians as "savages" and "barbarians". In the courtroom Dimitrov declared with pride that a people who had lived for 500 years under foreign oppression and have not lost their language and national identity, could not be called savages or barbarians. "In Bulgaria only the fascists are savages and barbarians," he said. "But I ask you, Mr. President, in which country are they not savages and barbarians?" He then uttered the words which have since become famous: "I have no reason to be ashamed of being a Bulgarian, I am proud to be a son of the Bulgarian working class."

After the Reichstag Fire Trial the name of G. Dimitrov became the banner of the fighters against fascism. From 1934 to 1945 the prominent leader of the Bulgarian people lived and worked in the USSR because the Bulgarian fascist

government had refused him entry to his own country.

Dimitrov devoted all his knowledge, his great experience and inexhaustible energy to the struggle against fascism and for the preservation of peace. During the Second World War he supported with all his force the heroic struggle of the Soviet people against Nazi Germany, as well as the resistance movement of the patriots in the countries under Nazi occupation. Deeply engaged in solving important problems of the international struggle against fascism, Dimitrov at the same time closely and with particular attention followed the life and struggle of the Bulgarian people, guided and inspired his fellow countrymen who had risen in arms against fascism, and in defence of their country's freedom and independence.

After Bulgaria's liberation from fascism G. Dimitrov returned to his country warmly welcomed by all the people.

He devoted the last and extremely tense years of his life (1945-1949) to the reconstruction of his liberated country. In 1946 he was elected Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. All great achievements of the Bulgarian people in the field of economy, culture and international relations are connected with the name of the wise statesman. True to Dimitrov's behests Bulgaria today scores fresh successes in her development.



"The struggle is so cruel and so ruthless!  
It is an epic struggle, as they say.  
I fell! — another one will take my place,  
The person is of little worth today.  
A deadly shot — and worms — forever after!  
That's simple, logical, what can we do!  
Yet in the storm again we'll be together,  
Because, my people, dear, I loved you so!"

Nikola Vaptsarov

23. VII. 1942  
Two hours  
before death



TO OUR READERS

As from this issue, we plan to bring out Angola in Arms monthly, so as to provide you with up-to-date news on the Angolan people's struggle.

We regret that up to now we have not been able to publish Angola in Arms as regularly as we would have wished, owing to the fact that publication and postage costs put a strain on limited means needed also for other vital aspects of our work.

We shall continue to send Angola in Arms to all our readers, but are taking this opportunity to appeal to friends and supporters to take out an annual subscription as a gesture of solidarity with our people. The subscription rates, which can be found on page .... of this issue have been calculated to cover the cost of postage, which is high, considering that our readers are to be found on all the continents. Such active support, and any further contribution you wish to make, would be of inestimable help in our task of keeping world opinion informed on the true situation in fighting Angola.

We also welcome any suggestions you might like to make in relation to Angola in Arms and the kind of articles or other features you would like to see published in it.

Finally, we are revising our mailing list, since we know that many of our readers have moved to new addresses.

Please fill in the attached slip and return it to the above address as soon as possible.

Please send me all future issues of ANGOLA IN ARMS

Name .....

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\* Put a cross where appropriate.

Comments .....

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# 3,000 Portuguese soldiers trained by Americans

On different occasions and in various information media, international public opinion has been informed that the United States has trained Portuguese officers and soldiers.

And on each of these occasions, the United States embassies are quick to try to deny it, with their characteristic hypocrisy, in spite of the fact that they are the ones actually involved.

In a booklet published by the well-known "Africa Research Group" (Massachusetts) entitled "Race to Power — The struggle for Southern Africa" the following is clearly stated:

... "The U.S. plays an important part in the training of the

Portuguese army through its Military Assistance Advisory Group stationed in Portugal.

113 Portuguese received training under the programme in 1969 and a similar number in 1970. In addition, Portuguese officers come to the U.S. to train.

In 1968, 107 men were trained in the U.S. at the expense of \$ 20,000, in 1970 there were 38 officers training in the US, some of whom were at Fort Bragg studying psychological warfare and counter-insurgency.

To date, Americans have train-

ed nearly 3,000 Portuguese soldiers in the US and in Portugal". ....

On the other hand, in the same booklet there is the following reference to Federal Germany:

... "In the summer of 1965 Federal Germany, Portugal and South Africa signed a military agreement providing for Federal Germany to train officers from Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia.

In Lisbon, the Permanent German Military Mission offers military trainers and advisors and also has an important say on the utilisation of the Portuguese military budget".

**Dutch "Angolan Committee" denies the right of Portuguese Government to represent Angola**

In a letter of 8 March 1972, Ambassador Carlos Fernandes, representative of the colonialist fascist Portuguese government in Holland, invited Dr. Bosgra, a leader of the "Angola Committee" to visit Angola as a guest of his government.

In its reply to the invitation, the "Angola Committee" declared among other things:

... "The Angola Committee is on the side of the Angolan people who have been suppressed and exploited for centuries by your country. The colonialism and the terror perpetrated in Africa by your country are a flagrant violation of the Declaration of Human Rights. They have been repeatedly condemned by the United Nations Organisation and they are rejected with horror by world opinion.

We do not recognise your government as the legitimate representatives of the Angolan people and we deny your government the right to invite to Angola or other Portuguese colonies.

We also request you to take into consideration the fact that you are now living as a guest in a democratic country in which it is not custom as in your country immediately to designate as "communist" those people who reject the fascist and colonialist ideas of your government, in the way you did recently in a Dutch morning newspaper".

This clear expression of proven solidarity with the Angolan people in arms by the "Angola Committee" — which has also launched in Holland an extensive and significant campaign to boycott Angolan coffee — as well as the attitude taken by the Honourable Mayors of Amsterdam and Rotterdam and other Dutch personalities, deserve the highest appreciation and thanks from the MPLA, the legitimate representative of the Angolan people.

## URGENT APPEAL

Unable to halt the expansion of the MPLA's liberated areas in Angola, the Portuguese war criminals have once again begun to spray herbicides and defoliants on our people's crops.

From the effect of these chemicals, they can be identified as:

- 2, 4 D (2,4 dichlorophenoxyacetic acid)
- 2,4,5, T (2,4,5, trichlorophenoxyacetic acid)

— cacodylic acid

— picloram (made by the Dow Chemical Company under the commercial name of Tordon).

Considerable acres of cassava, maize, sweet potatoes and fruit trees have already been destroyed. Furthermore, cattle and wild life in these areas show signs of poisoning. Fish in the rivers and lakes die in the first few days after the chemicals are sprayed.

These chemicals also have very harmful effects on human beings, causing pulmonary congestion, digestive disorders and mouth bleeding. 2,4,5 T caused congenital malformations in children born of affected pregnant women. Cacodylic acid is particularly poisonous since it contains arsenic, the lethal subcutaneous dose of which is one gramme per kilo of body weight. As for picloram, not only does it destroy vegetation, but it completely stops all growth in the soil for a period of about two years.

As a result of these new crimes, thousands of Angolans in the liberated areas are now in an alarming state of hunger and none of the measures taken to counter this situation can have any immediate effect.

Without urgent assistance, thousands of human beings — men, women and children — will remain in a state of terrible distress while the colonialist criminals intensify their continuous bombing raids.

The MPLA medical Assistance Service (SAM) urgently appeals to all support committees, organisations and people of goodwill to help mount an immediate and a massive campaign for food and seeds for the victims.

SAM also calls upon international organisations, particularly the UN and the OAU strongly to denounce and condemn this new crime perpetrated by Portugal and to seek ways and means of preventing the continued use of such methods.

Food, clothing, blankets and medicines should be sent to the following address.

P.O. Box 20793  
Dar es Salaam,  
Tanzania.

MPLA Medical Assistance Service

# 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 "Colloquies" 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 Sanchez 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 Muaka, 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".

## SEMINARS

As a result of decisions taken by the MPLA Executive Committee at the Plenary Meeting held on the Eastern Front from 27 September to 3 October 1971, a series of seminars have been prepared in order to analyse and discuss the many problems inherent in the armed struggle for national liberation.

Between last November and March this year, the following seminars were held on the Eastern Front:

1. Seminar of Organiser - Mobilisers, Political Activists and Peoples Defence members in the Southern Sub-Region.
2. Third Politico-Military Region Teachers' Seminar.
3. Southern Sub-Region Seminar of Action Committees and Groups.
4. Seminar of OMA sections in the Southern Sub-Region.

The first of these seminars discussed political and military questions, organisational aspects and practical activities concerning their functions and obligations.

The second dealt with the problems of teaching, education and culture, discussing especially the following themes: Teaching, Political Education, Military Training, Cultural and Organisational problems.

The third seminar dealt particularly with the relations and links between Action Committees, the people and the guerrillas. Other subjects discussed at length were politico-military, administrative and cultural development, participation in the armed struggle, self-defence, supplies, agricultural production and people's power.

The fourth discussed problems related to the objectives of OMA and especially: — Angolan women from tradition to revolution:

- The involvement of women in armed struggle for national liberation;
- the cultural and social education of women;
- organisational aspects of OMA work;
- the future OMA assembly.

Each of these seminars was attended by 30 to 40 delegates sent from the sectors or zones where they are working.

## 14 April — Angolan Youth Day

14 April is the date commemorated as Angolan Youth Day, on which the highest tribute is paid to Commander HOJI YA HENDA, who fell on the battlefield while he was commanding the attack and final assault on Karipande barracks.

Today that barracks is destroyed. Owing to the effectiveness and tenacity of successive attacks by courageous MPLA fighters, the Portuguese troops were forced to evacuate Karipande. One of the special objectives of Commander HOJI YA HENDA has been attained.

On this 14 April 1972, the fourth anniversary of the death of "the beloved son of the Angolan people and heroic MPLA fighter",

Angolan Youth, together with progressive youth all over the world, continue to honour the memory of the man who has become their symbol.

On this date, his courage, his fighting spirit, his dedication to study, his modesty, honesty, exceptional qualities as a commander, his faithfulness to revolutionary principles and his unbreakable faith in final victory are everywhere especially remembered and honoured by MPLA militants.

For all of them, Commander HOJI YA HENDA is not dead.

## U.S. grants 500 million aid to Portugal

The United States government has given approximately 500 million dollars in loans and aid to the fascist colonialist Portuguese regime, as a result of an agreement between both parties on the continued use of the American military base of Lajes on Terceira island (Azores) until February 1974.

Specifically this amount includes a loan of 400 million dollars to finance the development of projects including "airports, bridges, railways and hospitals"; 30 million for "social and economic" projects; 1 million to subsidize "education"; 5 million (which can be increased by mutual agreement) for "non-military" equipment; and even a loan for a boat for "oceanographic purposes."

It is clear that this new United States aid to the Portuguese colonialist regime, given at a time when the wars in Angola, Guinea and Mozambique are absorbing the major part of Portugal's resources, will allow the Portuguese government to appropriate this same amount, or more, to maintain its colonial wars.

## "THE REVOLUTION IN ANGOLA"

"The Revolution in Angola: MPLA Life Histories and Documents" written by DON BARNETT and ROY HARVEY has just been published by the ROBBS-MERRILL Company, Inc. Indianapolis.

The facts and documents presented in the book together with the authors' actual experience on one of the MPLA fighting fronts, give this book the quality of explaining various aspects of the Angolan Revolution to the world.

## LIBERATION OF PRISONERS

The national liberation struggle, which has produced heroes among our people, is a just struggle and will continue until final victory, thanks to the tenacity and consistency of sincere patriots who, in the ranks of the guerrilla or in clandestine activities, worthily defend our right to be independent.

Hundreds, if not thousands, of Angolan patriots are held in Portuguese prisons, in Angola, Cape Verde or Portugal. Many others suffer from restraints on their liberty, under restricted residence in various places, either inside the country or elsewhere.

Their lives are in danger.

Only by intensifying the armed struggle and by FULLY MOBILISING INTERNATIONAL OPINION can we secure the liberation of our comrades who are imprisoned inside the country and elsewhere, and save their invaluable lives.

Let us therefore be more active. In our action lies their HOPE.

### ANGOLA IN ARMS (English edition)

Published by the Propaganda and Information Dept. (Delegation in Tanzania) People's Movement for the Liberation of ANGOLA (M.P.L.A.) All correspondence: DIP DELEGATION P.O. Box 20793 Dar es Salaam, TANZANIA

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# War communique

## THIRD POLITICO-MILITARY REGION

### Moxico and Cuando-Cubango Districts.

Under the constant flagellation of MPLA forces, enemy positions are being abandoned by the Portuguese colonialists troops. 4/3/1972 At about 5 p.m., MPLA guerrillas attacked the Lumbala Oeste Portuguese barracks with intense artillery fire, shortly after the arrival there of an enemy company intended for use in future operations against the Angolan people and the MPLA guerrillas.

The violent attack of our brave guerrilla comrades decimated thirty Portuguese colonialist soldiers (confirmed figure).

Four trucks were destroyed and countless houses hit among them the radio house, the command house, the depot, the dormitory and the bakery, the installations which go to make up the barracks.

According to information gathered, the first cannon shell an-

nihilated nine enemy soldiers.

Eight soldiers who were bathing in the Lumbala river were fatally hit in this attack, which lasted 17 minutes.

The Portuguese colonialist forces retaliated more than 15 minutes after the end of the MPLA guerrillas' operation, with absolutely no harmful consequences to our side.

Special mention should be made of the fact that this was yet another operation carried out with the participation of members of OMA (Organisation of Angolan Women) and of the Action Committees, as members of the artillery crew.

### 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 the introduct-

ion 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 February 8, 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 fell into an ambush prepared by MPLA fighters, near to the MUANGESI river. The enemy forces suffered 7 (seven) dead and 5 (five) wounded without having the slightest possibility of reacting to the attack.

On the SAME DAY, the presence of MPLA fighters on the banks of the KASAI river, caused the disgraceful and confused flight of 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 Alouette 2 helicopter.

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





**Sent by:** DIP DELEGATION,  
Box 20793,  
Dar es Salaam, TANZANIA.



VIA AIR MAIL

TO:

PORTUGUESE STUDENTS ASSOCIATION  
COMMITTEE  
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# ANGOLA in ARMS

Information organ of the  
PEOPLES MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA



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## ARMED REBELLION IN THE FAR SOUTH OF ANGOLA

### Second Report from an MPLA Action Committee.

To the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola:

We are once again addressing ourselves to our brothers in the struggle for the people's freedom who broadcast over "Fighting Angola".

God sees the imploring souls here, sees their needs, the prisons in which we suffer and our tears. He does not close His eyes or cover His ears. The man He has chosen to deliver us from the hands of the Portuguese fascists is our great hero Agostinho Neto, who started from nothing and will ultimately achieve so much.

This letter is addressed especially to our President Agostinho Neto.

With the continuation of the revolution started in January, cattle vaccination stations and schools made of mud were destroyed, and there were even attempts to destroy administrative posts, the Chiedi, Namacunde, Evale, Mongua and Cuamato posts.

The whole population, even children, were all in the revolution with the same faith. Groups made up of hundreds of young men were formed, all on bicycles, and armed with their African weapons: machetes, axes, assegais and sticks.

They went from one post to another, asking what was done with the money from the taxes levied by the Portuguese colonialists. All the taxes, including dog licences and payments for cattle vaccination and "majuigo" (a drink which Africans in those regions distil from certain fruits; the distilling is done by women and it contains no alcohol). The Portuguese puppet imposes a tax on this drink and even on "kissangua", which is also made by women and is used

solely for quenching one's thirst.

The courageous men of our people wanted to know what use was made of all this money, and also of the 380 escudos for the "minimum general tax". Even the officials in charge of the posts were not able to calm them down, and neither were the traders. Then the district governor decided to call for their chief, Governor General Rebocho Vaz, from Luanda.

On his arrival in the district, at Pereira d'Eca, Rebocho Vaz summoned all the people from those posts.

But all showed the same faith. They did not want to go there. Then it was they who summoned him, first to the Chiedi post, but he did not agree. Then to the Namacunde post, and he agreed to go there. He found them all assembled there, waiting for him. There were not only men there, but also women and children, old men and women, some on bicycles and some even on foot. Among them were many who had come from very far, owing to their determination to speak their minds. Some had come a distance of at least 75 kilometres, so that all might tell puppet Rebocho Vaz what they had to say to him.

The questions put to Rebocho Vaz were neither surprising nor a miracle. The people seemed to know how to use their heads when they spoke, without having to be taught.

Here are the questions and answers of both Rebocho Vaz and the people:

Rebocho Vaz started first, saying: "What are you doing and what do you want?"

Answer: "We want to know where all the money you rob us of goes to."

Rebocho Vaz answered: "What is all this money and how are you robbed?"

The people answered: "We are robbed in the fol-

lowing way. You don't find any work for the men who pay the 380 escudos tax. There is only work for the white man coming from Portugal. Secondly, in order to pay all the taxes you demand of us, we have to go and earn money in the other country, South Africa. When we come home again, on crossing the border at the Ochicango post, we are searched and all the nice things we bring back with us are taken away from us. Thirdly, there is always a vehicle there to take us back to the town of Pereira d'Eca, it being compulsory that we go in it. When we get there, no one is allowed to leave without paying for going in the vehicle, regardless of whether he has a bicycle or not, or of whether he is going near or far.

Fourthly, we are then forced to go to the posts and pay the tax. Ten Rands, i.e. 380 escudos, are taken from us, just like the nice things taken from us at the frontier or even from our homes when the police come. In other words, we are left with nothing. Yet we have spent a long time away from our families in another country. If you kill an ox, a kid, a pig or a goat to celebrate with the whole family, you have to pay a fee for doing so. Otherwise you go and buy meat from the butcher, where meat is very dear. Fifthly, our sons are recruited by the Portuguese puppets to work in the fisheries at Porto Alexandre, Benguela and even Lobito. Others work on tobacco at Quillengues. In their case, when their contract is finished they are given the meagre contract sum, at most 500 escudos after a year's work, and they are shut up in the shops. They leave all their money there. The result is that the ones from South West Africa arrive without

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## ARMED REBELLION SOUTH OF ANGOLA

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A cent, with not even enough to buy sweets for their brothers. And when they return, they are not transported as they were when they were recruited. When they are recruited, they are fooled with 100 or 200 escudos, depending on how big they are. But once the contract is completed, this money is deducted. So, isn't all this robbery, Mr. Rebocho Vaz?" the people asked.

Comrades, Rebocho Vaz was incapable of answering.

Then Rebocho Vaz tried to get out of it and said: "The money from taxes and fees is used to build schools and hospitals. All this is a very great thing for you."

The people answered: "We

ox, kid or pig, he comes and charges you a fine equal to the value of the animal killed.

As for the schools in the villages, the Portuguese colonialists have them built out of mud roofed with palm leaves, and only in a few kimbos. And they send a monitor there who has only had primary schooling which is barely enough for himself. If he doesn't know enough for himself, how are the pupils going to benefit? What use is he?

This is why we have burned those rotten schools and vaccination stations, which are only there to exploit us."

Fascist Rebocho Vaz asked: "What do you want now?"



do not see the point of all this, because we only see schools and hospitals in places where there are whites. Where there are less than ten houses of whites from Portugal, they establish a village. More than ten houses is a town and then they put a doctor there. But in all those places an African who goes to hospital for treatment has to pay for everything and it is very expensive. So we want to ask you something, Mr. Rebocho Vaz: where are there hospitals and schools for Africans? And with all the kimbos (villages) we have, with so many people, so many children, we have no buildings for the children going to school, so what is the money we contribute used for?"

"All we see in the 'kimbos' are cattle vaccination stations used for paying another thief, the veterinary doctor. If you do not pay him the fee for killing an

"What we and the others from South West Africa want is to pay only 75 escudos tax, that is, two Rands, not to have to make payments for just anything, to have the money to build a good house and not to be disturbed where we are, because the land is ours."

Puppet Rebocho Vaz threatened to kill.

But all of them, the people, answered together: "If that's how you want it, start with the new-born baby and finish with the old man of 200. Kill all of us and don't leave a living soul in this Kuanhama region. But we too are going to destroy everything."

After which Rebocho Vaz went back to town without saying goodbye. But all of them, the people, stayed there. Then they too decided to go to town to get an answer. Three days later, they found him in town.

Rebocho Vaz made them all assemble on the airfield.

All Rebocho Vaz's troops were there, threatening. But the people called them all the insulting names under the sun, and Rebocho Vaz too.

Then fascist Rebocho Vaz said he would stop all taxes and fees apart from the minimum tax, and he left.

Comrades, when the true guerrillas of the people saw African Angolan soldiers threatening revolutionaries, they were absolutely astounded, because what the people were doing was for the good of all Angolans, not only for Kuanhamas.

That is why the people in the region rose up against the Angolan soldiers. In the colonial army. They ordered their expulsion. There was fighting and some were even killed.

Comrades, Puppet Rebocho Vaz found himself obliged to abolish even the minimum tax throughout the Kunene district. This tax, which was 380 escudos, is now 75 escudos. But he had to abolish other things too. All taxes and fees were abolished.

Rebocho was in the district for five days and the rebellion started on 3 February and lasted till 10 February. This is how the people in Kunene region commemorated the eleventh anniversary of our national revolution, how they commemorated 4 February.

Comrades, the rebellion has not ended yet. It is continuing but in a different way, and we know that we are going to fight a big war against the Portuguese colonialists together with the MPLA guerrillas, the soldiers of the Angolan people.

Comrades, all the oppressed African peoples are fighting for freedom. Our people, the Angolan people, will win. The people of Kunene are carrying on the struggle and they know that the MPLA, led by our President Agostinho Neto, will bring independence to our Angola.

Comrades, I shall end here. The PIDE is very actively hunting out people, but we are vigilant.

We heard your answer to the letter we sent at the end of January. We were all very happy when "Fighting Angola" broadcast about it.

Greetings from all of us. Comrades, onward, onward, for Victory is Certain.

Signed: SILVELI ECI NDINGA

Organisation de la Femme  
de l'ANGOLA

- O. M. A. -

p.o.box 20604  
Dar es Salaam  
TANZANIA

LETTRE CIRCULAIRE

Chères Amies :

Nous tenons à vous informer que notre nouvelle adresse c'est la suivante :

Organisation de la Femme de l'Angola (OMA)  
p.o. box 20604  
Dar es Salaam (TANZANIA)

Notre Camarade EUGÉNIA NETO est chargée de toute correspondance de notre Organisation avec l'Exterior, c'est-à-dire avec toutes les Organisations Féminines Nationales et Internationales, aussi bien qu'avec toutes les Individualités avec lesquelles l'OMA entretient de bonnes relations de coopération.

Dar es Salaam  
le 15 Septembre 1972-

UNIES NOUS VAINCRONS !



# PORtUGAL ILL WITH COLONIALISM

**It would appear to be difficult for the African patriots to carry the political struggle inside the colonial metropole itself. Yet increasingly wide cracks are appearing in the walls of the stronghold that Salazar built.**

"The commander of the military region sent me out with a hundred men to reconnoitre. We had to verify reports that the terrorists, that is to say the Angolan guerrillas, had infiltrated into the area nominally under our forces' control." The young Portuguese who spoke these words had been a captain in the colonial contingent in "the overseas province of Angola" until a few months before. "Our instructions were to cover about twenty kilometres in the Bie bush and return the next day. It was certainly a dangerous mission. One could sense that MPLA men were in the area. Contact with the local population had ceased to be normal for some time. This meant that the guerrillas were gaining ground. I personally had no wish to risk my life or the lives of my men for a reconnaissance mission."

## TYPICAL REMARKS

"So what was I to do? What practically all reserve officers do. Say 'yes sir', leave the fortified camp which was our base, go a few kilometres into the forest, stop in a safe place, post sentries and return to camp the following day to report that the reconnoitring had shown that there was nothing: no terrorists, no population, nothing at all." And he added with a smile: "Naturally, to pass the time in the forest, we hunted and played cards..."

There was nothing exceptional about this officer's remarks. If anything, they were typical. During my trip to Portugal I questioned a lot of people who had just served in the army, officers, non-commissioned officers and ordinary soldiers. All spoke readily on condition that their names would not be mentioned. What emerged from these conversations was the fact that the colonial army as a whole does not believe the slightest bit in its "civilising mission", as the Lisbon strategists claim, and it therefore has no desire whatsoever to fight.

The army's two mottoes

(This article by Bruno Crimi appeared in *Jeune Afrique* on 27 May 1972 and was reproduced in *Facts and Reports*, the bi-weekly publication of the *Angola Committee in Amsterdam*).

are (1) "Bring back your whole skin, including the skin of your heels" which, in Portuguese, means that one should fight as little as possible and also tire oneself out as little as possible; and (2) "Above all, no heroism".

"The fact is," another young officer told me, "in Guinea Bissau, Angola and Mozambique you only rarely find someone who wants a confrontation with the guerrillas. If you can run away without too much risk, well, so much the better!"

Of course, this only holds true for the army. "It's quite different with the airforce," the same officer explained. "Just as in Vietnam, the strategists of the colonial war are trying to make the airforce do what the infantry can't do. Anyway, the pilots don't run much of a risk." Indeed, the MPLA, like the PAIGC and FRE-LIMO, only have a few anti-aircraft batteries which are quite insufficient for any serious retaliation against the terrorist tactics of the colonial forces.

A man very close to the Minister of War, a person who openly (at least in front of me) plays the part of a "liberal" (while asking me not to reveal his name), told me: "We are well aware that Amilcar Cabral could arrive in Bissau this very day. But he couldn't hold the town, because we have the airforce and he doesn't have enough anti-aircraft equipment." "But he could ultimately be supplied with anti-aircraft equipment," I said. "That's true, and we also know that the PAIGC's weapons are daily becoming more dangerous for us," he said. "But so long as Cabral can't hold Bissau, the Portuguese won't leave Guinea."

In any event, the rejection of "heroism", the indifference and the ignorance of the problems already suffice to explain if not a defeat, at least a military deficiency of which everyone in Portugal is aware, even if it is spoken about as little as possible.

To understand the underlying reasons for this state of affairs, it should be re-

called that Portugal has been under a dictatorial regime for more than forty years. This dictatorship has never involved attempts at "mobilising" the people, as in Mussolini's Italy and Franco's Spain. Salazar's dictatorship in the past, and Caetano's today, have always been, so to speak, cold and technocratic. Salazar, who was always shut up in his office, never had any contact with "his" people and Caetano's presence among the Portuguese is confined to opening a few bridges and highways and making televised speeches two or three times a year.

## "ON THE MOON"

Eleven years ago, the Minister of Defence stated that he was going to control the Angolan rebellion led by "international communism" in three months. The same was said at the beginning of the struggle in Guinea in 1963, and on the situation in Mozambique in 1964-65. Throughout that whole period, hundreds of thousands of young men were sent to "the overseas provinces" to "defend the values of western civilisation and Catholicism".

At that time, the Portuguese papers only published the official communiques of the commands in Guinea, Angola and Mozambique, in which — curiously enough — there was never any mention of war but regular reports of "victories" of the armed forces. Moreover, they listed the names of those "dead for the Fatherland". No details were ever given on the places where these men fell. No mention was ever made of planes shot down by anti-aircraft guns or of the ships sunk by bazookas in the rivers of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea. In this situation, what could a poor peasant from Alentejo know about the Portuguese war in Africa? To quote the words of another officer: "When our men land in Angola, it is as though they were arriving on the moon. The peasants especially have never seen blacks and they are all amazed to see so many of them. And if one takes them, for example, to the districts of Moxico, Cuanza Norte or Luanda, they don't know

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# Portugal ill with Colonialism

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where these areas are. They are bewildered. Forty years of dictatorship and a wretchedly monotonous and totally depoliticised life does not prepare them at all to listen sceptically to the speeches on "Portugal's great mission" in its "overseas provinces" which are made by their superior officers (for whom the war is a good deal, judging by their pay).

"To assess the situation in the colonies, you should spend a few days in a combat zone," I was told by a young worker from Setubal who had just completed his service in Guinea. "It's enough to drive you mad. I remember very well that in the Bafata area we lived underground all day. We had to walk through a fifteen-metre trench to go for a piss. We knew there were sharp-shooters in the trees around the camp. Everytime one went to the latrines, one risked one's life. And there was fear, deadening fear. People became closed and didn't speak. Often there wasn't enough to eat, but there was always enough to drink, beer and wine. We got drunk to overcome our terror."

This situation develops deep-seated racism among the troops. The reasoning is very elementary: it is because of blacks that we are in this situation and it is blacks who are killing and wounding us, therefore blacks are to be hated. Lack of political consciousness and boredom lead to apathy among the men in combat, who — with a few exceptions — do not understand that it is the Lisbon hawks and the government who are responsible for the situation in which they find themselves.

## CHICKEN THIEVES

Two and a half years ago, during a voyage I made to Guinea Bissau, a PAIGC military commander told me:

"The Portuguese have been reduced to the role of chicken thieves." To anyone who does not know the situation in the colonial army, this might sound like mere propaganda. But the fact is that the Portuguese often quite literally behave like

chicken thieves.

The settlers who live in Angola and Mozambique (there are no settlers in Guinea, but only a few thousand administrative officials, especially in Bissau) are not unaware of the state of mind prevailing in the colonial contingent. This is the reason for the growing uneasiness of "Portuguese residents in the colonies". On a number of occasions, especially recently, settlers have insulted officers and soldiers of the contingent, accusing them of not defending Portugal's interests (i.e. their own interests) in the overseas provinces with "determination".

The commanders in chief of the three territories, the "famous" Spinola in Guinea, Rebocho Vaz in Angola and Kaulza de Arriaga in Mozambique, are also well aware of military realities. They prefer to entrust intervention operations to the airforce, crack troops such as the "commandos", or paratroopers, who are often chosen from among the sons of settlers.

All things considered, a peasant from the metropole is not too concerned about "losing" the "overseas provinces".

Moreover, the steady deterioration of the military situation in Africa has led the settlers in certain areas to form a veritable reserve army which is well trained and "conscious of the mission that awaits it", according to a teacher in Oporto who returned from Mozambique two years ago. Naturally, the "Direcção geral de segurança" (DGS, the political police) is increasing its powers in the colonies in geometrical progression. It no longer exercises its powers solely over political African circles in the towns (as such, suspected of "subversion"), but also over the army itself. It is symptomatic that the number of DGS agents in the army is constantly growing. And it is for this very reason that the more politicised elements in the army are absolutely unable to move an inch.

While the prisons in Luanda, the Cape Verde Islands, Beira and Lourenço Marques are being filled with

thousands of blacks suspected of having nationalist sympathies, the Portuguese soldiers are counting the days before they return home.

It is therefore easy to understand why it is that when they speak of Portugal, the leaders of the national liberation movements only accuse the Lisbon rulers and never the Portuguese people, who are exploited, deprived of freedom and reduced to indifference.

## LOST TIME

Despite appearances, there is a great deal of talk about the colonies in the government. According to certain indiscretions, three major trends are discernable:

(1) The extremist trend represented by the military and the Minister for Defence. In his opinion, without its African empire, Portugal would no longer be viable and would be reduced to "a geographic expression". Portugal would fall prey to "foreign imperialisms" and its national identity would be lost, both politically and economically. If it is to hold its own with the "other" powers, it must at all costs keep "its" African territories.

(2) The so-called "liberal" trend favouring the formal independence of the "provinces", which is chiefly represented by such financial circles as the Companhia de União Fabril, the Banco de Angola, Barclays Bank of Mozambique, Banco Pinto e Soto Mayor, the omnipotent Banco Nacional Ultramarino, etc. They have powerful ties with international capitalism and advocate a strong and technocratic government, but shorn of all the more gaudy frippery of the dictatorship. These circles now realise that the "internationalism" of the Lisbon government was largely determined by its economic weakness and the fact that it did not have the means, before the armed struggle was launched, to transform direct colonialism into indirect colonialism (neocolonialism). Now they are trying to make up for lost time, as if present conditions were the same as ten or twelve

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## PORUGAL AND THE COMMON MARKET

It is becoming boring to repeat that Portugal is an underdeveloped country, the most backward in Europe. With its 600 dollars annual per capita output, it lags well behind Greece (950 dollars), and there is a yawning chasm between it and the Common Market countries (2,270 dollars) and the United States (4,660 dollars).

Portuguese agriculture, despite its extreme poverty, still provides about 20 per cent of gross national product formation and employs no less than 31 per cent of the economically active population.

Average per capita consumption --without taking into account the flagrant and explosive social inequalities -- is only 430 dollars annually, as against 1,680 in France. It is not therefore surprising that young Portuguese should be seeking asylum in that country!

With an education system which is downright obsolete, Portugal spends only 1.44 per cent of its GNP on education, whereas the superdeveloped United States, Belgium and Holland spend 5.1, 5.57 and 6.71 per cent respectively.

This is the Portugal which would like to join the Common Market! With three colonial wars on its back, an internal battlefield, a wholly fascist structure devoid of the slightest shred of democracy and what is more, a Mussolini-type system of feudally-conceived corporations which merely serve to create a ponderous, sterile and parasitic bureaucratic apparatus.

Let us therefore examine the problems which would stem from Portugal's entry into the Common Market, starting with agriculture.

Owing to the archaic methods of working the land, Portuguese agricultural products generally carry higher prices than those of the Common Market countries, notwithstanding the very much lower wage levels in Portugal. Agricultural yields are rather poorer than in the developed countries, yet Portuguese agriculture constitutes about 20 per cent of the GNP, whereas in France it is only 7.4 per cent, in Germany 4.2 per cent and in the United States 3.3 per cent. In other words, if Portuguese agriculture constitutes such a substantial part of the GNP, this is not because it is advanced, but solely because of the overall backwardness of the Portuguese economy, where industry itself is by no means productive.

In the event of Portugal joining the Common Market, only tomatoes, wine and cork would be competitive, which would mean the collapse of Portuguese agriculture as a whole.

Portugal, which calls itself a country of farmers, is in fact a big wheat importer, even committing itself in international agreements to import 85 per cent of its annual requirements.

Even the Portuguese wine industry, which is at grips with a serious crisis of over-production, is only profitable to the extent that a substantial part of production is sold in the colonies, owing to protectionist legislation which is extremely unfavourable to the latter. This means that the Portuguese wine industry has been lulled into complacency by easy and assured outlets in the colonies, neglecting quality, as a result of which, apart from a few varieties, Portuguese wines cannot today compete with Italian, French, Spanish, Yugoslav or even Greek wines.

The Secretary of State for Agriculture recognised this himself when he stated: "The restoration of the wine industry with a view to establishing a policy of quality and competitive prices is a fundamental imperative which must be put into effect with persistence, courage and a sense of reality."

The slow process of mechanisation is not sufficient to make up for the massive rural exodus; the exodus to the big towns and, above all, to France. From 1960 to 1970, there was a population increase in only five of the eighteen districts of Portugal, i.e. Lisbon, Oporto, Setubal, Aveiro and Braga. The Portuguese countryside is being depopulated! Many villages are inhabited only by old people, women and children who, as though struck by fatalism, merely wait for monthly remittances from a relative who has taken refuge in France.

The worst part of it is that Portuguese agriculture is crushed under the heavy burden of inefficient bureaucracy and by a plethora of parasitic middle-men. Unless there are profound structural changes, Portuguese agriculture will never be able to get out of this situation. Southern Portugal belongs to half a dozen latifundists, real sharks who have shamelessly exploited the people for centuries and who have never taken the slightest interest in mechanising agriculture, but only in their high living and orgies at Estoril.

The north of Portugal is divided into small landholdings which can never be productive unless large producer cooperatives are set up, as Antonio Sergio always advocated. But the fascist authorities of course reject all popular solutions.

Together with agriculture, fishing is the most backward sector of the Portuguese economy. With its obsolete fishing fleet and out-of-date fish processing industry, Portugal can never hope to compete with Norway or even Spain in this field.

Furthermore, the recent scandal over the high mercury salt content in Portuguese tinned fish, which was denounced by the US Food and Drug Administration, is a good indication of the primitive state of the fishing industry in Portugal.

Taken as a whole, this industry provides about 40 per cent of the GNP and employs only 26 per cent of the total economically active population.

The mining industry is still embryonic and, moreover, it is controlled by foreign monopolies. In addition, in order to meet the present need for tungsten, the Panas mines have been penetrated by Charter Consolidated and the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, the very company which is exploiting the diamond mines in Lunda, in Angola.

The fact is that industry provides 60 per cent of Portuguese exports, but these are mainly simply processed agricultural products, chiefly textiles and foodstuffs. Industry is therefore poorly developed.

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# PORTUGAL AND THE COMMON MARKET

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The more specialised and demanding industries, from optics to automobile manufacturing, are totally unknown in Portugal.

Public finances are dominated by an extremely grave phenomenon: inflation. Whereas during "fascism's good years" the oligarchy noisily bragged about the "stability of the escudo", now they never stop offering advice on how to combat inflation!

In any event, the so highly vaunted "monetary stability" under Salazarist orthodoxy was not in any sense a result of the balanced development of the national economy, but of the strangulation of all economic potentials through the patriarchal policy of "feathering the nest". In other words, rather than accumulate gold and foreign exchange, it would have been far better to mobilise these reserves and make them productive. It is obvious that the main victims of the whole so-called austerity policy are the Portuguese working masses.

As we have pointed out, the main feature of the economic situation today is inflation. What are its causes? The remittances of emigrants, foreign exchange inflow from tourism and, above all, non-productive budget expenditure.

Public expenditure has grown more rapidly than national revenue. Now if this expenditure were productive, it would provide an incentive for economic growth, but it so happens that it is non-productive, that it is above all military expenditure, which attained the record figure of 13.7 million contos in 1971.

An under-developed country like Portugal cannot, with impunity, indulge in the "luxury" of spending about half its budget on wars which are lost in advance, having no war industry of its own and therefore having to buy all its war material with foreign exchange.

In the face of the growing and pressing needs arising out of the wasteful colonial wars, the Portuguese national debt rose from 17.3 million contos in 1960 to 38.7 million in 1970, with an even sharper rise in the external debt.

Taxes increased much more rapidly than national wealth, becoming almost intolerable for the working masses and seriously affecting broad sectors of the bourgeoisie itself.

The working people are even more sorely afflicted by this taxation policy, just as they are the main victims of inflation. The consumer price index in Lisbon increased by at least 19 per cent from 1949 to 1963, and from that year until 1971 it registered the alarming increase of 65 per cent. In the last months of 1971, the increase was as much as 12 per cent which, according to the fascists, "reveals a seriously upset economic situation". Now if prices rise and salaries are frozen, who suffers? The working masses, obviously. The tears shed by Marcelo Caetano before the television cameras when he stigmatises inflation are therefore nothing but crocodile tears!

However, there is one aspect of inflation which is seriously worrying the fascists. Contrary to the theories put forward nowadays - and especially in Portugal - inflation is not accompanied by economic growth! Nor could it be when the major part of state expenditure is not for productive investment, but for desperately prolonging lost colonial wars!

Indeed, the growth of Portuguese production is far from attaining the planned rate of 7 percent, a rate which is in fact insignificant if we consider the extent of the gap between Portugal and the developed countries.

The Portuguese economy is to a very great extent dependent on countries abroad. Imports represent 23 per cent of the gross domestic product and exports 16 per cent.

But the decisive factor, as regards the balance of trade, is the excessive chronic deficit, which is itself evidence of a centuries-old parasitic existence.

In 1970, with exports amounting to 27 million contos in terms of value and imports amounting to 45 million, there was an astronomical deficit of 18 million contos, meaning that exports represent only 60 per cent of imports! And if we exclude from this total figure trade with the colonies,

it will be seen that only half of all imports are covered by exports.

Portuguese exports are confined to a limited number of products, which makes them extremely vulnerable, especially if we consider that they consist of extremely common products which are easily marketable in other countries and liable to be dropped at the slightest crisis. More than a quarter of all Portuguese exports are textiles and clothing. If we add cork, wines, tinned fish, tomato paste and paper pulp, the total represents 60 per cent of the value of total exports!

Despite the big trade deficit, the Portuguese balance of payments traditionally shows a surplus. How is this achieved? First and foremost, through colonial exploitation. Without the colonies, not only would the negative foreign trade balance be much more accentuated, but there would also be no outlet for all the low quality Portuguese goods. Furthermore, the colonies, which have positive trade balances with the rest of the world, are the habitual suppliers of precious foreign exchange to Portugal and a traditional source of capital from the export of profits, private transfers, etc.

Balance of payments surpluses are also due to the monthly sums sent home by Portuguese emigrants in France and other countries in Europe and America and, thirdly, to the resources accruing from tourism.

Let us therefore dwell on these two last factors.

Revenue from tourism, which amounts to some ten million contos, is indeed considerable but, as is well known, it is a fairly risky factor liable to substantial change from one year to the next.

What is more, it is a great mistake to look upon tourism solely as a source of foreign exchange. Tourism inevitably gives rise to distorted economic growth, favouring a few sectors to the detriment of others which are certainly more important, since luxury hotels, gambling rooms and other such establishments are either superfluous or even harmful.

Apart from all this, there is the undeniable fact that most of the investment in tourism in Portugal is not Portuguese; big international trusts take care of this! It quite frequently happens, for example, that an Englishman pays for an all-inclusive tour in England, covering all his expenses with a single sum paid in England, and then flies to Lisbon in an English plane, travels from Lisbon to Algarve in an English bus, stays in English hotels, visits English gambling rooms and finally goes back home by the same procedure! All the "money" stays in England!

The fascists were unable to hush up the recent scandal of the exorbitant prices at Algarve. A cup of coffee can cost as much as 10 escudos there! As a result, most Portuguese can no longer spend their holidays at Algarve and they are fleeing to the far north, to Minho. The alienation of the Portuguese is indeed total!

As for the remittances of emigrants, in 1971, 14 million contos, a really substantial sum, came from the hard work of the unfortunate Portuguese emigrants in France, many of whom found themselves forced to leave their country clandestinely to escape conscription for the colonial wars. And they live in wretched conditions in the shanty towns of Paris! There are approximately one million Portuguese living in France and desperately seeking their own livelihood and that of their families.

What an appalling situation! And what vexations the unfortunate emigrants have to put up with, especially when, as refugees without identification papers, they fall prey to the unbridled greed of the French monopolies!

Despite everything, they put aside franc after franc so that their families can survive! And together they make 14 million contos! 14 million contos which are avidly seized upon by the fascist oligarchy, because this is foreign exchange, because it is a way of balancing state finances!

In order to show what we mean, we shall go into the problem of emigrant remittances in greater detail. This question is obviously closely bound up with galloping emigration.

We have here two diametrically opposed economic concepts: the French concept favouring the influx of foreign labour to produce wealth in France, and the Portuguese concept, advocating the export of national workers in order to benefit from the foreign exchange they send to their families. It is more than clear that the French concept is the more intelligent, since they put foreigners to work to produce wealth in France, in the Renault and Saint-Gobain factories. True, there is one weakness in this, which is precisely that capital leaves the country, but this minor drain is largely compensated for by the export profits gained from the sale abroad of the products of these monopolies. In any event, since the wages of Portuguese workers are very much lower, profits are increased in the same proportion. The drain suffered by Portugal, on the other hand, is extremely serious. A country's greatest wealth is its people. The only people who do not understand this are inveterate fascists like Salazar and Caetano. And the inflow of foreign exchange from emigrants cannot in any way compensate for this tremendous obstacle. In the years to come, Portugal will have to pay dearly for this monstrous crime of the fascist regime. When that day comes, all fascist bombast about keeping payments balanced despite three colonial wars will be to no avail.

## How can Portugal join the Common Market?

Let us first take a look at the pattern of Portugal's foreign trade with various economic blocs and other related questions.

In 1961, the colonies accounted for 12 per cent of Portugal's imports and 23 per cent of its exports. In 1970, these figures were 14 per cent and 24 per cent respectively. In 1961, the Common Market supplied 38 per cent of Portugal's imports and absorbed 22 per cent of its exports. In 1970, these figures fell to 32 and 19 per cent. EFTA accounted for 32 per cent of Portugal's imports and 22 per cent of its exports in 1961, and in 1970 the percentage of imports rose 24 per cent and exports soared to 35 per cent. These figures mean the following:

1. That Portuguese trade with the colonies has remained stationary.

2. The position with the Common Market is gradually declining.

3. The position with EFTA is becoming stronger, especially as a client.

Let us examine the various aspects of the question point by point. Notwithstanding the whole protectionist system of the colonial pact, trade with the colonies has remained stationary for the simple reason that underdeveloped Portugal has nothing to sell to the colonies, which need machinery and tractors, not wines and sardines! Despite all the strident propaganda on the so-called "common Portuguese space", it never has been and never could be a reality. It was still-born. And the final touch was recently given to all this nonsense with "the new system of inter-territorial payments". The fact is that the urgent and imperative needs of the colonial wars have forced the fascists partially to limit non-essential imports from Portugal. This is grounds for expecting a substantial fall in trade between Portugal and the colonies in the next few years.

It is natural that Portugal's position with the Common Market should have crumbled to dust, since its products do not have sufficient vigour to transcend the barriers of this economic area.

As for EFTA, if Portugal's position has been strengthened, it is solely and exclusively due to the famous Appendix G to the Stockholm Convention.

(Continued on Page 8)

# PORTUGAL AND THE COMMON MARKET

(Continued from Page 7)

EFTA, the European Free Trade Area, comprises seven European countries led by Britain and it was created as a counter-weight to the Common Market. Portugal, which was not so structured as to be able to join "the Six", was forced to become an associate member of EFTA, so as to remain totally isolated. But despite the much less coercive character of EFTA, Portugal could never be a full member. Condescending to help an old ally which could find no way out of its underdevelopment, the six other partners decided to include in the Stockholm Convention, with which the organisation was instituted, the notorious Appendix G in which special favours were granted to Portugal.

Therefore, basing itself on Appendix G, Portugal can freely export to the EFTA countries without being subject to any tariff surcharges, while it can impose customs duties on products from those countries in order to protect its embryonic industry. Being preferential, this parasitic situation had to be only for a given period during which Portugal undertook to industrialise in order, ultimately, to liberalise its trade. But the time limit expired and Portuguese diplomats went snivelling to beg for an extension of the period, using the burden of the colonial wars as their pretext. And since the EFTA powers also had an interest in defending Portugal and the colonies, and because they were loathe to "let down" a European partner, they yielded, thereby ultimately helping to ensure that a most urgent problem was not solved.

But finally the bomb fell. Britain and the other countries of little Europe started negotiations to join the Common Market, completely deserting Portugal. Lisbon then tried desperately to join the Common Market,

but in such a way as to have preferential association, like a copy of the EFTA Appendix G, forgetting that the rules of the game are much stricter in the European Economic Community. And yet Portugal has the impudence to complain that Belgium and Holland are the biggest opponents to its joining the new enlarged Europe.

And what role is reserved for the colonies in all these machinations? Claiming to be "one and indivisible", Portugal is out to save its skin and will join the European organisations on its own. In any case, it could not do otherwise, since the others would not permit it to! This is yet another incongruous feature of that obsolete regime! The irony of it all is that it was under Article 24 of GATT (which permits the creation of free trade areas) that Portugal created the abortive "common Portuguese space" years ago! In other words, in order to institute an apparently "national" structure, Portugal is having to have recourse to international agreements which provide for the regularisation of international trade, thereby implicitly agreeing that the colonies are actually other countries with different needs and problems!

The fascists are counting on what they call their "economic diplomacy" to obtain preferential membership of the Common Market. But this will not be easy. In any case, even if they succeed, this will not solve the fundamental problem, which is Portugal's appalling underdevelopment. All they can do is to seek temporary palliatives to defer the problem, and for every problem that is deferred, a thousand others crop up.

But the solution to all these problems is being found by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, and by the Portuguese people themselves, who, arms in hand, are destroying this whole edifice of centuries-old plunder and infamy.



# Portugal ill with Colonialism

(Continued from Page 4)

years ago. The strategy advocated by "liberal" circles close to the government totally ignores the fact of the advance of the armed struggle in the three colonies. But all this has not prevented the "liberals" from having a ready-made solution for each of the three colonies, as we shall see later.

## FORMAL "AUTONOMY"

(3) The "centre position", which is today represented by the head of the government, Marcelo Caetano. While continuing the war and supporting the ultras in the army, Caetano grants a few small concessions to the "liberals". Recently, for instance, a law was passed granting formal "autonomy" to the "overseas provinces". Nothing has in fact changed in the relations between the metropole and the colonies, yet this is a victory for those who see themselves as the champions of independence under the remote control of the metropole.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that together with the law on the "autonomy" of the African provinces, another law was passed which went almost unnoticed. It could assume cardinal importance. As from now, no profits from investments in the colonies can be "exported" to the metropole, but must be reinvested locally. Of course this applies only to Portuguese capital, not to foreign capital. The aim of the measure is clear: to achieve infrastructure growth in the colonies by increasing the Portuguese presence in these territories, which are virtually the exclusive preserve of foreign capital.

Moreover, this measure has a twofold purpose. On the one hand, it provides grist for the mill of the supporters of "independence" and, on the other, it satisfies the ultras, who would like to see an increased "metropolitan presence" in the colonies. While this second aspect is easy to understand, the first requires that one explain the attitude of the "liberals" towards the African territories.

Everyone is in agreement

on one thing, that Guinea Bissau is "already lost".

"We know that there have been indirect contacts between the PAIGC and the government," I was told by an official from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who added: "The problem is that of knowing how soon Bissau can become independent. Of course I am only talking about continental Guinea, not the Cape Verde Islands, which will remain attached to Portugal." The official then led me to understand that the "autonomous status" just approved by his government was merely a first step towards recognising the independence of Guinea Bissau and ceasing to treat the colonies as "metropolitan territories".

According to his analysis, events (and international pressure) are making the Portuguese government accept "independence" under the strict control of the metropole, an "independence" which would make Angola a second Rhodesia and Mozambique a second Malawi. According to these same plans (which have not been publicly spoken about up to now), the white pre-

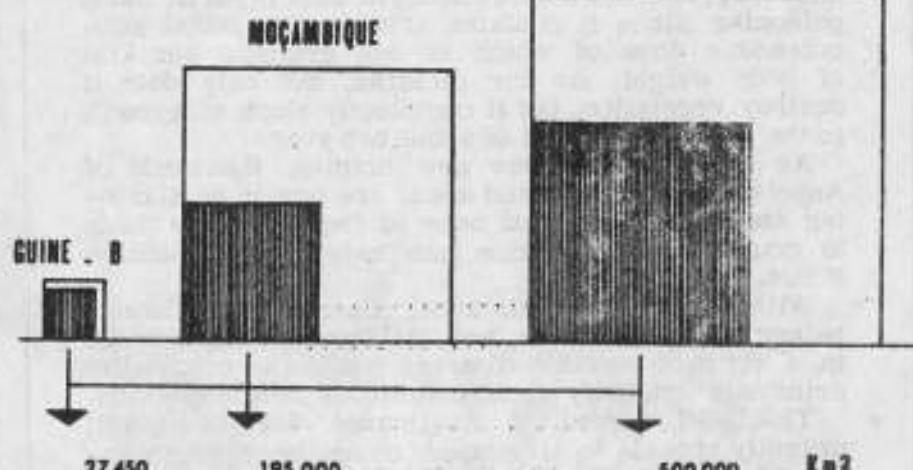
sence in Angola is sufficiently big to ensure that the territory could be run on Rhodesian lines, whereas "puppets" would have to be found for Mozambique.

But the major contradiction in these plans is that the struggle in the three territories is wholly and deliberately ignored. The official finally said: "You've been to Guinea Bissau. Is all that they say about liberated territories really true?" Was this provocation or genuine ignorance of the situation?

But the fact remains that so long as the problem is not discussed at top level, it cannot be solved. The matter does not as yet concern the masses, who do not see it as a "national problem". "Not enough people have been killed yet," I was told by an architect working in a clandestine party in Lisbon. "The tragedy of the young men who fall in combat still only affects their families," he added.

Does this mean that more people have to die in Africa before the Portuguese masses come out of their lethargy?

## ANGOLA



EXTENSÃO TERRITORIAL = LAND AREA = EXTENSION TERRITORIALE

ANGOLA 1.246.700

MOÇAMBIQUE 780.000 Km<sup>2</sup>

GUINEA-BISSAU 36.600

# An O.M.A. (Organisation of Angolan Women) delegation at the W.I.D.F. Council Meeting

An O.M.A. delegation composed of Comrades Tchyna and Chela attended the Women's International Democratic Federation Council Meeting and Seminar held in Varna, Bulgaria, from 30 April to 10 May 1972, with Mme. Herta Kussinen presiding as Chairman.

Sixty-three countries were represented at the meeting. Among other subjects discussed, the delegates debated the question of "The Role of Women's Organisations in Involving Young

Women in the Economic, Political, Social and Cultural life of their Countries."

In her address, the W.I.D.F. President referred to the present international scene, particularly stressing the present situation in Indochina, the Portuguese colonies and the Middle East, as well as the problems of apartheid and racism.

The W.I.D.F. Secretary General, Mme. Cecile Hugel, presented a paper on the "Role of Women's Organi-

sations in involving young women in the economic, political, social and cultural life of their countries." In discussing the question of training cadres, the Secretary General gave as an example the work carried out by the militant cadres of the Organisation of Angolan Women.

During one of the working sessions, the O.M.A. Delegation was presented with the "Nadheza Krupskaya" Medal, awarded by UNESCO on the proposal of the W.I.D.F. The presentation of this prize was accompanied by a long and significant ovation from all the delegates, showing their admiration and solidarity, as well as their encouragement to Angolan women and to the armed struggle for national liberation of which they form an integral part.

In the course of the W.I.D.F. Council Meeting the O.M.A. Delegation chaired one of the plenary sessions and also participated in one of the Resolution Drafting Commissions of the Council.

In its General Resolution, the W.I.D.F. Council Meeting strongly condemned the Portuguese fascist colonialist regime for its criminal acts against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guine and Cape Verde, for the bombing and repeated acts of aggression against the Republics of Guinea, Tanzania and Zambia and the Peoples Republic of Congo. At the same time, it renewed its support for the exceptional contribution women are making in the liberation struggles in the Portuguese colonies, confirming its solidarity with the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guine and Cape Verde.

It was agreed that in 1973 an international meeting should be organised, to be attended by women from Angola, Mozambique, Guine and Cape Verde, South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, as well as women from Portugal and other NATO countries.

The O.M.A. Delegation also had the opportunity to make contact and exchange views with the other delegates present at the Council Meeting, and so strengthen their mutual ties of solidarity.

## URGENT APPEAL

Unable to halt the expansion of the MPLA's liberated areas in Angola, the Portuguese war criminals have once again begun to spray herbicides and defoliants on our people's crops.

From the effect of these chemicals, they can be identified as:

- 2, 4 D (2,4 dichlorophenoxyacetic acid)
- 2,4,5, T (2,4,5, trichlorophenoxyacetic acid)

-- cacodylic acid

-- picloram (made by the Dow Chemical Company under the commercial name of Tordon).

Considerable acres of cassava, maize, sweet potatoes and fruit trees have already been destroyed. Furthermore, cattle and wild life in these areas show signs of poisoning. Fish in the rivers and lakes die in the first few days after the chemicals are sprayed.

These chemicals also have very harmful effects on human beings, causing pulmonary affection, digestive disorders and mouth bleeding. 2,4,5 T caused congenital malformations in children born of affected pregnant women. Cacodylic acid is particularly poisoning since it contains arsenic, the lethal subcutaneous dose of which is one gramme per kilo of body weight. As for picloram, not only does it destroy vegetation, but it completely stops all growth in the soil for a period of about two years.

As a result of these new crimes, thousands of Angolans in the liberated areas are now in an alarming state of hunger and none of the measures taken to counter this situation can have any immediate effect.

Without urgent assistance, thousands of human beings — men, women and children — will remain in a state of terrible distress while the colonialist criminals intensify their continuous bombing raids.

The MPLA medical Assistance Service (SAM) urgently appeals to all support committees, organisations and people of goodwill to help mount an immediate and a massive campaign for food and seeds for the victims.

SAM also calls upon international organisations, particularly the UN and the OAU strongly to denounce and condemn this new crime perpetrated by Portugal and to seek ways and means of preventing the continued use of such methods.

Food, clothing, blankets and medicines should be sent to the following address.

P.O.Box 20793  
Dar es Salaam,  
Tanzania.

MPLA Medical Assistance Service

# 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, secondary 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 projectors 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 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

## LIBERATION OF PRISONERS

The national liberation struggle, which has produced heroes among our people, is a just struggle and will continue until final victory, thanks to the tenacity and consistency of sincere patriots who, in the ranks of the guerrilla or in clandestine activities, worthily defend our right to be independent.

Hundreds, if not thousands, of Angolan patriots are held in Portuguese prisons, in Angola, Cape Verde or Portugal. Many others suffer from restraints on their liberty, under restricted residence in various places, either inside the country or elsewhere.

Their lives are in danger.

Only by intensifying the armed struggle and by **FULLY MOBILISING INTERNATIONAL OPINION** can we secure the liberation of our comrades who are imprisoned inside the country and elsewhere, and save their invaluable lives.

Let us therefore be more active. In our action lies our HOPE.





## War Communiqué No. 6/72

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 25 July 1972, our guer-

rillas attacked and completely destroyed the enemy barracks at Lumbala, on the Eastern Front. Our forces captured several enemy vehicles and arms and ammunition.

On 27 July, at 3 p.m., the Zone D, Sector 2 Second Squadron Section, using bazookas and light arms, attacked an enemy cavalry company from battalion 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 of food.

On our side, three comrades were slightly wounded.

### 1971, a successful year for PAIGC, Frelimo and MPLA

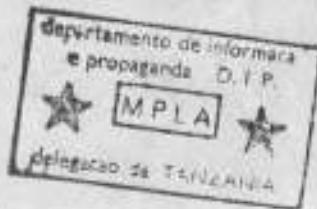
During 1971, FRELIMO, the PAIGC and the MPLA achieved important and significant victories for national liberation.

In Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola, the PAIGC, FRELIMO and the MPLA not only inflicted heavy losses on the colonialist armed forces but also increased the number of barracks and vehicles destroyed, bridges sabotaged, roads mined, ships sunk, planes and helicopters shot down and ambushes laid.

As a result, the liberated and controlled areas have been expanded to include  $\frac{1}{3}$  (Guinea-Bissau)  $\frac{1}{2}$  (Mozambique) and more than  $\frac{1}{3}$  (Angola) of the total area of each respective country.

1972 will be a year of new and greater successes for the PAIGC, FRELIMO and the MPLA, through their heroic fighters and militants who, by their courage, determination and selflessness, reaffirm the irrefutable fact that VICTORY IS CERTAIN.

**Sent by:** DIP DELEGATION,  
Box 20793,  
Dar es Salaam, TANZANIA.



PORtUGUESE STUDENTS ASSOCIATION  
COMMITTEE

45, FAIRLAND HOUSE  
36, MASON'S HILL BROMLEY  
BR 29 JJ KENT  
LONDON ENGLAND

TO :





# ANGOLA in ARMS



No. 4

Information organ of the  
PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA

Vol. 2

August, 1972

## THE ANGOLAN RED CROSS



The creation of the Angolan Red Cross was publicly announced in May this year at a press conference given in Algiers by our comrade Dr. Eduardo dos Santos.

Yet another instrument for our liberation struggle, the Angolan Red Cross is the outcome of twelve years of experience in the struggle for our people's right to freedom, dignity and medical care, in accordance with international conventions.

Here is the full text of the statement made to the press during the press conference.

### PRESS CONFERENCE

Gentlemen,

I should like first to thank you sincerely for having responded to our invitation. What we are going to announce today marks a further step forward in the liberation of our country.

As a result of the situation created by the irreversible advance of our struggle, the National Liberation Movement exercises administrative, political and military control over one-third of our territory, inhabited by about one million Angolans.

The population directly affected by this historic process has authorised us to announce to you the creation of the Angolan Red Cross (CVA).

In accordance with the decisions of the Istanbul Conference, extending the humanitarian rights laid down in the Geneva Convention to the fighters and population of our country corresponds to the new phase in the emancipation of the peoples. We are firmly convinced that we will meet with a favourable response from the national and international Red Cross organisations, since the step we have taken reflects the present preoccupation of the world's conscience.

The adherence of the

Angolan Red Cross to this ideal can only strengthen the great family of Red Cross societies. The efforts made to alleviate suffering, and even to help to solve the multiple practical problems posed by the unfortunately still numerous conflicts, are well known.

We wish now to speak of the underlying reasons for the creation of the Angolan Red Cross.

As you know, armed struggle was the only road left to the Angolan people to fulfil their legitimate aspirations to independence and freedom. In the face of this will to struggle, Portuguese colonialism has been waging a colonial war against our people, aiming at actual genocide, for more than ten years.

The use by the army of occupation of weapons of mass destruction, such as napalm and chemical agents, in the areas under the control of the National Liberation Movement, is causing the civilian population terrible suffering. This is a crime against humanity which has already been condemned by the United Nations Organisation.

— Considering the UN General Assembly resolutions on the inalienable right of the Angolan people to self-determination and independence, and taking into consideration that responsibility for the war situation in our country lies solely with the Portuguese authorities, because of their systematic refusal to grant independence to our country and, thereby, to fulfil the wishes of the conscience of the world and the legitimate aspirations of our people,

— Considering that our people are daily subjected to abuses and reprisals, unjustified imprisonment and physical and mental torture, both in the combat areas and in the regions still occupied by Portuguese troops,

— Considering that, des-

pite the commitments undertaken by the Portuguese government through its adherence to the Geneva Conventions, fighters and members of the Angolan National Liberation Movement have absolutely no protection against inhuman treatment, or even physical liquidation, which is in flagrant contradiction with especially Article III of the Geneva Conventions,

— Considering further the imperative need to develop and increase the protection of our people, both on our national territory and in the border areas, and especially in the region of Angola under the control of the National Liberation Movement, where it is a question of ensuring the protection of the war wounded and prisoners of war and of permitting the younger generation to receive education in conformity with Angolan culture and with the principles of human rights, the Angolan people directly affected by the struggle have decided to constitute the Angolan Red Cross.

The CVA solemnly undertakes to respect and to publicise among its fighters the four Geneva Conventions and the principles formulated by the International Conference of Red Cross Societies. Moreover, we are in duty bound to recall that our Liberation Movement has always endeavoured to act with humanity, and numerous facts bear witness to this.

May this meeting enable us to thank all our friends and, in particular, the Algerian Red Crescent which, having come into being under similar historic conditions, is particularly fitted to give our organisation its full support.

We avail ourselves of this occasion:

1. To request of the League of National Red Cross Societies, the International Red Cross and the Red

(Continued on Page 6)

## WAR COMMUNIQUE No. 5/72

In continuance of carrying out the MPLA's watchword 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 compulsory payment known as "sovereignty tax" from 380 to 75 escudos.

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

This 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 delegation sent by the UN Special Committee on Decolonisation, following its Lusaka Meeting with the national liberation movements of Southern Africa, which took place between 17 and 21 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 COUTINHO, encircled a guerrilla group from the MAVINGA Section of DRI Squadron. As soon as the MPLA fighters broke the encirclement they had a direct encounter with another group of enemy troops, who suffered several losses, including a captain.

**3.3.72** — Two military

vehicles proceeding from GAGO COUTINHO and carrying enemy troops, entered a field of anti-tank mines laid by MPLA sappers near a bridge on the LIN-GUEVUNGO river. The two 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 MPLA guerrillas of the DRI Squadron engaged in combat with a group of 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 MILA fighters coming down the right bank of the CHIKULUI took by surprise a group of 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 from the GDI Squadron, suspecting the presence of Portuguese and so-called GE 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 trying 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 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 a minefield 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 detachments fell into another ambush. 10 (ten) enemy soldiers were killed and a further 7 (seven) wounded.

**18.3.72** — A Unimog truck carrying enemy troops on the route from NINDA to GAGO COUTINHO hit one of the anti-tank mines laid there by MPLA sappers. The truck was completely destroyed and all its occupants killed.

Also on the same day, a truck carrying enemy troops hit another minefield near the MUSSUMA river, on the road between MITETE and GAGO COUTINHO. The lorry was totally destroyed and all its occupants killed.

**20.3.72** — At 6 p.m. the MPLA squadron called MUKIMBICI, using mortars and bazookas, completely destroyed the LINYONDE barracks, which had been presenting our detachments with certain difficulties in reaching the Fifth Politico-Military Region.

The enemy troops suffered 30 (thirty) dead and 18 (eighteen) wounded. As a reprisal for the defeat they suffered, the Portuguese colonialist troops took the chiefs of LINYONDE and FHIMBILI as prisoners to KUETE post. They had previously participated in the construction of this barracks.

The next day, 6 (five) members of the population were barbarously murdered by colonialist soldiers.

**29.3.72** — A group of enemy troops entered 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 LOVUA post, coming on a patrol mission to the former NYAMUVU-ANGA area, hit an anti-personnel minefield 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. All its occupants were killed.

**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!  
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE MPLA

# INTERVIEW

**Q:** Could you briefly outline the situation in Angola, particularly concerning the extent of the fighting and the areas controlled by MPLA?

**A:** There are many aspects. But let us take first the military activities, which are our main activities at present, because the Portuguese colonialists have obliged us to fight with arms.

In 1960 the MPLA wrote to the Portuguese Government and asked for discussions about the problems of Angola but in fact the Portuguese Government did not understand these problems. At the time they had the idea that the Angolans were not able to run the country or to run a war. The next year we began to fight. This was in the northern part of Angola. The war there developed over some years and after 1965 we were able to open our eastern front, which is now the most developed front.

Some districts are now under our control completely; Moxico district, Cuanza Cubango district, and others partially so, like Lunda district, Cuanza Norte and Cabinda.

In the areas we control there are no longer Portuguese civilians but there are still enemy military positions, which we attack. Last year we made several attacks and the Portuguese lost six of these barracks. In recent weeks we have made some very heavy attacks — in Lumhala area, where the Portuguese lost many soldiers, in Mavinga where they abandoned their barracks and we were able to capture food and ammunition. They left about 8,000 tins of food. We also attacked Linonde in Moxico district.

We attack the posts in order to liberate completely these areas that we already control.

## GOOD PROGRESS

We can see some very good progress in our Fifth Region, that is the Bie district, and in the Lunda district, where the enemy uses defoliants but is unable to move on the ground. We are advancing.

The situation in the northern areas is the worst because we are unable to supply our guerrillas through Zairean territory, but the situation in the Cabinda enclave is better than it was

THIS interview between the President of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, Dr. AGOSTINHO NETO (Pictured in glasses) and staff writer IAIN CHRISTIE gives you this rare chance. It takes you beside the freedom fighters in Angola.

some years ago. People who were corrupted by the Portuguese with promises that autonomy would be given to the enclave now realise they were fooled and are defecting to M.P.L.A. We have already made some progress. We shot down a helicopter in Cabinda district in June.

**Q:** Presumably the Portuguese attack you sometimes, too.

**A:** Yes. Where we face serious difficulties is when we are attacked by planes. We don't yet have a proper defence, so the planes are able to do what the Americans have done in Vietnam — destroy crops with defoliants. Our cassava, for example. Since last year, we have lost many big areas where we can have no more production this year. And last month in Lunda district the Portuguese launched a very big attack against the population, mainly in this way, destroying the agricultural production. This causes difficulties because after they use defoliants we need one year more to get some food.

Happily this problem is alleviated by the solidarity of people in every continent who are helping us. They send large quantities of food, which enables us to supply our country.

Transport was one of our biggest difficulties but the situation has now improved because we have several trucks, which regularly bring our material, equipment, food and medicine into Angola.

**Q:** You mean you have trucks operating inside Angola?

**A:** Yes, but not very far inside. They come from Dar es Salaam to Angola but once inside they cannot go very far because on the eastern side of our country there are few roads. Even when the Portuguese controlled the area this was the situation but now the bridges are destroyed it is almost impossible to go more than a few kilometres. We will have to build some bridges to get the vehicles across the rivers. But at the moment our soldiers carry the equipment on their backs.

It is very difficult.

**Q:** What are your priorities in the areas you control?

**A:** To increase production, to organise our people for this purpose and to organise our medical assistance and education programmes. Education is a big job because the big majority in Moxico Cuanda Cubango, Luanda and Bie cannot read or write. So after production this is what we concentrate on. Then comes medical assistance. We have five-year primary schools in Angola and now we have a secondary school in Congo Brazzaville. For university education we will use the facilities we have in different African and European countries.

**Q:** How is the Portuguese psychological war coming along, the battle for "hearts and minds"?

**A:** Their aim is to try to change the political attitude of the people by these "psychological" methods. They try to give better employment, better social conditions, to the Angolans. They are providing opportunities for education, building more schools and roads. And the latest development is the change in the Overseas Organic Charter, the law for the colonies. Now instead of calling Mozambique and Angola provinces they call them states. But this is politically meaningless, because the colonial structure remains unchanged. It was a political manoeuvre designed to demonstrate to public opinion and the United Nations that Portugal is giving more freedom, reforming the colonial structure to give independence. But it is not true.

## PUPPET STATES

One of the factors involved in the decision to change the name to "State" was pressure from the settlers. The main pressure on the Lisbon government is the patriots' war effort but there is also dissatisfaction among the settlers, who want to keep their riches in Angola. They want power for themselves

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# INTERVIEW

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like in Rhodesia but with some links with Portugal.

It could be that Caetano has in mind the transformation of Angola and Mozambique into States like Rhodesia. This may be his thinking but there has been no decision by the Portuguese Government yet.

The Caetano Government decided to decentralise economically in order to give the settlers in Angola and Mozambique more freedom to solve the economic and administrative problems. But only to a certain degree, not to be completely free or completely separated from Portugal.

**Q:**— The Portuguese have been unable to find a neocolonial solution like this in the past. Do you think they can do so now?

**A:** Until now it has not been possible, mainly because of the weak economic position of the Portuguese State. But they are looking for a new solution that could satisfy everyone. It isn't easy for them because neo-colonialist solutions are not acceptable to us. Now we have a well-organised movement, an organised military force. And it is not easy for the settlers, for instance, to do the same as Smith did in Zimbabwe, because although they might be able to get arms from the United States or South Africa they have the problem of human resources. There are perhaps about half a million Portuguese in Angola. They can't cope with a war over two or three years. They would tire of it and lose many of their young people. So they would have to ask for external help, maybe from South Africa, since that is the country most inclined to give men to fight. The South Africans are already there but only as pilots, experts, commandos and so on, not in big numbers of troops. If South Africa were to send troops to Angola it would, of course, be very bad for the Portuguese because the South Africans would dominate them politically and economically. So I don't think this solution is possible just now.

## RACIST'S HELP

In fact that's why the Portuguese took the other option — to change the form a little bit to give a new

juridical aspect to Angola; to give them time. But we are not disarming because of this transformation, and we will not disarm if they create a situation like Rhodesia, if South Africans come. We are already armed, politically and militarily.

**Q:**— The increasing tendency to give priority to putting pressure on Portugal as the potentially weakest link in the Southern Africa power structure was noticeable at the recent OAU summit at Rabat. This seems to imply acceptance of a "domino theory" — once Guinea Bissau falls, it can only be a matter of time before Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa are also liberated. Some South African freedom fighters are known to be unhappy about this theory since it does not take into account Vorster's need to protect South African capital, and border security, and thus the probability that he will intervene militarily to stop the liberation process in other countries. What are your views on the subject?

**A:** Our idea in MPLA is that it is not very good to separate the parts of the liberation struggle in Africa. There are several divisive tendencies in the continent — trying to separate the liberation movements from the independent African States, for example, and trying to separate the Portuguese colonies from the other dominated countries that are not fighting with arms. This, in my view, is a weakness. The development of the struggle in Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Angola would perhaps be easier if there was struggle in Rhodesia and South Africa.

## WIDER STRUGGLE

It is necessary to open different fronts in Africa, to fight in Rhodesia, South Africa, and so on, to defeat the colonialists and the racists. If not we shall always be in a weak position. I don't agree that it is necessary to liberate first one point, then to go on to another point. It is necessary to struggle everywhere using every means possible.

If the independent African countries, mainly those with resources, like Kenya and Ivory Coast, consider as their own struggle the struggle of those countries that are still dominated; if they give full support to the liberation movement, obviously this would make things easier and the enemy, attacked from different points, would face defeat

sooner.

**Q:**— MPLA's health service has earned itself a reputation as the pace-setter in medical work in the liberated areas of the Portuguese colonies. In this field what real differences does a peasant see when his area is liberated by MPLA?

**A:** In general, before, there was no health service in the villages. No doctors. We now have six doctors, which is not a lot but is probably exceptional for a liberation movement in Africa. Treatment and medicine for the people is free. Before, under the Portuguese, even if it was possible to get treatment it had to be paid for. Also it is now possible to train to be a nurse. That is free, too. We can do this through the assistance of other countries.

**Q:**— What scale of operations can you perform inside Angola? I mean, can you fix a broken leg or take out an appendix?

**A:** We can operate for things like appendicitis or hernia. But for long treatment, in the case of a broken leg, for example, it is very difficult. Then it is necessary to bring the patient outside. There are not yet the conditions for a patient to stay in bed for several weeks or months inside Angola. Our problem is the Portuguese Air Force.

**Q:**— What about preventive medicine?

**A:** We vaccinate against smallpox. Sometimes we can inoculate against polio, typhus, diphtheria and tetanus. It is not regular, however, because we don't receive the vaccine regularly. We have done 250,000 vaccinations against polio and about 100,000 against smallpox. Vaccine must be transported in special conditions, it must be kept cold, so we cannot carry out these programmes very far from the border.

Until now we have not been able to devote much attention to educating people on things like sanitation and nutrition but now we have some social assistants training abroad and when they return they will be able to help mothers and children.

**Q:**— Recently you met Holden Roberto, leader of the "National Front for the Liberation of Angola" in Brazzaville. Afterwards there was talk of possible unity. What has actually happened?

**A:** First of all let me point out that is not the first time we have proposed

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unity. Since 1960 we have made many efforts to unite, but this was the first time Holden Roberto agreed to meet us. Now we have reached agreement on the principle of unity for our country.

One of MPLA's political objectives is the achievement of unity of all our people, ending divisions. Until now we have encountered difficulties but that has now changed.

**Q:**— Exactly why do you want unity? Is it significant that President Mobutu allows FNLA, but not MPLA, to enter Angola from Zaire?

**A:** If we could use this 2,000 km border between Zaire and Angola we could take in a lot of material, particularly war material, to the First Region. We are unable to supply conveniently the people there at the moment and this causes us big difficulties.

So the geographical position is important when we discuss this proposal for union of the Angolan forces. But it is not the only thing. There is the question of the unity of our people, now and after independence. At the moment we are divided, although we are fighting the Portuguese for our independence. And political, ideological differences are less important than the fact that the enemy is in our house. We should, we must, unite to defeat the enemy.

## UNITED WE STAND

We can discuss our problems. There is no difficulty for us Angolans to sit down in assemblies, in congresses, in different kinds of meetings, to discuss these problems. To avoid these discussions means maintaining our people's disorientation, disunity, and this, in our view, is not right. This is why we have made all these efforts to unite since 1960.

And we must unite in different fields. The political field is first, then there is the tribal aspect, which is important in all African countries. Then there is the problem of class differences. The richer and the poorer must unite for the same objectives. This is not sentimental. It is our political orientation, to work for the unity of our people. And we hope that the other party will understand what is more

important, that they will accept this union, this co-operation.

I think that in the near future we can have a second meeting to discuss concrete forms of co-operation. We are ready to co-operate with FNLA, and to have an understanding with the government of Zaire in order to achieve victory in our struggle.

We have not put our proposals to the other party and we have not heard any proposals from them. But obviously we have our idea about the ways in which we can co-operate. What we have agreed is the principle that there should be unity in our struggle.

**Q:**— Why have you not included Unita and its leader, Jonas Savimbi, in the discussions?

**A:** We don't consider that Savimbi is a political force inside Angola. There is a group of people who call themselves Unita. Maybe later, after our sessions with FNLA, we will say more about this.

**Q:**— Does MPLA have an ideology?

**A:** It depends on what you mean. There are schematic descriptions used to classify movements.... communist, socialist and so on. But we consider that in our movement it is not possible at this stage to have this kind of classification. For a single party it is possible but when a movement consists of people who are different politically and ideologically it is not possible to say that this is, for example, a communist movement. Not all our people are communists, or socialists. But the movement has a political orientation. We have a precise target, we fight for a specific purpose, we must organise our resources in a particular way, we must organise our political life in a particular way.

Our movement has a programme not only for the present stage but also for after independence. In the present phase we say we must unite and fight the Portuguese and all those who are co-operating with them. After independence it will be necessary to organise a popular State. By popular, I mean democratic, where the people can participate fully, with assemblies and all the other organs that allow the people to express their opinions.

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.

**Q:**— Tanzania has one of the most forthright socialist programmes in Africa yet it is still subject to imperialist pillage through neo-colonialist devices which exploit the country's dependence on a cash crop economy and lack of industry. How would this be overcome in an independent Angola?

**A:** Economic problems are difficult for any country and the problem you mention is common in Africa. But it is necessary to co-operate with more advanced, more developed countries — we can't organise our economy without help. We will need help first of all in the form of technicians and then we will need financial help. Developing a country after a war is very difficult. In Europe, after the Second World War, for example, massive aid from the United States was needed. It is not possible to be isolated from the world. We shall need assistance and co-operation from other countries but it must be co-operation based on equality, not on exploitation. The sovereignty of the new State must be respected. If we allow contracts which make us dependent on other countries then we shall have lost all the benefits of our struggle.

Tanzania has co-operation with most countries in the world and this is all right because Tanzania makes it a condition that co-operation or assistance must respect the policy of Tanzania. Relations can be maintained with every country but it is necessary that we are also able to maintain our independence. This is what we plan for the future and what we are doing now as a liberation movement.

**Q:**— What is the situation in the Cunene area in the south of the country, where there were reports of the beginning of armed struggle a few months ago? We have heard little since the

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reports of fence-cutting on the Namibian border.

A: At the time, the Portuguese sent their troops in very large numbers to the area and our compatriots and the militants did not have sufficient means — arms, ammunition — to organise a guerrilla struggle there. So now the situation is that some are in the bush and some are in the villages. But they are not accepting what the Portuguese administration wants from them.

The situation is comparable, more or less, with that in our First Region, where there is resistance, there are fighters armed and there are areas where the Portuguese can't go on foot. But we don't hear too much about this resistance because it is more defensive than offensive. To pass to the offensive in Cunene we need more means. This is what we have to organise.

But now this movement also exists in Benguela region. This is the region near the end of the railway. The movement is expanding now.

Q: You don't attack the Benguela railway now because it is used by Zambia as an outlet to the sea. Do you foresee any changes in this policy once the Tanzania-Zambia railway is completed?

A: Maybe. This depends on the conditions at that time. Just now it is difficult to foresee what the situation will be. We do not attack the railway now because Zambia has many difficulties. I read in the newspaper the other day that South Africa and Rhodesia

are obliging Zambia to use the railway instead of trucks through Mozambique. This is perhaps to oblige Frelimo to stop blowing up the railways that come through Malawi. We don't attack the Benguela railway because we don't want to asphyxiate Zambia. But maybe when Zambia has another means of supply we will take a different position. But this depends on the sum of the conditions in Africa.

Q: I think there are other economic targets in Angola. Have you managed to launch attacks on them?

A: From the beginning we have destroyed coffee plantations so that now the Portuguese are obliged to put units of soldiers in every plantation. But the most important targets — like Cunene — we have not yet attacked, because of supply difficulties.

Q: There are diamond mines in Lunda district, where you operate. Are they too well guarded to attack?

A: They are well guarded and the Portuguese have perhaps their most important air force contingent in that area. But this is not why it has been quiet up till now. It is only because of problems of supply. If you look at the map you will see why. The mines are up near the Zaire border — about 45 days walk from the Zambian border.

Q: In a war situation democratic participation in decision-making by the ordinary people is difficult to achieve. In the Angolan context do you see this presenting a danger of the leadership becoming detached from the people?

A: I don't see this as a danger because in our

organisation it is always necessary to be in contact with the people's action committees, which control all political and administrative work under the direction of the steering committee of MPLA. This steering committee is both political and military. Its members are at the head of MPLA. They are obliged to go to their respective areas of struggle, because you can't control political activities if you are far from the people, from the militants. It is essential to be close to the people to investigate and to tackle problems. I can't make decisions about a zone, for instance, without going there to talk to the people and the cadres.

So the people do participate with the leadership in making decisions. But now we want to increase this participation and we intend to have a congress where some proposals will be discussed in connection with the formation of regional assemblies of the areas we control.

In the military organisation we have permanent contact with the soldiers. For instance, when an attack is being planned, the leaders of the detachment organise everything, make reconnaissance. Then, hours before the attack, they discuss with all the soldiers the problems and the tactics that will be used. After the attack they meet again and discuss any aspects which went wrong.

The soldiers can criticise the commander and he can criticise them. Of course, during an action if the commander gives an order there can be no discussion.

So the danger of militants becoming detached from the struggle is not so great.

## THE ANGOLAN RED CROSS

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Cross, Crescent, Lion and Sun organisations the moral and material assistance most likely to enable our society to carry out its humanitarian work.

2. To appeal to the conscience of the world on the subject of the serious problems of survival that our people are having to face to regain their dignity and sovereignty.

Algiers, May 1972.

(Second Politico-Military Region)

10/7/72 — A combined patrol of our Movement's guerrillas and pioneers was operating in Alto Maiombe (Cabinda) with a view to paralysing the economic installations on the banks of the Lombe river owned by a timber dealer by the name of Forte Faria. Our militants destroyed two tractors and a heavy truck and seized two mechanical saws and other equipment.

8/8/72 — A detachment of our armed forces on an offensive reconnaissance

mission intercepted a motorised enemy column which was proceeding to the enemy barracks at Ximbete (Cabinda). The column, which was commanded by a 2nd lieutenant and a sergeant, was annihilated. We captured arms, grenades, ammunition and articles of personal use. Among the enemy dead was a sergeant by the name of Silverio de Jesus, who was born at Porto Alegre on 29/8/49 and joined the army on 6/7/70 under registration No. 10642570.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

# Report to UN Human Rights Commission

Mr. Chairman,  
Distinguished delegates,  
Gentlemen,

The delegation of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) is glad to be able to attend this meeting.

On behalf of our militants, on behalf of our people, we should like to welcome you and to express the wish that your work will be crowned with success.

We are fully convinced that your move will help to hasten the liberation of our country. This shows the extent to which our people place their confidence in the action of the UN and its associated agencies in furthering Freedom, Peace, Justice and Progress.

Mr. Chairman,

Mankind is now going through a stupendous revolution. The gains of science and technology have helped to change the face of the world. The development of the human and social sciences has given man his true dimension.

Under these conditions, the liberation movement of the peoples arises as an unescapable fact and as the concrete expression of the most legitimate aspirations of human beings in every historical era.

Portuguese colonialism constitutes a crime against humanity in that it prejudices fundamental human rights. Despite all the condemnations of international bodies and of the peoples of the whole world, it is continuing to defile the world conscience.

Having instituted a system of unbridled exploitation and organised violence, Portuguese colonialism is violating the rights of Angolans, both as a nation and as individuals.

And in order to perpetuate this retrograde system which is being jeopardised by the heroic resistance of the Angolan people, it has launched a barbarous war of aggression which is endangering world peace.

Moreover, this dirty colonial war is merely a continuation of centuries-old aggression which, historically, has been marked by such horrors as the slave trade, genocide and subjugation.

Angola is being subjected to one of the most brutal

forms of economic exploitation, characterised by the shameless plunder of its natural resources, and the profits of this, which are enjoyed by foreign oligarchies, are in fact used against its own people.

And certain cases of economic exploitation — i.e. the Kunene river basin scheme — which one might be led to believe could be of some benefit to the African population, actually have the effect of destroying the ecological balance (since there is no research into their ultimate consequences) and of disrupting the economy of the part of the population affected.

Plunder is only made possible by the subjugation and degradation of the Angolan people. Even today, more than half (57%) of all Angolan wage-earners are forced labourers, especially in the primary sector, where the appalling figure of 89 per cent is registered. This forced labour does not differ in any respect from the old slavery.

The secret report of Dr. Afonso Mendes, the colonialist director of the so-called "Angola Institute of Labour, Social Insurance and Social Action", which is attached as an appendix, is quite clear when it states that: "So long as the employer has recourse to the professional recruiter and to the 'contratado' to meet his manpower needs, no appreciable progress can be expected in improving working conditions or, more especially, in the field of employer-worker relations."

Particularly atrocious kinds of forced labour are the compulsory recruitment of women and children for road construction and maintenance, and unpaid labour as a form of punishment meted out on fallacious pretexts.

Even outside forced labour, the Angolan worker is the victim of wage discrimination. Let us see what Dr. Afonso Mendes has to say on this. "The average monthly wage of rural and similar workers, always of African ethnic origin, is 600 escudos (22 dollars), whereas that of the non-rural worker, essentially of European origin, is six times higher."

The rural exodus is a feature of colonial regimes. In Angola, where it has vastly increased owing to the war, it throws into the

most object poverty thousands upon thousands of Angolans who also have to face competition from wave after wave of newly-arrived settlers.

The social consequences of this are well known: begging, prostitution, gangsterism, alcoholism and many other scourges.

This whole situation is further aggravated by racism, which is not only manifested in work, as we have already seen, but also in all other sectors of social life.

Because it is an invariable by-product of colonialism, racial discrimination is, in a way, an omnipresent phenomenon. The Reverend Father Waldo Garcia, whose report is attached as an appendix, states at a certain point: "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."

Let us quote Dr. Afonso Mendes again. "Certain overriding powers of a number of officials, the paternalist tradition of the native status system and the distrust for the black man which predominates among a large number of Europeans lie at the root of the imposition of special measures for individuals of African origin which people of white ethnic origin do not comply with." He goes on to say: "This very bad example set by officials is followed by employers who, in the event of any negligence or irregularity on the part of workers, have no hesitation in resorting to physical punishment."

And what can be said of the medical care and schooling facilities for workers in a country where such a situation prevails? Where for each new school that is built, ten villages are bombed?

The political counterpart of this socio-economic situation is equally frightful. Portuguese colonialism had divided our people into two

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## Report to UN Human Rights Commission

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categories -- "natives" and "assimilados" -- emphasising that the latter enjoyed all the rights of Portuguese citizens. With the launching of the war, they thought fit to change the form of things by abolishing the 'native status' system. But leaving aside all appearances, the actual fact is that the Angolan enjoys none of the fundamental human rights.

Moreover, even in Portugal itself the fascist regime shows absolutely no concern for the constitutional rights of Portuguese citizens.

Angolans do not have the right to freedom of expression or association. The creation of political parties, trade unions and African cultural organisations is forbidden.

Angolans are subject to the effects of systematic propaganda which violates their personality, alienates their national dignity and imposes on them the often decadent values of a so-called "Christian and western civilisation".

Angolans are prey to the bestial behaviour of the PIDE/DGS political police, in the form of house-searches, arbitrary detention, brain-washing, torture and murder.

We can again quote the priest Waldo Garcia in this connection. "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."

Mr. Chairman,

With the war, an escalation of horror is taking place in Angola. With the strategic objective of maintaining these savage forms of exploitation and white rule in this part of Southern Africa, Portuguese colonialism has set up an enormous war machine with the complicity and support of racist South Africa and Rhodesia and also of certain western powers.

Together with traditional practices of torture, the methods of mass repression and extermination are becoming more perfected and technical. That is to say, the operational activity of the Portuguese army is now characterised by a 'scorched earth' policy, by the intensive bombing of the peaceful population and by the use of napalm and other

chemical and toxic agents, especially herbicides and arboricides, thereby exterminating the population and destroying nature.

Angola has become a vast prison. We do not refer only to the numerous concentration camps, Bie, Peu-Peu (Huila), S. Nicolau and Baia dos Tigres (Mocamedes), Forte Rocadas (Kunene) or Menonge (Kuando-Kubango), where the methods which are used purely and simply recall those used during the darkest days of Nazism. People who have escaped from them have given horrifying accounts in which summary executions are interspersed with people being incinerated alive in crematorium ovens. What is more, the peasant population of our country is being penned up in strategic hamlets, where the people are exposed to famine, disease, inactivity, cruelty and the strictest control of the military, political and administrative authorities. The towns themselves are surrounded by barbed wire enclosures and the African population lives in a state of permanent terror, unable to move without safe-conducts.

Posts at all levels of the administration are being gradually filled by military men. Eleven of the sixteen district governors are members of the armed forces. Angola is living under a state of emergency. According to a UN document (A/AC. 109/L. 766) of 21 March 1972:

"In 1971, there were indications of increasing concern among government authorities in regard to the internal security of the Territory. As already mentioned, several districts were placed under a special security regime. Legislation, originally introduced as an emergency measure in 1961 (Decreto Legislativo Ministerial No. 20, 8 May) empowers the Overseas Minister, with the approval of the Minister for Defence, to appoint a member of the armed forces as district governor. An assistant to the military district governor is appointed by the Governor-General from the civil service. Under this legislation, the following security measures apply: (a) all movements of persons and vehicles are subject to the authorisation of the district governor; (b) "dan-

gerous" or suspected individuals may be detained without warrant or charges; (c) all persons authorised to carry arms immediately form part of the volunteer corps (OPVDC) and become subject to its orders and regulations; (d) all public meetings have to be authorised; (e) all forms of correspondence, notices and public information are subject to prior censorship; and (f) all public service personnel become subject to military discipline."

In order to palliate the shortage of military effectives, largely a result of the massive desertion of young Portuguese, the colonialist high command is now resorting to the compulsory conscription of Angolans, thus creating throughly alienated puppet troops in order to make Angolans fight Angolans.

The entire population of our country is subjected to the systematic bombardment of a so-called 'psychosocial' propaganda campaign aimed at destroying the Angolan national and individual personality.

In their attempt to halt the liberation movement, the colonialists are attacking well known Angolan personalities, like the Reverend Father Pinto de Andrade, Honorary President of the MPLA, Ilídio Machado, the writer Luanino Vieira, the poet Antonio Jacinto and many others.

It is precisely with the aim of alerting world opinion about these violations of human rights that the Angolan Red Cross has been created, and the text of the event which marked its founding is attached as an appendix.

Mr. Chairman,  
Distinguished delegates,  
Gentlemen,

Portuguese colonialism is violating the most fundamental rights of Angolans, both as a nation and as individuals.

From the statements of the witnesses we shall present to you, you will be able to realise the immensity of the crimes committed by the colonialists.

Our people, under the banner of the MPLA, are prepared to carry on their fight until total liberation.

And we are sure that we will have the international community at our side. May this meeting work to achieve this!

APPOINTMENTS TO  
THE SECRETARY  
GENERAL OF  
THE ROMANIAN  
COMMUNIST  
PARTY

**Dr. Agostinho Neto,  
President of the People's  
movement for the  
liberation of Angola.**



On Thursday afternoon, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party, has met Dr. Agostinho Neto, President of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, who is paying a friendly visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania, on the invitation of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. There was also present Comrade Stefan Andrei, Secretary to the CC of the RCP.

During the talks they approached problems of mutual interest concerning the relations between the RCP and MPLA.

It was restated the common decision to actively militate in the future for the triumph of the cause of unity of all social forces who are fighting against imperialistic policy of domination and aggression, against the colonialism and any kind of forms of neocolonialism, against the racial discrimination, imperceptible right of each nation to decide independently its destinies, to step fully independently on the path of social economic progress. Both parties have noticed with satisfaction the ascendent evolution of the friendly collaboration and militant solidarity between ARCP and MPLA and have expressed communely desires to extend and diversify them in the future according to the fundamental interest of their peoples of the cause of the unity and cohesion of all anti-imperialist front.

The meeting proceeded in an atmosphere of full and reciprocal understanding of warm friendship.

# URGENT APPEAL

Unable to halt the expansion of the MPLA's liberated areas in Angola, the Portuguese war criminals have once again begun to spray herbicides and defoliants on our people's crops.

From the effect of these chemicals, they can be identified as:

- 2, 4 D (2,4 dichlorophenoxyacetic acid)
  - 2,4,5, T (2,4,5, trichlorophenoxyacetic acid)
  - cacodylic acid
  - picloram (made by the Dow Chemical Company under the commercial name of Tordon.)

Considerable acres of cassava, maize, sweet potatoes and fruit trees have already been destroyed. Furthermore, cattle and wild life in these areas show signs of poisoning. Fish in the rivers and lakes die in the first few days after the chemicals are sprayed.

These chemicals also have very harmful effects on human beings, causing pulmonary constriction, digestive disorders and mouth bleeding. 2,4,5 T caused congenital malformations in children born of affected pregnant women. Cacodylic acid is particularly poisoning since it contains arsenic, the lethal subcutaneous dose of which is one gramme per kilo of body weight. As for picloran, not only does it destroy vegetation, but it completely stops all growth in the soil for a period of about two years.

As a result of these new crimes, thousands of Angolans in the liberated areas are now in an alarming state of hunger and none of the measures taken to counter this situation can have any immediate effect.

Without urgent assistance, thousands of human beings -- men, women and children -- will remain in a state of terrible distress while the colonialist criminals intensify their continuous bombing raids.

The MPLA medical Assistance Service (SAM) urgently appeals to all support committees, organisations and people of goodwill to help mount an immediate and a massive campaign for food and seeds for the victims.

SAM also calls upon international organisations, particularly the UN and the OAU strongly to denounce and condemn this new crime perpetrated by Portugal and to seek ways and means of preventing the continued use of such methods.

Food, clothing, blankets and medicines should be sent to the following address.

P.O.Box 20793      MPLA Medical Assistance Service  
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, secondary 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 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

#### ANGOLA IN ARMS (English edition)

Published by the Propaganda and Information Dept. (Delegation in Tanzania) People's Movement for the Liberation of ANGOLA (M.P.L.A.)

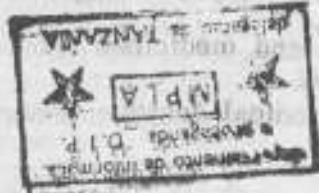
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**TANZANIA**

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Tanzania	Sh. 10.00
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Dar es Salaam, **TANZANIA**.



VIA AIR MAIL

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 projectors 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 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**

## BALLAD FOR THE GUERRILLAS

Comrades, we shall weave garlands of forest flowers and send them to the fighting regions

We shall weave songs in praise of our guerrillas from the wind's murmur and the rustle of green leaves

We shall weave Certainty over your graves in the victorious march of the Angolan people

— This torrential river erupting over the dikes of NATO power

Advancing, conquering swamps and savannas mountains and forests, bearing within it heroism!

Building along the way love, decision and freedom!

We shall not mourn the loss of friends though the soul struggles in rhythms of bitterness

And eyes, bathed with oceans of pain, but restraining the floods of tears, marching and advancing!

Marching and winning, comrades! and building peace in the liberated areas.

But for those who have fallen on the way for the heroes who go in the vanguard

We shall weave garlands of forest flowers messages of love in the song of the cypress trees

Songs in praise of our guerrillas in the wind's murmur and the rustle of green leaves!

Eugenio Neto 4/3/72

#### PORTUGUESE STUDENTS ASSOCIATION COMMITTEE

45, FAIRLAND HOUSE  
36, MASON'S HILL BROMLEY  
BR 29 JJ KENT  
ENGLAND

TO LONDON





# ANGOLA in ARMS

information organ of the  
PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA



No. 4

August, 1972

Vol. 2

## THE ANGOLAN RED CROSS

The creation of the Angolan Red Cross was publicly announced in May this year at a press conference given in Algiers by our comrade Dr. Eduardo dos Santos.

Yet another instrument for our liberation struggle, the Angolan Red Cross is the outcome of twelve years of experience in the struggle for our people's right to freedom, dignity and medical care, in accordance with international conventions.

Here is the full text of the statement made to the press during the press conference.

### PRESS CONFERENCE

Gentlemen,

I should like first to thank you sincerely for having responded to our invitation. What we are going to announce today marks a further step forward in the liberation of our country.

As a result of the situation created by the irreversible advance of our struggle, the National Liberation Movement exercises administrative, political and military control over one-third of our territory, inhabited by about one million Angolans.

The population directly affected by this historic process has authorised us to announce to you the creation of the Angolan Red Cross (CVA).

In accordance with the decisions of the Istanbul Conference, extending the humanitarian rights laid down in the Geneva Convention to the fighters and population of our country corresponds to the new phase in the emancipation of the peoples. We are firmly convinced that we will meet with a favourable response from the national and international Red Cross organisations, since the step we have taken reflects the present preoccupation of the world's conscience.

The adherence of the

Angolan Red Cross to this ideal can only strengthen the great family of Red Cross societies. The efforts made to alleviate suffering, and even to help to solve the multiple practical problems posed by the unfortunately still numerous conflicts, are well known.

We wish now to speak of the underlying reasons for the creation of the Angolan Red Cross.

As you know, armed struggle was the only road left to the Angolan people to fulfil their legitimate aspirations to independence and freedom. In the face of this will to struggle, Portuguese colonialism has been waging a colonial war against our people, aiming at actual genocide, for more than ten years.

The use by the army of occupation of weapons of mass destruction, such as napalm and chemical agents, in the areas under the control of the National Liberation Movement, is causing the civilian population terrible suffering. This is a crime against humanity which has already been condemned by the United Nations Organisation.

Considering the UN General Assembly resolutions on the inalienable right of the Angolan people to self-determination and independence, and taking into consideration that responsibility for the war situation in our country lies solely with the Portuguese authorities, because of their systematic refusal to grant independence to our country and, thereby, to fulfil the wishes of the conscience of the world and the legitimate aspirations of our people,

Considering that our people are daily subjected to abuses and reprisals, unjustified imprisonment and physical and mental torture, both in the combat areas and in the regions still occupied by Portuguese troops,

Considering that, des-

pite the commitments undertaken by the Portuguese government through its adherence to the Geneva Conventions, fighters and members of the Angolan National Liberation Movement have absolutely no protection against inhuman treatment, or even physical liquidation, which is in flagrant contradiction with especially Article III of the Geneva Conventions,

Considering further the imperative need to develop and increase the protection of our people, both on our national territory and in the border areas, and especially in the region of Angola under the control of the National Liberation Movement, where it is a question of ensuring the protection of the war wounded and prisoners of war and of permitting the younger generation to receive education in conformity with Angolan culture and with the principles of human rights, the Angolan people directly affected by the struggle have decided to constitute the Angolan Red Cross.

The CVA solemnly undertakes to respect and to publicise among its fighters the four Geneva Conventions and the principles formulated by the International Conference of Red Cross Societies. Moreover, we are in duty bound to recall that our Liberation Movement has always endeavoured to act with humanity, and numerous facts bear witness to this.

May this meeting enable us to thank all our friends and, in particular, the Algerian Red Crescent which, having come into being under similar historic conditions, is particularly fitted to give our organisation its full support.

We avail ourselves of this occasion:

1. To request of the League of National Red Cross Societies, the International Red Cross and the Red

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## WAR COMMUNIQUE No. 5/72

In continuance of carrying out the MPLA's watchword 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 compulsory payment known as "sovereignty tax" from 380 to 75 escudos.

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

This 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 delegation sent by the UN Special Committee on Decolonisation, following its Lusaka Meeting with the national liberation movements of Southern Africa, which took place between 17 and 21 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 COUTINHO, encircled a guerrilla group from the MAVINGA Section of DRI Squadron. As soon as the MPLA fighters broke the encirclement they had a direct encounter with another group of enemy troops, who suffered several losses, including a captain.

**3.3.72** — Two military

vehicles proceeding from GAGO COUTINHO and carrying enemy troops, entered a field of anti-tank mines laid by MPLA sappers near a bridge on the LIN-GUEVUNGO river. The two 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 MPLA guerrillas of the DRI Squadron engaged in combat with a group of 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 coming down the right bank of the CHIKULUI took by surprise 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 from the GDI Squadron, suspecting the presence of Portuguese and so-called GE 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 trying 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 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 a minefield 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 detachments fell into another ambush. 10 (ten) enemy soldiers were killed and a further 7 (seven) wounded.

**18.3.72** — A Unimog truck carrying enemy troops on the route from NINDA to GAGO COUTINHO hit one of the anti-tank mines laid there by MPLA sappers. The truck was completely destroyed and all its occupants killed.

Also on the same day, a truck carrying enemy troops hit another minefield near the MUSSUMA river, on the road between MITETE and GAGO COUTINHO. The lorry was totally destroyed and all its occupants killed.

**20.3.72** — At 6 p.m. the MPLA squadron called MUKIMBICI, using mortars and bazookas, completely destroyed the LINYONDE barracks, which had been presenting our detachments with certain difficulties in reaching the Fifth Politico-Military Region.

The enemy troops suffered 30 (thirty) dead and 18 (eighteen) wounded. As a reprisal for the defeat they suffered, the Portuguese colonialist troops took the chiefs of LINYONDE and FHIMBILI as prisoners to KUETE post. They had previously participated in the construction of this barracks.

The next day, 6 (five) members of the population were barbarously murdered by colonialist soldiers.

**29.3.72** — A group of enemy troops entered 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 LOVUA post, coming on a patrol mission to the former NYAMUVU-ANGA area, hit an anti-personnel minefield 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. All its occupants were killed.

**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!  
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE MPLA

# INTERVIEW

**Q:** Could you briefly outline the situation in Angola, particularly concerning the extent of the fighting and the areas controlled by MPLA?

**A:** There are many aspects. But let us take first the military activities, which are our main activities at present, because the Portuguese colonialists have obliged us to fight with arms.

In 1960 the MPLA wrote to the Portuguese Government and asked for discussions about the problems of Angola but in fact the Portuguese Government did not understand these problems. At the time they had the idea that the Angolans were not able to run the country or to run a war. The next year we began to fight. This was in the northern part of Angola. The war there developed over some years and after 1965 we were able to open our eastern front, which is now the most developed front.

Some districts are now under our control completely; Moxico district, Cuanza Cubango district, and others partially so, like Lunda district, Cuanza Norte and Cabinda.

In the areas we control there are no longer Portuguese civilians but there are still enemy military positions, which we attack. Last year we made several attacks and the Portuguese lost six of these barracks. In recent weeks we have made some very heavy attacks -- in Lumbala area, where the Portuguese lost many soldiers, in Mavinga where they abandoned their barracks and we were able to capture food and ammunition. They left about 8,000 tons of food. We also attacked Linonde in Moxico district.

We attack the posts in order to liberate completely these areas that we already control.

## GOOD PROGRESS

We can see some very good progress in our Fifth Region, that is the Bie district, and in the Lunda district, where the enemy uses defoliants but is unable to move on the ground. We are advancing.

The situation in the northern areas is the worst because we are unable to supply our guerrillas through Zairean territory, but the situation in the Cabinda enclave is better than it was

THIS interview between the President of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, Dr. AGOSTINHO NETO (Pictured in glasses) and staff writer IAIN CHRISTIE gives you this rare chance. It takes you beside the freedom fighters in Angola.

some years ago. People who were corrupted by the Portuguese with promises that autonomy would be given to the enclave now realise they were fooled and are defecting to M.P.L.A. We have already made some progress. We shot down a helicopter in Cabinda district in June.

**Q:** Presumably the Portuguese attack you sometimes, too.

**A:** Yes. Where we face serious difficulties is when we are attacked by planes. We don't yet have a proper defence, so the planes are able to do what the Americans have done in Vietnam -- destroy crops with defoliants. Our cassava, for example. Since last year, we have lost many big areas where we can have no more production this year. And last month in Lunda district the Portuguese launched a very big attack against the population, mainly in this way, destroying the agricultural production. This causes difficulties because after they use defoliants we need one year more to get some food.

Happily this problem is alleviated by the solidarity of people in every continent who are helping us. They send large quantities of food, which enables us to supply our country.

Transport was one of our biggest difficulties but the situation has now improved because we have several trucks, which regularly bring our material, equipment, food and medicine into Angola.

**Q:** You mean you have trucks operating inside Angola?

**A:** Yes, but not very far inside. They come from Dar es Salaam to Angola but once inside they cannot go very far because on the eastern side of our country there are few roads. Even when the Portuguese controlled the area this was the situation but now the bridges are destroyed it is almost impossible to go more than a few kilometres. We will have to build some bridges to get the vehicles across the rivers. But at the moment our soldiers carry the equipment on their backs.

It is very difficult.

**Q:** What are your priorities in the areas you control?

**A:** To increase production, to organise our people for this purpose and to organise our medical assistance and education programmes. Education is a big job because the big majority in Moxico Cuanda Cubango, Luanda and Bie cannot read or write. So after production this is what we concentrate on. Then comes medical assistance. We have five-year primary schools in Angola and now we have a secondary school in Congo Brazzaville. For university education we will use the facilities we have in different African and European countries.

**Q:** How is the Portuguese psychological war coming along, the battle for "hearts and minds"?

**A:** Their aim is to try to change the political attitude of the people by these "psychological" methods. They try to give better employment, better social conditions, to the Angolans. They are providing opportunities for education, building more schools and roads. And the latest development is the change in the Overseas Organic Charter, the law for the colonies. Now instead of calling Mozambique and Angola provinces they call them states. But this is politically meaningless, because the colonial structure remains unchanged. It was a political manoeuvre designed to demonstrate to public opinion and the United Nations that Portugal is giving more freedom, reforming the colonial structure to give independence. But it is not true.

## PUPPET STATES

One of the factors involved in the decision to change the name to "State" was pressure from the settlers. The main pressure on the Lisbon government is the patriots' war effort but there is also dissatisfaction among the settlers, who want to keep their riches in Angola. They want power for themselves

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# INTERVIEW

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like in Rhodesia but with some links with Portugal.

It could be that Caetano has in mind the transformation of Angola and Mozambique into States like Rhodesia. This may be his thinking but there has been no decision by the Portuguese Government yet.

The Caetano Government decided to decentralise economically in order to give the settlers in Angola and Mozambique more freedom to solve the economic and administrative problems. But only to a certain degree, not to be completely free or completely separated from Portugal.

**Q:**— The Portuguese have been unable to find a neocolonial solution like this in the past. Do you think they can do so now?

**A:** Until now it has not been possible, mainly because of the weak economic position of the Portuguese State. But they are looking for a new solution that could satisfy everyone. It isn't easy for them because neo-colonialist solutions are not acceptable to us. Now we have a well-organised movement, an organised military force. And it is not easy for the settlers, for instance, to do the same as Smith did in Zimbabwe, because although they might be able to get arms from the United States or South Africa they have the problem of human resources. There are perhaps about half a million Portuguese in Angola. They can't cope with a war over two or three years. They would tire of it and lose many of their young people. So they would have to ask for external help, maybe from South Africa, since that is the country most inclined to give men to fight. The South Africans are already there but only as pilots, experts, commandos and so on, not in big numbers of troops. If South Africa were to send troops to Angola it would, of course, be very bad for the Portuguese because the South Africans would dominate them politically and economically. So I don't think this solution is possible just now.

## RACIST'S HELP

In fact that's why the Portuguese took the other option — to change the form a little bit to give a new

juridical aspect to Angola; to give them time. But we are not disarming because of this transformation, and we will not disarm if they create a situation like Rhodesia, if South Africans come. We are already armed, politically and militarily.

**Q:**— The increasing tendency to give priority to putting pressure on Portugal as the potentially weakest link in the Southern Africa power structure was noticeable at the recent OAU summit at Rabat. This seems to imply acceptance of a "domino theory" — once Guinea Bissau falls, it can only be a matter of time before Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa are also liberated. Some South African freedom fighters are known to be unhappy about this theory since it does not take into account Vorster's need to protect South African capital, and border security, and thus the probability that he will intervene militarily to stop the liberation process in other countries. What are your views on the subject?

**A:** Our idea in MPLA is that it is not very good to separate the parts of the liberation struggle in Africa. There are several divisive tendencies in the continent — trying to separate the liberation movements from the independent African States, for example, and trying to separate the Portuguese colonies from the other dominated countries that are not fighting with arms. This, in my view, is a weakness. The development of the struggle in Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Angola would perhaps be easier if there was struggle in Rhodesia and South Africa.

## WIDER STRUGGLE

It is necessary to open different fronts in Africa, to fight in Rhodesia, South Africa, and so on, to defeat the colonialists and the racists. If not we shall always be in a weak position. I don't agree that it is necessary to liberate first one point, then to go on to another point. It is necessary to struggle everywhere using every means possible.

If the independent African countries, mainly those with resources, like Kenya and Ivory Coast, consider as their own struggle the struggle of those countries that are still dominated; if they give full support to the liberation movement, obviously this would make things easier and the enemy, attacked from different points, would face defeat

sooner.

**Q:**— MPLA's health service has earned itself a reputation as the pace-setter in medical work in the liberated areas of the Portuguese colonies. In this field what real differences does a peasant see when his area is liberated by MPLA?

**A:** In general, before, there was no health service in the villages. No doctors. We now have six doctors, which is not a lot but is probably exceptional for a liberation movement in Africa. Treatment and medicine for the people is free. Before, under the Portuguese, even if it was possible to get treatment it had to be paid for. Also it is now possible to train to be a nurse. That is free, too. We can do this through the assistance of other countries.

**Q:**— What scale of operations can you perform inside Angola? I mean, can you fix a broken leg or take out an appendix?

**A:** We can operate for things like appendicitis or hernia. But for long treatment, in the case of a broken leg, for example, it is very difficult. Then it is necessary to bring the patient outside. There are not yet the conditions for a patient to stay in bed for several weeks or months inside Angola. Our problem is the Portuguese Air Force.

**Q:**— What about preventive medicine?

**A:** We vaccinate against smallpox. Sometimes we can inoculate against polio, typhus, diphtheria and tetanus. It is not regular, however, because we don't receive the vaccine regularly. We have done 250,000 vaccinations against polio and about 100,000 against smallpox. Vaccine must be transported in special conditions, it must be kept cold, so we cannot carry out these programmes very far from the border.

Until now we have not been able to devote much attention to educating people on things like sanitation and nutrition but now we have some social assistants training abroad and when they return they will be able to help mothers and children.

**Q:**— Recently you met Holden Roberto, leader of the "National Front for the Liberation of Angola" in Brazzaville. Afterwards there was talk of possible unity. What has actually happened?

**A:** First of all let me point out that is not the first time we have proposed

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# INTERVIEW

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unity. Since 1960 we have made many efforts to unite, but this was the first time Holden Roberto agreed to meet us. Now we have reached agreement on the principle of unity for our country.

One of MPLA's political objectives is the achievement of unity of all our people, ending divisions. Until now we have encountered difficulties but that has now changed.

**Q:**— Exactly why do you want unity? Is it significant that President Mobutu allows FNLA, but not MPLA, to enter Angola from Zaire?

A: If we could use this 2,000 km border between Zaire and Angola we could take in a lot of material, particularly war material, to the First Region. We are unable to supply conveniently the people there at the moment and this causes us big difficulties.

So the geographical position is important when we discuss this proposal for union of the Angolan forces. But it is not the only thing. There is the question of the unity of our people, now and after independence. At the moment we are divided, although we are fighting the Portuguese for our independence. And political, ideological differences are less important than the fact that the enemy is in our house. We should, we must, unite to defeat the enemy.

## UNITED WE STAND

We can discuss our problems. There is no difficulty for us Angolans to sit down in assemblies, in congresses, in different kinds of meetings, to discuss these problems. To avoid these discussions means maintaining our people's disorientation, disunity, and this, in our view, is not right. This is why we have made all these efforts to unite since 1960.

And we must unite in different fields. The political field is first, then there is the tribal aspect, which is important in all African countries. Then there is the problem of class differences. The richer and the poorer must unite for the same objectives. This is not sentimental. It is our political orientation, to work for the unity of our people. And we hope that the other party will understand what is more

important, that they will accept this union, this co-operation.

I think that in the near future we can have a second meeting to discuss concrete forms of co-operation. We are ready to co-operate with FNLA, and to have an understanding with the government of Zaire in order to achieve victory in our struggle.

We have not put our proposals to the other party and we have not heard any proposals from them. But obviously we have our idea about the ways in which we can co-operate. What we have agreed is the principle that there should be unity in our struggle.

**Q:**— Why have you not included Unita and its leader, Jonas Savimbi, in the discussions.

A: We don't consider that Savimbi is a political force inside Angola. There is a group of people who call themselves Unita. Maybe later, after our sessions with FNLA, we will say more about this.

**Q:**— Does MPLA have an ideology?

A: It depends on what you mean. There are schematic descriptions used to classify movements.... communist, socialist and so on. But we consider that in our movement it is not possible at this stage to have this kind of classification. For a single party it is possible but when a movement consists of people who are different politically and ideologically it is not possible to say that this is, for example, a communist movement. Not all our people are communists, or socialists. But the movement has a political orientation. We have a precise target, we fight for a specific purpose, we must organise our resources in a particular way, we must organise our political life in a particular way.

Our movement has a programme not only for the present stage but also for after independence. In the present phase we say we must unite and fight the Portuguese and all those who are co-operating with them. After independence it will be necessary to organise a popular State. By popular, I mean democratic, where the people can participate fully, with assemblies and all the other organs that allow the people to express their opinions.

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.

**Q:**— Tanzania has one of the most forthright socialist programmes in Africa yet it is still subject to imperialist pillage through neo-colonialist devices which exploit the country's dependence on a cash crop economy and lack of industry. How would this be overcome in an independent Angola?

A: Economic problems are difficult for any country and the problem you mention is common in Africa. But it is necessary to co-operate with more advanced, more developed countries—we can't organise our economy without help. We will need help first of all in the form of technicians and then we will need financial help. Developing a country after a war is very difficult. In Europe, after the Second World War, for example, massive aid from the United States was needed. It is not possible to be isolated from the world. We shall need assistance and co-operation from other countries but it must be co-operation based on equality, not on exploitation. The sovereignty of the new State must be respected. If we allow contracts which make us dependent on other countries then we shall have lost all the benefits of our struggle.

Tanzania has co-operation with most countries in the world and this is all right because Tanzania makes it a condition that co-operation or assistance must respect the policy of Tanzania. Relations can be maintained with every country but it is necessary that we are also able to maintain our independence. This is what we plan for the future and what we are doing now as a liberation movement.

**Q:**— What is the situation in the Cunene area in the south of the country, where there were reports of the beginning of armed struggle a few months ago? We have heard little since the

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# INTERVIEW

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reports of fence-cutting on the Namibian border.

A: At the time, the Portuguese sent their troops in very large numbers to the area and our compatriots and the militants did not have sufficient means — arms, ammunition — to organise a guerrilla struggle there. So now the situation is that some are in the bush and some are in the villages. But they are not accepting what the Portuguese administration wants from them.

The situation is comparable, more or less, with that in our First Region, where there is resistance, there are fighters armed and there are areas where the Portuguese can't go on foot. But we don't hear too much about this resistance because it is more defensive than offensive. To pass to the offensive in Cunene we need more means. This is what we have to organise.

But now this movement also exists in Benguela region. This is the region near the end of the railway. The movement is expanding now.

**Q:** You don't attack the Benguela railway now because it is used by Zambia as an outlet to the sea. Do you foresee any changes in this policy once the Tanzania-Zambia railway is completed?

A: Maybe. This depends on the conditions at that time. Just now it is difficult to foresee what the situation will be. We do not attack the railway now because Zambia has many difficulties. I read in the newspaper the other day that South Africa and Rhodesia

are obliging Zambia to use the railway instead of trucks through Mozambique. This is perhaps to oblige Frelimo to stop blowing up the railways that come through Malawi. We don't attack the Benguela railway because we don't want to asphyxiate Zambia. But maybe when Zambia has another means of supply we will take a different position. But this depends on the sum of the conditions in Africa.

**Q:** I think there are other economic targets in Angola. Have you managed to launch attacks on them?

A: From the beginning we have destroyed coffee plantations so that now the Portuguese are obliged to put units of soldiers in every plantation. But the most important targets — like Cunene — we have not yet attacked, because of supply difficulties.

**Q:** There are diamond mines in Lunda district, where you operate. Are they too well guarded to attack?

A: They are well guarded and the Portuguese have perhaps their most important air force contingent in that area. But this is not why it has been quiet up till now. It is only because of problems of supply. If you look at the map you will see why. The mines are up near the Zaire border — about 45 days walk from the Zambian border.

**Q:** In a war situation democratic participation in decision-making by the ordinary people is difficult to achieve. In the Angolan context do you see this presenting a danger of the leadership becoming detached from the people?

A: I don't see this as a danger because in our

organisation it is always necessary to be in contact with the people's action committees, which control all political and administrative work under the direction of the steering committee of MPLA. This steering committee is both political and military. Its members are at the head of MPLA. They are obliged to go to their respective areas of struggle, because you can't control political activities if you are far from the people, from the militants. It is essential to be close to the people to investigate and to tackle problems. I can't make decisions about a zone, for instance, without going there to talk to the people and the cadres.

So the people do participate with the leadership in making decisions. But now we want to increase this participation and we intend to have a congress where some proposals will be discussed in connection with the formation of regional assemblies of the areas we control.

In the military organisation we have permanent contact with the soldiers. For instance, when an attack is being planned, the leaders of the detachment organise everything, make reconnaissance. Then, hours before the attack, they discuss with all the soldiers the problems and the tactics that will be used. After the attack they meet again and discuss any aspects which went wrong. The soldiers can criticise the commander and he can criticise them. Of course, during an action if the commander gives an order there can be no discussion.

So the danger of militants becoming detached from the struggle is not so great.

## THE ANGOLAN RED CROSS

(Continued from Page 1)

Cross, Crescent, Lion and Sun organisations the moral and material assistance most likely to enable our society to carry out its humanitarian work.

2. To appeal to the conscience of the world on the subject of the serious problems of survival that our people are having to face to regain their dignity and sovereignty.

Algiers, May 1972.

### (Second Politico-Military Region)

**10/7/72** — A combined patrol of our Movement's guerrillas and pioneers was operating in Alto Maiombe (Cabinda) with a view to paralysing the economic installations on the banks of the Lombe river owned by a timber dealer by the name of Forte Faria. Our militants destroyed two tractors and a heavy truck and seized two mechanical saws and other equipment.

**8/8/72** — A detachment of our armed forces on an offensive reconnaissance

mission intercepted a motorised enemy column which was proceeding to the enemy barracks at Ximbete (Cabinda). The column, which was commanded by a 2nd lieutenant and a sergeant, was annihilated. We captured arms, grenades, ammunition and articles of personal use. Among the enemy dead was a sergeant by the name of Silverio de Jesus, who was born at Porto Alegre on 29/8/49 and joined the army on 6/7/70 under registration No. 10642570.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

## War Communiqué No. 7/72

# Report to UN Human Rights Commission

Mr. Chairman,  
Distinguished delegates,  
Gentlemen,

The delegation of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) is glad to be able to attend this meeting.

On behalf of our militants, on behalf of our people, we should like to welcome you and to express the wish that your work will be crowned with success.

We are fully convinced that your move will help to hasten the liberation of our country. This shows the extent to which our people place their confidence in the action of the UN and its associated agencies in furthering Freedom, Peace, Justice and Progress.

Mr. Chairman,

Mankind is now going through a stupendous revolution. The gains of science and technology have helped to change the face of the world. The development of the human and social sciences has given man his true dimension.

Under these conditions, the liberation movement of the peoples arises as an unescapable fact and as the concrete expression of the most legitimate aspirations of human beings in every historical era.

Portuguese colonialism constitutes a crime against humanity in that it prejudices fundamental human rights. Despite all the condemnations of international bodies and of the peoples of the whole world, it is continuing to defile the world conscience.

Having instituted a system of unbridled exploitation and organised violence, Portuguese colonialism is violating the rights of Angolans, both as a nation and as individuals.

And in order to perpetuate this retrograde system which is being jeopardised by the heroic resistance of the Angolan people, it has launched a barbarous war of aggression which is endangering world peace.

Moreover, this dirty colonial war is merely a continuation of centuries-old aggression which, historically, has been marked by such horrors as the slave trade, genocide and subjugation.

Angola is being subjected to one of the most brutal

forms of economic exploitation, characterised by the shameless plunder of its natural resources, and the profits of this, which are enjoyed by foreign oligarchies, are in fact used against its own people.

And certain cases of economic exploitation — i.e. the Kunene river basin scheme — which one might be led to believe could be of some benefit to the African population, actually have the effect of destroying the ecological balance (since there is no research into their ultimate consequences) and of disrupting the economy of the part of the population affected.

Plunder is only made possible by the subjugation and degradation of the Angolan people. Even today, more than half (57%) of all Angolan wage-earners are forced labourers, especially in the primary sector, where the appalling figure of 89 per cent is registered. This forced labour does not differ in any respect from the old slavery.

The secret report of Dr. Afonso Mendes, the colonialist director of the so-called "Angola Institute of Labour, Social Insurance and Social Action", which is attached as an appendix, is quite clear when it states that: "So long as the employer has recourse to the professional recruiter and to the 'contratado' to meet his manpower needs, no appreciable progress can be expected in improving working conditions or, more especially, in the field of employer-worker relations."

Particularly atrocious kinds of forced labour are the compulsory recruitment of women and children for road construction and maintenance, and unpaid labour as a form of punishment meted out on fallacious pretexts.

Even outside forced labour, the Angolan worker is the victim of wage discrimination. Let us see what Dr. Afonso Mendes has to say on this. "The average monthly wage of rural and similar workers, always of African ethnic origin, is 600 escudos (22 dollars), whereas that of the non-rural worker, essentially of European origin, is six times higher."

The rural exodus is a feature of colonial regimes. In Angola, where it has vastly increased owing to the war, it throws into the

most object poverty thousands upon thousands of Angolans who also have to face competition from wave after wave of newly-arrived settlers.

The social consequences of this are well known: begging, prostitution, gangsterism, alcoholism and many other scourges.

This whole situation is further aggravated by racism, which is not only manifested in work, as we have already seen, but also in all other sectors of social life.

Because it is an invariable by-product of colonialism, racial discrimination is, in a way, an omnipresent phenomenon. The Reverend Father Waldo Garcia, whose report is attached as an appendix, states at a certain point: "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."

Let us quote Dr. Afonso Mendes again. "Certain overriding powers of a number of officials, the paternalist tradition of the native status system and the distrust for the black man which predominates among a large number of Europeans lie at the root of the imposition of special measures for individuals of African origin which people of white ethnic origin do not comply with." He goes on to say: "This very bad example set by officials is followed by employers who, in the event of any negligence or irregularity on the part of workers, have no hesitation in resorting to physical punishment."

And what can be said of the medical care and schooling facilities for workers in a country where such a situation prevails? Where for each new school that is built, ten villages are bombed?

The political counterpart of this socio-economic situation is equally frightful. Portuguese colonialism had divided our people into two

(Continued on Page 8)

## Report to UN Human Rights Commission

(Continued from Page 7)

categories — "natives" and "assimilados" — emphasising that the latter enjoyed all the rights of Portuguese citizens. With the launching of the war, they thought fit to change the form of things by abolishing the 'native status' system. But leaving aside all appearances, the actual fact is that the Angolan enjoys none of the fundamental human rights.

Moreover, even in Portugal itself the fascist regime shows absolutely no concern for the constitutional rights of Portuguese citizens.

Angolans do not have the right to freedom of expression or association. The creation of political parties, trade unions and African cultural organisations is forbidden.

Angolans are subject to the effects of systematic propaganda which violates their personality, alienates their national dignity and imposes on them the often decadent values of a so-called "Christian and western civilisation".

Angolans are prey to the bestial behaviour of the PIDE/DGS political police, in the form of house-searches, arbitrary detention, brain-washing, torture and murder.

We can again quote the priest Waldo Garcia in this connection. "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."

Mr. Chairman,

With the war, an escalation of horror is taking place in Angola. With the strategic objective of maintaining these savage forms of exploitation and white rule in this part of Southern Africa, Portuguese colonialism has set up an enormous war machine with the complicity and support of racist South Africa and Rhodesia and also of certain western powers.

Together with traditional practices of torture, the methods of mass repression and extermination are becoming more perfected and technical. That is to say, the operational activity of the Portuguese army is now characterised by a 'scorched earth' policy, by the intensive bombing of the peaceful population and by the use of napalm and other

chemical and toxic agents, especially herbicides and arboricides, thereby exterminating the population and destroying nature.

Angola has become a vast prison. We do not refer only to the numerous concentration camps, Bie, Peu-Peu (Huila), S. Nicolau and Balados Tigres (Mocambo), Forte Rocadas (Kunene) or Menonge (Kuando-Kubango), where the methods which are used purely and simply recall those used during the darkest days of Nazism. People who have escaped from them have given horrifying accounts in which summary executions are interspersed with people being incinerated alive in crematorium ovens. What is more, the peasant population of our country is being penned up in strategic hamlets, where the people are exposed to famine, disease, inactivity, cruelty and the strictest control of the military, political and administrative authorities. The towns themselves are surrounded by barbed wire enclosures and the African population lives in a state of permanent terror, unable to move without safe-conducts.

Posts at all levels of the administration are being gradually filled by military men. Eleven of the sixteen district governors are members of the armed forces. Angola is living under a state of emergency. According to a UN document (A/AC. 109/L. 766) of 21 March 1972:

"In 1971, there were indications of increasing concern among government authorities in regard to the internal security of the Territory. As already mentioned, several districts were placed under a special security regime. Legislation, originally introduced as an emergency measure in 1961 (Diploma Legislativo Ministerial No. 20, 8 May) empowers the Overseas Minister, with the approval of the Minister for Defence, to appoint a member of the armed forces as district governor. An assistant to the military district governor is appointed by the Governor-General from the civil service. Under this legislation, the following security measures apply: (a) all movements of persons and vehicles are subject to the authorisation of the district governor; (b) "dan-

gerous" or suspected individuals may be detained without warrant or charges; (c) all persons authorised to carry arms immediately form part of the volunteer corps (OPVDC) and become subject to its orders and regulations; (d) all public meetings have to be authorised; (e) all forms of correspondence, notices and public information are subject to prior censorship; and (f) all public service personnel become subject to military discipline."

In order to palliate the shortage of military effectives, largely a result of the massive desertion of young Portuguese, the colonialist high command is now resorting to the compulsory conscription of Angolans, thus creating thoroughly alienated puppet troops in order to make Angolans fight Angolans.

The entire population of our country is subjected to the systematic bombardment of a so-called 'psychosocial' propaganda campaign aimed at destroying the Angolan national and individual personality.

In their attempt to halt the liberation movement, the colonialists are attacking well known Angolan personalities, like the Reverend Father Pinto de Andrade, Honorary President of the MPLA, Ilídio Michado, the writer Luanino Vieira, the poet Antonio Jacinto and many others.

It is precisely with the aim of alerting world opinion about these violations of human rights that the Angolan Red Cross has been created, and the text of the event which marked its founding is attached as an appendix.

Mr. Chairman,  
Distinguished delegates,  
Gentlemen,

Portuguese colonialism is violating the most fundamental rights of Angolans, both as a nation and as individuals.

From the statements of the witnesses we shall present to you, you will be able to realise the immensity of the crimes committed by the colonialists.

Our people, under the banner of the MPLA, are prepared to carry on their fight until total liberation.

And we are sure that we will have the international community at our side. May this meeting work to achieve this!

**APPOINTMENTS TO  
THE SECRETARY  
GENERAL OF  
THE ROMANIAN  
COMMUNIST  
PARTY**

Dr. Agostinho Neto,  
President of the People's  
movement for the  
liberation of Angola.

On Thursday afternoon, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party, has met Dr. Agostinho Neto, President of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, who is paying a friendly visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania, on the invitation of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. There was also present Comrade Stefan Andrei, Secretary to the CC of the RCP.

During the talks they approached problems of mutual interest concerning the relations between the RCP and MPLA.

It was restated the common decision to actively militate in the future for the triumph of the cause of unity of all social forces who are fighting against imperialistic policy of domination and aggression, against the colonialism and any kind of forms of neocolonialism, against the racial discrimination, imperceptible right of each nation to decide independently its destinies, to step fully independently on the path of social economic progress. Both parties have noticed with satisfaction the ascendent evolution of the friendly collaboration and militant solidarity between ARCP and MPLA and have expressed commonly desires to extend and diversify them in the future according to the fundamental interest of their peoples of the cause of the unity and cohesion of all anti-imperialist front.

The meeting proceeded in an atmosphere of full and reciprocal understanding of warm friendship.



## **URGENT APPEAL**

Unable to halt the expansion of the MPLA's liberated areas in Angola, the Portuguese war criminals have once again begun to spray herbicides and defoliants on our people's crops.

From the effect of these chemicals, they can be identified as:

- 2, 4 D (2,4 dichlorophenoxyacetic acid)
- 2,4,5, T (2,4,5, trichlorophenoxyacetic acid)
- cacodylic acid
- picloram (made by the Dow Chemical Company under the commercial name of Tordon).

Considerable acres of cassava, maize, sweet potatoes and fruit trees have already been destroyed. Furthermore, cattle and wild life in these areas show signs of poisoning. Fish in the rivers and lakes die in the first few days after the chemicals are sprayed.

These chemicals also have very harmful effects on human beings, causing pulmonary constriction, digestive disorders and mouth bleeding. 2,4,5 T caused congenital malformations in children born of affected pregnant women. Cacodylic acid is particularly poisonous since it contains arsenic, the lethal subcutaneous dose of which is one gramme per kilo of body weight. As for picloran, not only does it destroy vegetation, but it completely stops all growth in the soil for a period of about two years.

As a result of these new crimes, thousands of Angolans in the liberated areas are now in an alarming state of hunger and none of the measures taken to counter this situation can have any immediate effect.

Without urgent assistance, thousands of human beings — men, women and children — will remain in a state of terrible distress while the colonialist criminals intensify their continuous bombing raids.

The MPLA medical Assistance Service (SAM) urgently appeals to all support committees, organisations and people of goodwill to help mount an immediate and a massive campaign for food and seeds for the victims.

SAM also calls upon international organisations, particularly the UN and the OAU strongly to denounce and condemn this new crime perpetrated by Portugal and to seek ways and means of preventing the continued use of such methods.

Food, clothing, blankets and medicines should be sent to the following address.

P.O.Box 20793                   MPLA Medical Assistance Service  
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, secondary 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

#### ANGOLA IN ARMS (English edition)

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TO:

PORUGUESE STUDENTS ASSOCIATION  
COMMITTEE  
45, FAIRLAND HOUSE  
36, MASON'S HILL BROMLEY BR 29  
KENT



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 projectors 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 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

## BALLAD FOR THE GUERRILLAS

Comrades, we shall weave garlands of forest flowers and send them to the fighting regions

We shall weave songs in praise of our guerrillas from the wind's murmur and the rustle of green leaves

We shall weave Certainty over your graves in the victorious march of the Angolan people

-- This torrential river erupting over the dikes of NATO power

Advancing, conquering swamps and savannas mountains and forests, bearing within it heroism!

Building along the way love, decision and freedom!

We shall not mourn the loss of friends though the soul struggles in rhythms of bitterness

And eyes, bathed with oceans of pain, but restraining the floods of tears, marching and advancing!

Marching and winning, comrades! and building peace in the liberated areas.

But for those who have fallen on the way for the heroes who go in the vanguard

We shall weave garlands of forest flowers messages of love in the song of the cypress trees

Songs in praise of our guerrillas in the wind's murmur and the rustle of green leaves!

Eugenio Neto 4/3/72



# ANGOLA in ARMS

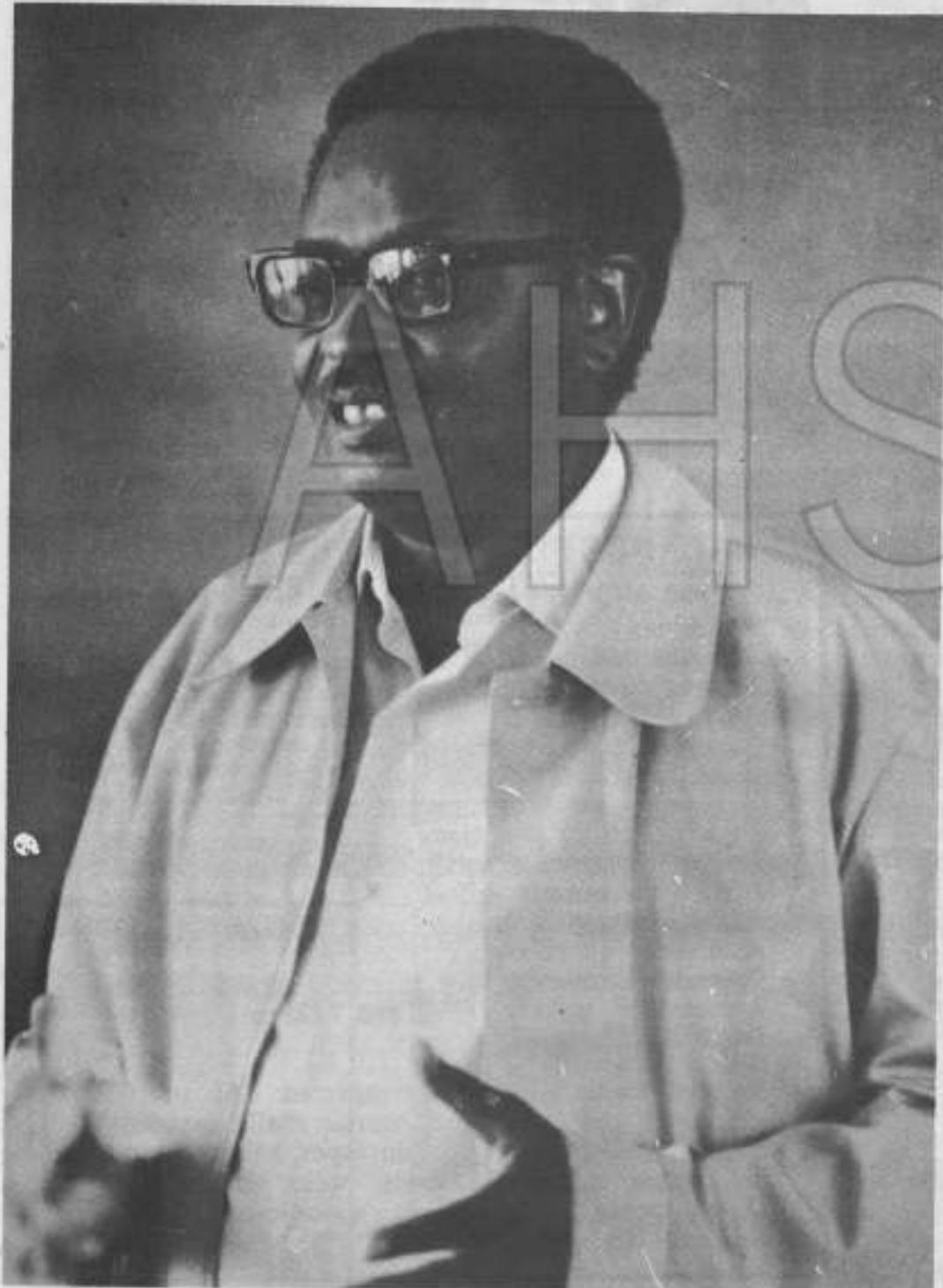
Information organ of the  
PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA



No. 4

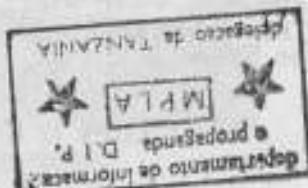
December, 1972

Vol. 2



"Fortunately, for those who fight on the side of justice and against tyranny, for those who desire freedom, armed action is not only a sacrifice, it is above all a FORCE. It is not only a whirlpool; it is not only the irrigation of our battle-field with the blood of the best sons of our people; it is also a SCHOOL. It is a means by which the people continue this struggle in the FUTURE!"

Dr. Agostinho Neto  
President of the  
M.P.L.A.



## **4th FEBRUARY**

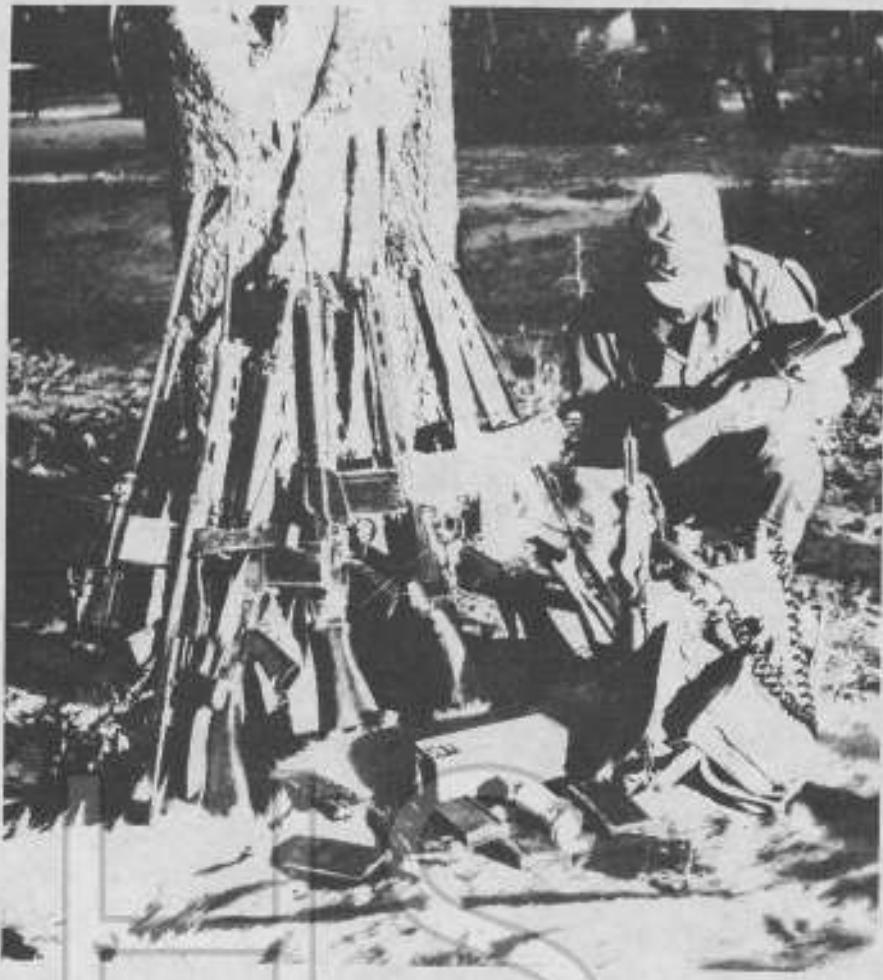
### **A historical date**

On 4 February 1973 the Angolan people in arms will be commemorating the twelfth anniversary of the start of their armed struggle for national liberation. In the course of these twelve years of consistent struggle against the Portuguese colonialist and fascist regime, the MPLA militants have not only been able to carry on the passive and armed resistance that their forebears launched against the foreign presence and foreign rule in Angola, but they have also honoured the memory and ideals of all those who have fallen on the battlefield so that the Angolan people might live in dignity, freedom and independence.

During this relentless armed struggle, glorious pages in history have been written in the blood of MPLA militants, pages which show the spirit of self-sacrifice, the determination, the courage and the heroism of the Angolan people. The Angolan people's armed struggle will doubtless be a protracted struggle. But it is clear to all that the MPLA fighters are determined not to lay down their arms until Final Victory, until their rights and their legitimate aspirations are universally recognised, like those of any other people.

Glory to our Heroes!  
The MPLA will win!  
The Angolan People will  
be Free!

Victory is Certain!



#### **BALANCE SHEET OF MPLA MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN 1972**

Ambushes .....	108
Vehicles destroyed .....	43
Bridges destroyed .....	12
Attacks on barracks .....	27
Barracks totally destroyed .....	5
Boats sunk .....	7
Helicopters shot down .....	5
Mines set off by the enemy .....	96
Enemy troops put of action .....	837
African mercenaries killed .....	64
Angolans freed .....	387
Assorted weapons captured .....	352
Grenades captured .....	185
Ammunition captured (7.62 and 7.92 mm) .....	4834
Radio sets captured .....	9

Assorted military equipment captured: FAL and G3 magazines, uniforms, boots, mortar shalls, canteens, daggers, individual tents, rain capes, helmets, caps, belts, axes, machetes, towels, socks, tinned food, plates, spoons, forks, knives, pocketknives, books, blankets, (In large quantities).

# A cardinal year in politics and diplomatic fields

A look back at the year which has just ended will show that it has been a cardinal year for the Angolan people and their revolutionary Vanguard, the MPLA.

A cardinal year because the political and diplomatic steps taken by our Movement have been crowned with brilliant victories.

The 27th meeting of the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution affirming that the liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea and Cape Verde are the authentic representatives of the true aspirations of the peoples of these territories. Pending their achievement of independence, the General Assembly has recommended to all States, specialised agencies and other concerned United Nations organs to see to it, when dealing with matters related to these territories, that they are represented by the liberation movements in question in the appropriate manner and in consultation with the Organisation of African unity.

The adoption of this resolution by an overwhel-

ming majority constitutes a great victory for the African national liberation movements.

At the 16th meeting of its General Conference, UNESCO, referring to this resolution, adopted a resolution associating the representatives of the African liberation movements with its activities and with the sessions of its General Conference.

The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) has invited representatives of the liberation movements to attend its next Regional Conference, which is to be held in Addis Ababa next March.

However, one of the most noteworthy events has been the uniting of the forces of the MPLA and FNLA, which took place during the Kin-

shasa talks on 11, 12 and 13 December 1972.

The creation of a Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola, a Political Council of Angola and a Unified Military Command has brought hopes of freedom to our people and is a great victory for the Angolan people and for all the forces of progress.

Now that one of the goals for which our people and their Vanguard have always fought has been achieved, our duty is to close our ranks and to establish national concord and understanding, so as to present a solid united front to the Portuguese colonialist usurpers.

Division rarely means strength. That is why we have buried it.

United we will win!

## ANGOLA IN ARMS

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Demonstration outside London Foreign Office.

## COMMUNIQUE

Owing to the counter-offensive launched by the MPLA fighters in 1971, the Portuguese colonialist and fascist forces were unable to put into effect the big offensive planned for this year's dry season.

Hammered, ambushed and attacked in their own barracks, the enemy armed forces reverted to purely defensive positions, spending long periods confined to their barracks, which offered them greater promise of safety from surprise attacks by MPLA squadrons.

Given these circumstances, in 1972 the enemy decided on heavier concentrations of armed forces, the more extensive use of heliported troops, and therefore of helicopters and planes, ever more intensive bombing raids and, above all, the massive use of chemical agents (herbicides and defoliants), in an attempt to counter the defeats suffered the previous year.

Hence the big offensive carried out in 1972, starting in April, which focused particularly on the MPLA's Fourth Politico-Military Region and part of the Third Region, and which was intended to achieve the following prime objectives:

To prevent the probable visit to the areas under MPLA control of a UN Special Committee on Decolonisation delegation, on the occasion of the Committee's meeting in Lusaka;

To prevent at all costs the steady development of MPLA politico-military operations and the gradual consolidation of the controlled and liberated areas;

To locate as many MPLA bases as possible and try to destroy them, also hoping to be able to count on the help of agents specially trained to infiltrate



the MPLA, as proved by the large number of agents discovered and by documents seized by the MPLA fighting forces;

To cause extensive destruction, using chemical agents, to the areas cultivated by the population under MPLA control, in order to annihilate the people by means of hunger and poisoning and to demoralise them, thereby preventing them from giving consistent and steadfast support to the MPLA's armed forces;

To stop supplies for the most advanced fronts, particularly the Fifth Politico-Military Region, situated in central Angola, which has given the Portuguese colonialist authorities such cause for concern;

At the same time, the so-called psycho-social campaign daily churned out in radio programmes was used to support the intended aims, seeking to win over the Angolan people with promises of material and financial rewards, to demobilise them so that they give themselves up to colonialist authorities, to make them reveal the positions and movements of the MPLA's fighting forces, and to put a stop

to the people's participation in the national liberation struggle.

However, despite the difficulties caused by the general offensive in 1972, and above all by the criminal destruction of cultivated areas, owing to their spirit of self-sacrifice, their determination and their courage, in addition to many smaller operations, the MPLA's fighting forces operating in the Fourth Politico-Military Region succeeded in carrying out 26 large-scale operations between the end of May and late September, which took place on 29 May 13, 17, 29 and 30 June, 15, 17, 18, 24, 25 and 31 July, 5, 20, 21, 23 and 25 August, and 2, 3, 12 and 23 September.

In the course of these 26 operations, the Portuguese colonialist armed forces suffered 173 killed and many wounded. The MPLA's fighting forces suffered 7 killed and 12 wounded. A large quantity of military equipment was captured by the valiant MPLA fighters, particularly weapons (G3s), hand grenades and ammunition (7.62 and 7.92 mm).



The OAU commission of reconciliation.



Dr. Agostinho Neto (MPLA) and Mr. Holden Roberto signing the agreement.

# M.P.L.A. - F.N.L.A. AGREEMENT

Considering

- (a) that our people are one, and our organisations have the same objectives,
  - (b) the grave necessity to wage a more effective revolutionary armed struggle, for the attainment of that objective,
  - (c) the current phase of the mass resistance of our people to the settler machinery of oppression.
- Determined to give effect to the Brazzaville declaration of 8th June 1972 and the decision of the 9th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government (AHG/80/XI held at Rabat in June, 1972.)
- We, the leadership of M.P.L.A. and F.N.L.A. hereby agree as follows:

## SUPREME COUNCIL FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (S.E.L.A.)

1. A Council shall be created to be known as "The Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola" whose duties shall be to co-ordinate at a high level the policies of both the U.M.C. and the P.C.A.

2. The membership of the S.C.L.A. shall consist of: Chairman to be provided by F.N.L.A. Vice-Chairman to be provided by M.P.L.A. all the members of the U.M.C. all the members of the P.C.A.

3. The S.C.L.A. will also give directions of a general nature on the question of dealings with the outside world.

4. The decisions of S.C.L.A. shall be by simple majority vote and that the Chairman shall have no casting vote unless this is agreed to specifically by the Chairmen

of both the U.M.C. and the P.C.A.

5. Before a decision is taken, the Chairman must ensure that both movements are equally represented. Should some members of one movement be absent, then the leader of such a Movement will have the right of such a Movement will have the right to nominate any of the members of his Movement to fill their places.

6. The Vice-Chairman of the S.C.L.A. shall also perform the duties of the Secretary to the Council.

7. The S.C.L.A. may reverse the decisions of the U.M.C. or the P.C.A. if such a decision for reversal is adopted by two third (2/3) majority.

## UNIFIED MILITARY COMMAND — U.M.C.

M.P.L.A. Vice-Chairman to be provided by F.N.L.A. Six Military Officers selected by

1. That a Unified Military Command be created.

2. The areas of joint action of the U.M.C. shall be among other things: Recruitment and Training; Logistics and Supply; Operations; Military Intelligence and Information.

3. The Unified Military Command shall consist of: Chairman to be provided by M.P.L.A. Vice-Chairman to be provided by F.N.L.A. Six Military Officers selected by M.P.L.A. Six Military officers selected by F.N.L.A.

4. The U.M.C. shall be responsible for planning and conducting the liberation war in

(Continued on Page 6)

# AGREEMENT

(Continued from Page 5)

all its military aspects: take decisions by simple majority vote.

5. The U.M.C. shall work out as soon as possible programmes for familiarisation, recruitment, training deployment, assessment of means of the struggle and joint operations.

## POLITICAL COUNCIL OF ANGOLA — P.C.A.

1. That a Political Council of Angola be created.

2. The P.C.A. shall be responsible for among other things: propaganda, mobilization and diplomatic activities; welfare of the civilian population, administration of the liberated areas.

3. The P.C.A. shall consist of Chairman to be provided by F.N.L.A. Vice -Chairman to be provided by M.P.L.A. Six members to be provided by F.N.L.A. Six members to be provided by M.P.L.A.

4. Decisions of the P.C.A. shall be taken by simple majority vote.

The P.C.A. shall also work out a programme of political integration.

The seat of the S.C.L.A., U.M.C. and P.C.A. shall be situated in the Republic of Zaire.

M.P.L.A. and F.N.L.A. have agreed on: The establishment of an atmosphere of peace and fraternity among their forces.

The immediate cessation of all acts of hostility or attacks in the press, the radio and other mass media.

The fact that from now onwards, in order to gradually achieve unity, their Press Releases and all propaganda work shall give emphasis on the newly created bodies S.C.L.A., U.M.C. and P.C.A. so as to make them known to the people of Angola.

The implementation of this agreement.

## COMMISSION OF ARBITRATION

1. That a Commission of Arbitration composed of representatives of the People's Republic of the Congo, the United Republic of Tanzania, the Republic of Zambia and the Republic of Zaire be established under the auspices of the O.A.U.

2. The Commission shall see to it that commitments undertaken are respected, and shall arbitrate on any possible differences that may from time to time arise.



## Interview with M.P.L.A. militant

By Elisabeth Hedberg and Hillevi Nilsson, who visited Angola (published in 'Komentar', Stockholm).—

**IT WAS ALWAYS DIFFICULT TO GET ENOUGH TO EAT**

Samusumina, peasant and Political Commissar

I grew up on the outskirts of Lumbala and, like my parents, I was a peasant. My brother who went to school in Zambia taught me to read and write. I have four brothers and a sister, all of them older than me. When the war started here in 1966, three of my brothers fled to Zambia. The other two stayed in the village to look after my mother.

Life under the 'tugas' (Portuguese colonialists) was hard. It was we Africans who were forced to build the railway, we who did forced labour, we who had to do all the work. From time to time we were summoned by the Portuguese 'chefe de posto' to pay taxes. Then they also checked on all the children, because at a certain age we were compelled to pay taxes.

How was it possible to find enough money to pay these taxes? We made rope, we hunted and fished, and we sold goods cheaply to Portuguese buyers in order to have enough money for the taxes at the end of the year. To save ourselves, we also sold maize and potatoes. All this was to get enough for the taxes.

It was always difficult to get enough to eat, because the threat of taxes was always hanging over us. We knew that now, in two months time, we would have to pay, but we didn't know how to get the money together. Sometimes members of my

family thought of buying clothes with money we had got for our produce. But we were very seldom able to do so. Instead, the money went to the 'chefe de posto'. And we had to have licences for everything: fishing, bicycles, sewing machines, etc. We had to pay a lot of money to the Portuguese to get these licences.

My first contact with the MPLA was in 1966. I met Comrade Kanjangulu, who was a commander in Zone A at that time, and another comrade called Tudu-e-nosso in the village where I lived. They asked me whether I didn't know that the 'tuga' regime was bad, and if I hadn't been ill-treated and if I had suffered. Well of course, that's the way it was. There were the taxes, the forced labour and many other things. And so I was really willing to fight for freedom with the comrades, and this is why I followed them to

Mandume and became a member of the MPLA.

My work now is mainly to fight. But it is also to mobilise the people. We have to explain what the MPLA is, who the Angolan people are, etc. Part of the mobilising is done in the 'ndandandas' (strategic hamlets). There the Portuguese have tried to inculcate their propaganda upon the people. They say that the MPLA are "bandits and communists who rob the people". In this way, they want to prevent the people from working with us. The first thing we have to do is to make the people understand that the 'tuga' propaganda is false. We tell them that the MPLA does not want to rob the people at all, but that we are fighting so that Angola may be independent, and that we never kill the people -- only our enemies, those who are against

(Continued on Page 8)



## Interview with MPLA militant

(Continued from Page 7)

independence and the good of our people. We explain to them that this is why we are living in the forests, and we urge them to come with us; and that perhaps they will then understand that it is because the 'tugas' are the enemies of the people that they lie about our life in the forests and want to prevent people from joining us. I conclude by saying: "You must tell the truth to your families and to the people in the 'ndandanda'. You must say that our life in the forests is well ordered and disciplined."

I am always part of a guerrilla group. One of my jobs is to maintain discipline. I explain to the comrades why discipline is necessary, because we are at war. And those who are not disciplined and do not do their duty are punished.

Before a battle I also explain the aim of the battle we are undertaking. A plan is drawn up in advance, at a meeting, and then the comrades are given the order to get ready to march. We walk to a pre-determined place and there, I explain the plan. Everyone is told in detail what he has to do and I stress the importance of everyone doing his duty in accordance with the plan, so as to ensure the success of the operation. I try to mobilise the people to work, because if we do not work we have nothing to eat. And if we have nothing to eat we cannot go on fighting.

The greatest difficulty in my work is getting rid of the stupidities that Portuguese propaganda has instilled in some of our people. Tribalism, racism and such things. It's difficult to get these ideas

out of comrades' heads, because the Portuguese have gone on hammering these things into their heads for so long. I try to explain to them why tribalism is bad, among other things because the 'tugas' try to use it to divide us and thus maintain their power. If we continue to be divided we will never be able to win this war. It will be much easier if we all stay united. As for racism, I say: "It is not against the whites or the mulattoes that we must fight. There are traitors among the blacks too. And one mustn't judge any-

one on their colour, but on their opinions."

In the Angola of the future I want an end to suffering and a better life for the people. We will then have driven out all the bad thoughts — tribalism and racism, for example — which the 'tugas' have put in our heads. We are all going to work to have food and clothes. If we do not have enough to eat and enough clothes then, it will be because we have not worked enough. We are going to work with all our might for the good of the whole people.



# International solidarity

COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF SWEDEN

Since the beginning of the 1960's the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau have been waging successful wars of liberation against the colonial power of Portugal. The struggle is led by MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC, which

are the only movements fighting for complete economic, political and cultural independence in their respective countries. The 23rd Congress of the CP of Sweden expresses its wholehearted support to this just and heroic struggle.

The Portuguese colonists can remain in Africa only because of the massive military, economic and political support from South Africa, the NATO powers and other imperialist states.

The 23rd Congress of the CP of Sweden condemns the imperialist support to the colonial wars and sets itself the task to mobilize the Swedish working class for struggle against imperialism.

Defoliants and herbicides are spread massively in Angola and Mozambique so that devastation and famine occur. The 23rd Congress of the CP of Sweden strongly condemns the use of chemical weapons.

The Swedish working class has common interests with the peoples of the Portuguese colonies in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. Therefore solidarity between the CP of Sweden and the liberation movements MPLA, FRELIMO, and PAIGC is self-evident.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS ABOUT ANGOLA

"ANGOLA: FIVE CENTURIES OF PORTUGUESE  
EXPLOITATION"  
by Dr. Americo Boavida

English edition published by  
Liberation Support Movement, Information Centre,  
Box 338, Richmond, B.C., Canada

"THE REVOLUTION IN ANGOLA"  
MPLA life histories and documents from  
guerrilla war.

by Don Barnett and Roy Harvey,  
published by Bobbs - Merrill Company.  
Indianapolis, New York.

"IN THE EYE OF THE STORM"  
— Angola's people —  
by Basil Davidson

Longman Group Limited, London, 1972

The heroic armed struggles against the Portuguese colonialist regime which are being waged in Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique by the MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO fighters have earned countless testimonies of solidarity from all over the world, which are an inestimable source of encouragement.

In a resolution adopted in October 1972, the European Justice and Peace Conference:

## European justice and peace conference

— requests the National Commissions of Europe:-  
 a) to make proposals to their respective governments to put pressure on the Portuguese government to enable Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau to dispose of the right of self-determination;  
 b) to alert public opinion

about the injustices, and so act in such a way as to enable these peoples to fulfil their aspirations; to approach their respective governments to advocate a policy of legal aid and social assistance for the Portuguese deserters who have no right to conscientious

objection within their own country as well as for the other Portuguese refugees persecuted for political reasons;

- d) to denounce the sale of arms to Portugal by those members of NATO who are still doing so, since these arms are used by Portugal in the war being waged in its overseas territories;
- e) to promote the idea of a boycott of Angolan coffee;
- f) to ask their respective governments to refuse to provide the co-operation of their country's business firms and capital in the construction of the Cabo Bassa dam in Mozambique and the Cunene Dam in Angola, and to take the requisite measures to ensure that the firms and capital which are already involved should be withdrawn. In the present situation, these two projects, far from benefiting the Africans, would increase and strengthen the influence of those favouring White Africa and apartheid;
- g) to make contact with the governing bodies in their countries in order to see with them what consequences should be drawn from the Utrecht resolutions of the Central Committee of the WCC, which recommended the withdrawal of Church and members funds from banks which have agreed to take part in the financing of these dams;
- h) to ask the Pontifical Justice and Peace Commission to consider whether it or any other official body of the Catholic Church could not become associated with this call from the WCC's Central Committee;
- i) to collect and disseminate information on these problems.





# ANGOLA in ARMS

Information organ of the

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA



## COMMANDER HENDA



On 14 April 1968, during an attack on the Karipande Barracks in the District of Moxico (Third Region), Commander HOJI IA HENDA, member of the Executive Committee of the MPLA and Coordinator of its Military Commission, fell on the field of honour.

To honour the memory of this heroic fighter, who symbolises the indomitable will of our People to reconquer their Independence, the Regional Assembly of the Third Region, meeting in the district of Moxico in August 1968, decided to declare 14 April "Angolan Youth Day" and to honour Commander HOJI IA HENDA with the posthumous title of "Beloved Son of the Angolan People and Heroic Fighter of the MPLA".

Commander HENDA was only 26 years old at the time of his death. Although so short, his was the life of a fighter.

In 1961, he went with Commander Tomaz Ferreira's column, which was basely massacred by armed UPA bands in Fuesse (First Region). HENDA escaped.



Commander HENDA, beloved son of the Angolan People and Heroic Fighter of the MPLA.

In 1964, HENDA was made Commander of the Cabinda Front (Second Region). Owing to his tremendous military ability and militancy, together with his integrity, intelligence and rare gifts as a commander, the MPLA guerrillas there inflicted heavy defeats on the enemy.

In 1966, he was promoted to be Coordinator of the MPLA Military Commission, thereby becoming the Movement's top military leader.

It was for the purpose of planning offensives and ensuring the extension of the armed struggle on the Eastern Front that Commander HENDA went to the District of Moxico, where an enemy bullet took his life on 14 April 1968.

The name of heroic Commander HENDA adds to the long list of Angolan fighters who have fallen for our country.

From the unknown heroes to some of the great exponents of our people's struggle, these are the ranks of men and women who, despite their death, are always with our people in their bitter fight in search of TOMORROW!

Militants like Commanders Bomboko and Benedito, Kafifi, Deolinda Rodrigues, Dr. Boavida, Commander Janginda, Liberdade, Pioneer Augusto Ngangula and so many others.

The Angolan People are proud to have offered the best of their sons and daughters to the cause of African Independence.

ANGOLA is proud to have offered the "Beloved Son of the Angolan People and Heroic Fighter of the MPLA", Commander HOJI IA HENDA, to the Cause of the Freedom of Man.

The revolutionary life of Commander HENDA will be for ever inscribed in letters of gold in the history of our people's struggle, as a heroic example for generations to come.

But, as Comrade Agostinho Neto, President of the MPLA, has said, "The liberation of our country requires blood, the blood of its best sons". This is how MPLA militants understand the death of glorious Commander HOJI IA HENDA!

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

# THE 4th FEBRUARY IN THE WORLD

A vast worldwide campaign of mobilisation on the problems of our national liberation struggle is beginning to reach almost every corner of the world. Even in the imperialist countries, committees are being set up in progressive circles to support our struggle and to protest against colonialist barbarities.

The justness of our cause is therefore being recognised. All such support is a result of the work done by our heroic militants inside Angola. Only if we maintain the pace of our activity inside Angola will it progress, leading our people to full Independence and attracting the sympathy and cooperation of all freedom and justice-loving people.

Indeed, on the occasion of the commemoration of the Fourth of February this year, our Movement received dozens of messages in support of our struggle from everywhere. Politically speaking, this is an inestimable contribution to the liberation of our people.

Below are a few of the messages.

On 4 February, the Italian paper *Unita* printed a full-page article entitled "ANGOLA—A PEOPLE'S WAR IN THE FOREST", which ended with the words: "In remembering 4 February 1961 today, we are not only paying tribute to the martyrs of the anti-imperialist struggle, but we also wish to reaffirm our active political and material solidarity with the Angolan people and the MPLA".

The London-based Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea, whose aim is to inform British public opinion about the situation in the Portuguese colonies sent us a telegram of solidarity.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement, also in London, held a meeting in tribute to our people and the MPLA. A comrade of ours spoke at that meeting. This organisation regularly publishes a paper called Anti-Apartheid News. In its February issue it carried an article entitled "Revolution is the road to Freedom—MPLA" about our struggle and the significance of the Fourth of February.

Twenty-seven Portuguese sent us a cable from Amsterdam expressing their support for our struggle.

The Movement in Support of the Peoples of Angola and the other Portuguese Colonies (MSACP), based in Geneva, devoted issue No 2 of its bulletin to the Angolan people's struggle, including a number of articles on the MPLA and a statement by our President, Dr Agostinho Neto. At the end of the bulletin is written: "After nine years of struggle and difficulties, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola has every reason to feel satisfied with its progress, activity and dynamism, which have forced not only the African countries but also most of the progressive forces in the world to recognise it. However, it must be admitted that a protracted and bitter struggle lies ahead until the time finally comes to build a free Angola."

On 4 February, the Committee of Returned Volunteers in New York printed and issued an illustrated pamphlet on our struggle for its members.

The *Pyongyang Times* and *Corée Populaire* carried articles demonstrating the Korean people's solidarity with our struggle.

Our Vietnamese brothers also had an article in their paper about the Fourth of February and the Angolan people's liberation struggle led by the MPLA.

The International Federation of Democratic Women (IFDW) sent a cable expressing their solidarity with our struggle and with the Women of Angola.

The African Relief Service Committee, with headquarters in Port Moody, B.C., Canada, put out a pamphlet on 4 February under the heading "BUILDING A NEW LIFE IN ANGOLA", giving extracts of a speech made by our President in June 1968 and informing public opinion about our liberation struggle.

The Committee of Support and Solidarity for Angola in Sofia sent a cabled message reaffirming their solidarity with the Angolan people's liberation struggle and the MPLA. The message ended with the words: "We will be with you and will help you until final victory; down with colonialism!"

We also received a message from the National Union of French Students (UNEF) telling our fighters that they wished to take an active part in the international campaign to make our struggle known and to help our people, proposing that they should above all inform French public opinion about Portuguese colonialism.

The Liberation Support Movement in Washington sent us the following cable: "Heroic Comrades MPLA we congratulate you on the Anniversary of the armed struggle February 4th and we join in your determination to rid Angola of Colonialism and Imperialism stop your struggle is ours stop Victory or Death VICTORY IS CERTAIN".

The National Union of Finnish Students sent us a similar cable.

The Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia expressed their support for our struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

The Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in the German Democratic Republic sent us a long cabled message, part of which read: "We wish you the greatest success for the benefit of your people and of the struggle of all the anti-imperialist forces throughout the world".

The following cable was received from the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which has its headquarters in Budapest: "Occasion February Solidarity with fighting people and Youth of Angola WFDY extend warm fraternal greetings stop assure you full support till final victory".

# PORTUGAL, SOUTH AFRICA AND BRAZIL ARE PREPARING A SOUTH ATLANTIC PACT

In its issue of 17 May 1969, the publication *Marchés Tropicaux et Méditerranéens* wrote that Mr. Vorster, Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa, had revealed before Parliament that the Republic of South Africa was holding top level talks with a certain number of foreign countries with a view to seeking to fill the vacuum which would be created in the Indian Ocean by the withdrawal of the Royal Navy from East of Suez.

The same publication noted that last year the South African Parliament had already suggested the idea of setting up a South Atlantic Organisation. The idea was "seriously" examined by the government and the South African navy subsequently established close relations with Australia, Argentina and Brazil. *Marchés Tropicaux* added that there seemed to be other countries interested in this South Atlantic Treaty Organisation, including New Zealand, Portugal and even France.

## Relations between Portugal, South Africa and Brazil

A number of facts confirm the existence of a military alliance between the countries of the South Atlantic and others with direct interests there.

Portugal has succeeded in making the NATO General Assembly adopt its view that the geographical zones subject to NATO intervention should be extended to include the South Atlantic, since "the west is threatened there". Portuguese delegates have even gone so far as to say that "in its colonies, Portugal is defending the West against communist subversion" and that Portugal is therefore entitled to NATO assistance.

Meanwhile, relations between fascist Portugal and the Brazil of the gorillas are being strengthened, as are those between reactionary Brazil and racist South Africa.

Caetano visited Brazil in July 1969 and signed an agreement with the Brazilian government. In speeches made during this visit Marcelo Caetano repeatedly affirmed that "Portugal and Brazil are Atlantic Countries with vital interests in the South Atlantic. While the Brazilian coasts are a guarantee of security in the southern hemisphere, it must not be forgotten that the key to this security is also in Cape Verde, Guinea, São Tomé and Angola". These words were published in the Brazilian daily *Estado de São Paulo*. The same paper supported Caetano's view with Brazilian arguments. It quoted statements by General Golbery de Couto e Silva and Admiral Rademaker Oliveira S. Ferraria even wrote that "Brazil's areas of influence, as an expression of culture, extend as far as Africa", adding that "the easternmost frontier of Brazilian interests passes through Mozambique".

Also in July 1969, rumours about the formation of a South Atlantic military pact became so widespread that they reached the United Nations. In the UN Committee on Apartheid the rapporteur, Mr. Olagide Alo of Nigeria, quoted a number of press reports on the possibility of a military alliance between South Africa, Madagascar, New Zealand, Australia and certain Latin American countries.

The Brazilian Ambassador to the UN, Mr. Araújo de Castro, denied the news reports, but he was not able to conceal certain facts.

He did not deny that South African Foreign Minister Hilgard Müller had visited Brazil and Argentina; and that on 11 April 1969 General Bronkhurst had suggested to the South African Parliament that, as a result of this visit, South Africa should establish closer military relations with South American and Indian Ocean countries.

Furthermore, the steady growth of economic relations between South Africa and Brazil can be seen. Maritime lines have been opened between the two countries and customs protection agreements signed, while Brazilian missions have visited South Africa and also the Portuguese colonies Angola and Mozambique. As regards cooperation between South Africa and Portugal, it is rather well known that South Africa is providing economic aid (construction of roads, dams, etc. in Angola and Mozambique) and military aid (construction of bases and supply of materials, especially vehicles and helicopters) and even goes so far as to participate directly in the colonial wars in Angola and Mozambique (inter-relationship between Portuguese and South African army espionage services. Participation of South African racist troops in military operations, joint planning of counter-guerrilla operations, etc.).

Brazil's support for Portugal's colonialist policy has been shown by a visit of the Brazilian navy to Angola in 1968 and, more recently, by that of a squadron of military aircraft.

## South Atlantic or Southern Hemisphere? The imperialist strategy

The strengthening of ties of every kind between Portugal, South Africa and Brazil is more than apparent. Owing to the very essence of their regimes, these countries are called upon to play an important role in the proposed establishment of a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation. But it should be noted that the press often mentions the possible participation of Australia and New Zealand, among others, in this treaty. It is therefore a question of a military treaty for the southern hemisphere, as indicated by the increasingly close ties between South Africa, Australia and Brazil.

Taking a closer look at the place held by these three countries in imperialist strategy, it can be noted that they are receiving heavy investments from the imperialist countries.

Continued Page 8

# COLONIALISTS AND RACISTS LTD.

The FINANCIAL TIMES of 23 July 1969 announced in a seven column headline: "START ON FIRST PHASE OF CUNENE SCHEME—ONE OF AFRICA'S BIGGEST"

The report was issued on the conclusion of negotiations in Lisbon between the Portuguese Foreign Minister, the South African Ambassador, A. J. F. Viljoen, and Dr. Sieg Kuschke, President of South Africa's Industrial Development Corporation (IDC), for the completion, within five years, of the scheme to harness the Cunene River to develop Southern Angola and South-West Africa.

Below are just a few of the details of this unholy alliance:

"The dam, in the upper reaches of the Cunene, will have a height of 190 feet and will create a lake with a capacity of 91,000 cubic feet."

Tenders have already been called for the construction of the dam and the estimated cost is 400m escudos (£5.8m.) to be borne on a 50—50 basis by the two countries." "...lading plant and machinery supplied by Krupps under an eight-year credit to the Portuguese Companhia Mineira do Lobito. The five-year development scheme does not, however, end with the building of the Gove Dam. International aspects of it, in addition to the dam on the basis of 50—50 financing, include the laying of a pipeline from the dam to the South-West African border nearby, the digging of a canal from the Cunene River itself down to the South-West African border, the setting up of a hydro electric power station down-river at Ruacana Falls (a border post) and the purchasing by South-West Africa of excess electricity from Matala."

For both sides, the importance of the Cunene River scheme is great both for economic and political reasons. For South Africa it is, more than anything else, because of that country's desire to demonstrate to the world its "good" intentions in relation to the development of South-West Africa.

The scheme will aid development there, and is a vital factor in South Africa's overall strategy in retaining her hold over the mandated territory. The Portuguese authorities are at pains to safeguard native rights, but the country is underpopulated, and the number of medium and large scale European cattle ranches is on the increase. Underdevelopment in the area has made it more susceptible to Communist-led terrorist subversion. Development will change this.

Jointly, Portugal and South Africa are keeping the benefits of the scheme before Zambia."

The South African FINANCIAL MAIL announced in their 15 August 1969 special issue on Angola and Mozambique that work on the Gove scheme would begin shortly and that completion was scheduled for 1972. The IDC would play the major part in financing phase one.

"In return, Portugal has guaranteed South Africa a minimum flow for power development further south on the Cunene River at the Ruacana Falls. South Africa will pay a royalty based on the number of kWh produced from water exceeding the minimum flow"

"...Ruacana is expected to have a final capacity of between 240 and 300 MW (compared with the Hendrik Verwoerd dam's 18 MW)"

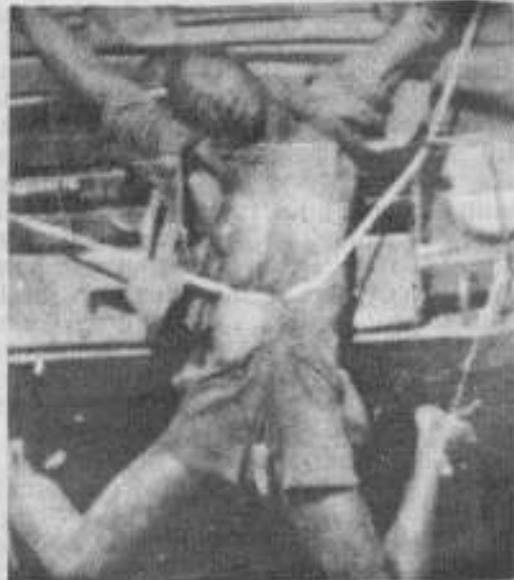
"With IDC assistance, Swawek, advised by Escom, is building a coal-fired thermal station to meet expected demand in the Tsumeb, Windhoek, Walvis Bay, Swakopmund area from 1972, until the long line from Ruacana comes on stream."

The economic implications of the scheme are considerable. The semi-desert area of Southern Angola and Northern South-West Africa will have water enough to open them up for pastoral and some agricultural exploitation.

Power from the two schemes will help build the already growing industries of both territories, and encourage settlement in what is now virtually barren territory."

These extracts from the enemy's own statements need no comment. Far from abandoning its hateful policy of apartheid, far from withdrawing from Namibia, South African expansionism hopes to extend its claws into Angola and Mozambique, seriously threatening the independence of the peoples of Central and Southern Africa. Unable to resist much longer the powerful pressure of the MPLA guerrillas, Portugal has completely surrendered to the economic power of the South African racists, selling our country and, at the same time, losing its own independence in Europe to German imperialism because of the debts it has incurred to pursue the war.

The MPLA is certain of victory in this fight against the racists, the colonialists and their imperialist supporters.



An example of Civilization brought by Portugal.

# NEWS FROM THE FRONT

## WAR COMMUNIQUE

### SECOND REGION

At 6.05 a.m. on 19 January 1970, an MPLA guerrilla detachment attacked the colonialist barracks at Miconge.

The attack started with converging fire from bazookas and automatic weapons. In their extremely difficult position, only long afterwards did the enemy weakly respond with a mortar and two FN's, but at random and in the air.

The dust and smoke raised by the bazooka explosions prevented the valiant MPLA guerrillas from going onto the assault, but the barracks were completely destroyed.

The enemy suffered twenty verified dead and a number of wounded. On our side, we regret there were three wounded, although not seriously.

Two hours after the attack colonialist reinforcements came up from the barracks at Sanga Planicie, desperately firing mortars and machine-guns at the Congolese village of Pangui, using up a lot of ammunition to no purpose to calm their rage at such a crushing defeat.

At the start of 1970, the MPLA guerrillas are giving outstanding evidence of their victorious action in that they are attacking fixed enemy positions. The insecurity this is causing the colonialists is quite apparent from the timid reaction coming from the garrisons, the massive intervention from the air and the use of uncontrolled and undirected heavy fire. These are the signs of despair and of a lost cause.

**VICTORY IS CERTAIN!**  
**THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**  
Extracted from War Communiqué No. 1/70  
received from Angola.—

## WAR COMMUNIQUE

### THIRD REGION

(Moxico and Cuando—Cubango)

On 24 February 1970, a group of guerrillas and young pioneers from the Centre of Revolutionary Instruction clashed with a band of Angolan traitors in the vile service of the enemy about 3 kilometres from the Portuguese colonialist barracks at Cavungu.

As a result of the violent encounter, five traitors (known as militiamen by their colonialist masters) were killed and three wounded. The rest of the band dispersed in confusion, leaving behind their dead and the following material, which was taken: 6 offensive grenades, ammunition, uniforms and tinned foodstuffs.

In his New Year message, the President of the MPLA, Comrade Agostinho Neto, summed up the most important tasks for 1970 in three

points, emphasising the need to show initiative in all sectors of activity and, most especially, in the most noble of these activities—direct action against the foreign occupier.

There has been enthusiasm on the part of our guerrillas in carrying out this watchword. Special mention must be made, however, of the fact that the MPLA pioneers, the young generation our Movement has been modeling with devotion to create the new man for the Angola of the future, are not refusing to fight the enemy.

The MPLA pioneers, therefore, are joining in our people's victorious armed struggle, following the example of Augusto Ngangula, the Heroic Pioneer, guaranteeing continuity and ensuring the future.

## VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Extracted from War Communiqué No 2/70  
received from Angola.—

## WAR COMMUNIQUE

### FOURTH REGION

On 19 December, at about 1.30 a.m. an MPLA squadron composed of an artillery unit, an infantry unit and groups of sappers attacked the township of Kazaje.

The heroic MPLA guerrillas concentrated the heavy fire of mortars, bazookas, light machine-guns and automatic weapons on the installations of the puppet troops' barracks (GE), the Portuguese troops' barracks, the administrative post and a number of commercial buildings and store-houses, causing an unverified number of casualties and substantial material damage.

There was no reaction from the enemy during the violent 45 minutes that the attack lasted.

On our side, we regret the death of one comrade owing to an accident and the slight wounding of another.

Two girl guerrillas deserve special mention for the decisive and noteworthy role they played.

That a new phase in the armed struggle for national liberation has been entered upon can be seen from the operations undertaken by the valiant guerrilla comrades since the start of 1970. Large-scale attacks are being launched, destroying enemy installations and their means of transport and communications and other economic objectives, in the final push to drive the colonialists and their racist allies into the sea.

**VICTORY IS CERTAIN!**  
**THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

Extracted from  
War Communiqué No. 2/70  
received from Angola.

## A ZAMBIAN JOURNALIST VISITS FREE ANGOLA

A Zambian Journalist, Mr. Winter Lemba, who is correspondent of the Lusaka daily the *Times of Zambia*, spent more than a month in the regions under MPLA control on the Eastern Front.

During his stay in free Angolan territory, Mr. Lemba was able to take photographs, to film and to talk quite freely with the population and with MPLA guerrillas and leaders.

While on his "tour", the *Times of Zambia* correspondent was accompanied by a member of DIP (MPLA Department of Information and Propaganda) and under the protection of our armed forces.

Mr. Lemba had the opportunity to visit the CIR's (Centres of Revolutionary Instruction), which are the MPLA's politico-military schools, the SAM (Medical Assistance Services), primary schools and so on, seeing the efforts made by the MPLA in the regions under its control.

He was able to note that despite intensive bombing and bestial acts of reprisal, under the guidance of MPLA guerrillas, the people are offering effective resistance and are building a new life of independence in the free parts of our Angolan land.

Mr. Lemba was able to see how the MPLA fighters are carrying out the watchword of the foremost leader of the Angolan Revolution, Comrade Agostinho Neto: "We should be able to use to the full all the means at our disposal to drive the Portuguese colonialists into the sea".

The DIP has published the series of articles by Mr. Winter Lemba under the title "Marching with the Fighters of the MPLA".

## YET ANOTHER PORTUGUESE SOLDIER ABANDONS THE WAR AGAINST ANGOLA

A Portuguese soldier, HELDER NEMESIO MARQUES, convinced that the Angolan People's struggle, led by the MPLA, is a just and heroic struggle for their sacred rights, rebelled against the crimes the fascist and colonialist authorities forced him to commit.

HELDER MARQUES therefore left the fascist army of occupation and gave himself up to the MPLA guerrillas on the Cabinda war front (Second Region) a few days ago.

The MPLA guerrillas received him gladly and enthusiastically, expressing their support and encouragement for his act.

The MPLA has stated on a number of occasions that it will give a humane welcome to all Portuguese soldiers who decide to desert the fascist Portuguese army clique.

LUSAKA,  
March 1, 1970  
Propaganda and Information Department



American made plane shot down by MPLA Guerrillas.

After the disaster suffered by the Portuguese army as a consequence of the attack of MPLA guerrillas on the Karipande barracks, the colonialist authorities tried to blame their defeat upon a supposed action by Zambian frontier guards assisting the MPLA fighters. At the same time they organised demonstrations of settlers with the aim of pillaging the Zambian merchandise being transported by the Benguela Railway and they instigated the settlers' demand for the permanent suspension of traffic on this international route.

In the face of these acts of vandalism and transgression of international law, the MPLA hereby makes public and clarifies the following:—

1. The ransacking of Zambia merchandise by the Portuguese colonialists is a reprisal of the fascists for the victorious attack by MPLA on the Karipande barracks;
2. The thefts and acts of vandalism and destruction of goods belonging to the Republic of Zambia is the exclusive work of the Portuguese colonialists carried out in the big urban centres—Huambo (Nova Lisboa), Bie (Silva Porto), Dilolo (Teixeira de Souza) and Caala at the instigation of PIDE and the Portuguese army;
3. The Benguela Railway crosses a great part of the territory of Angola under the military and political control of the MPLA and is therefore, perfectly within the power of our military operations to paralyse it completely;
4. However MPLA, following the principles of African solidarity has permitted the continuance of traffic on the Benguela Railway because we understand that the Republic of Zambia at this moment needs to use this mean of transport for imports and exports essential to its economy. This fact, furthermore, has been the subject of reiterated public declarations on the part of our organisation;
5. In the event of the Portuguese colonialists putting into practice their threat to permanently cut the Benguela railway, MPLA will feel freed of any moral compunctions and, in the interests of the national liberation struggle of our country, we will proceed with sabotage and attacks against the railway and its installations.

#### VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

The Executive Committee of M.P.L.A.  
LUSAKA,  
31 March 1970.

The MPLA has constantly exposed the intervention of foreign powers on the side of Portugal in the armed struggle which our people are waging under the leadership of the MPLA. The presence of foreign forces siding with Portugal has been confirmed by friends of the struggle and journalists, even by our enemies, who have visited our country!

MPLA deems it a duty to inform international opinion of the presence of a South African military contingent in the village of Lamege in the Province of Moxico in Angola. The South African interventionists occupy a private barracks and they comprise four commando units which are well equipped with helicopters, artillery, automatic weapons and bazookas.

Two of the South African commando units participated in hostilities against our people during October and November 1969, in the Lunda region.

The other commando units have indulged in barbarous and criminal acts against our people in the surrounding areas. They have also violated Zambian territory.

The active participation of the fascist and racist South African troops has been established beyond doubt.

MPLA, which has managed to frustrate the military action of these degenerate soldiers who form part of the dirty alliance, is now engaged in cleaning our territory of this odious occupation.

**VICTORY IS CERTAIN!**  
Information Department of MPLA—DIP  
LUSAKA,  
28 March 1970.

#### DECLARATION

In the face of repeated criminal attacks on the part of reckless, fascist and murderous settlers against Benguela Railway trucks carrying material and goods for the Republic of Zambia; in the face of threatened interruption of international traffic, the MPLA is in duty bound to declare the following:

1. All acts of colonialist sabotage against the economic and other interests of Angola's bordering countries has nothing to do with the armed conflict between the people of Angola and the Portuguese colonialists. Our national liberation struggle is the exclusive inalienable duty of Angolan patriots, independent of the aid and solidarity which neighbouring peoples give us.
2. If these desperate Portuguese fascists persist in these acts of vandalism and destruction referred to in this declaration, the MPLA will take all the necessary measures required by the situation in order to put an end to such lawlessness instigated by the colonialist armed forces unable to stop the inevitable victorious advance of our guerrillas.

The Executive Committee of MPLA  
LUSAKA  
28 March 1970.

A public meeting held in Dar es Salaam was attended by a representative of the Tanzania Government, members of the Diplomatic Corps and of the Liberation Committee and a large number of people from Tanzanian organisations and the liberation movements.

A film on our struggle was shown in Algiers on 4 February. This film was made in the areas under our Movement's control inside Angola by a team of progressive Italian film-makers. Also in Algiers, there was an exhibition of one hundred photographs, some of them from our Movement's files and some taken inside Angola by an Italian photographer. These photos showed our national liberation struggle and the work of national reconstruction carried out by the MPLA in the liberated areas. The exhibition was opened by FLN leaders and visited by many members of the public.

In Zambia, our President Dr. Agostinho Neto, presided over a large meeting attended by a representative of President Kaunda, members of the Diplomatic Corps, the trade unions, the liberation movements and numerous journalists. Three hundred Angolans from the Action Committees in Zambia were present and our Pioneers sang and danced. A film on our struggle was also shown.

As our President said in the speech he made to the meeting: "This support is a source of encouragement which helps us to overcome our major obstacles. Such international support is all the more important in this year 1970, when the tenth anniversary of the United Nations Declaration on the Independence of the Colonial Peoples is being commemorated".

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especially from the United States. It can also be noted that the regimes in power in these countries are not only reactionary, but that they show the most incredible docility, even servility, towards the United States. Brazil, the most powerful South American country, is the main intermediary between the U.S. and the southern part of the American continent. It is the spearhead of American capital.

American investment in Australia is increasing by leaps and bounds. Further, more, that country is looked upon as the bridgehead of American capital in certain countries in South-East Asia (e.g. Indonesia). Australia is actively involved in the Vietnam war at the side of the United States. It is a member of SEATO (South-East Asia Treaty Organisation) and of ANZUS (a restricted military pact between Australia, New Zealand and the U.S.)

South Africa is receiving ever more capital from the imperialist countries. Britain heads the list of investors (so-called British capital is sometimes also Anglo-American capital), followed by the United States.



Commander HIENDA during visit to the liberated areas of the so-called Portuguese Guinea.

TO