



MPLA 1970

MOVIMENTO POPULAR DE LIBERTAÇÃO DE ANGOLA

liberation support movement

2nd edition
(includes recent communiqués)

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UM RAMO DE MIOSOTIS

8 de Março as flores do mundo inteiro
são para ti
para os olhos femininos
do arco-iris da terra
inteira.
Flores do meu jardim total
de chanas e matagais.

8 de Março com água até ao peito
na marcha para as flores
que hão-de enfeitar
o 8 de Março
dos anseios de Africa.

8 de Março não abandono a arma
ao sonhar na emboscada silenciosa
as flores do mundo inteiro
para ti
para os olhos femininos
do arco-iris da terra
inteira.
8 de Março negado
aos anseios humanos de Africa.

8 de Março guerrilheiro
colho as flores do meu jardim total
de chanas
e homens solidários
barbudos
e sujos
desçalcos e famintos
com uma arma nos braços
para levar um ramo simples de miosotis
à vala comum
onde lançaram o corpo de Irene
e Deolinda
Tereza Engrácia e Lucrecia
flores do meu jardim em luta
para as flores do mundo.

8 de Março não abandono a arma
das flores da metralha
e das marchas de sangue
da guerrilha de Angola
8 de Março sem flores...

8 de Março as flores do mundo inteiro
são para ti
para os olhos femininos
do arco-iris da terra
inteira.
Flores do meu jardim total
para que as armas caem
saciadas
do perfume novo.

8 de Março a minha arma
é a única certeza de flores
também para ti
angolana deste jardim
de guerrilha.

8 de Março com armas
pelas flores do mundo inteiro
para ti
para os olhos femininos
do arco-iris do mundo.

poema de
Costa Andrade



BOUQUET OF FORGET-ME-NOTS

March 8th
the flowers of the world
are for you
for the feminine eyes
of the rainbow of the
earth.

The flowers of my garden,
from the bushes in flames.

March 8th
with water reaching to my chest
in the walk to the flowers
which must remember
March the 8th
and the hopes of Africa.

March 8th
I don't abandon the arms
dreaming
in the silent ambush,
that the flowers of the entire world
are for you
for the feminine eyes
the rainbow over the
entire earth.
March 8th is denied
to mankind of Africa.

March 8th
in the war
I pick flowers from the garden
from the total flames
and the solidarity of the
bearded
and dirty
ragged and hungry men
who each carry a weapon
to take a simple bouquet of forget-me-nots
to the public ditch

where they threw the bodies of Irene
and Deolinda
Teresa Engracia
and Lucrecia
the flowers of my garden
are fighting
for the flowers of the world.

March 8th

I do not abandon the arms
of the flowers of schrapnel
and of the bloody marches
of the war in Angola
March 8th without flowers...

March 8th

the flowers of the world
are for you
for the feminine eyes
of the rainbow over the earth.
Flowers of my garden
for the arms are silent
satisfied
with the new fragrance.

March 8th

my weapon
is the only certainty of the flowers
and is also for you
of Angola, in this garden
of war.

March 8th

with arms,
in exchange for the flowers of the world
for you
for the feminine eyes
of the rainbow over the world

Costa Andrade
8 March, 1970

(translated from the
Portuguese by LSM)

AGOSTINHO NETO, PRESIDENT of MPLA: MESSAGE TO THE MILITANTS OF MPLA JANUARY 1, 1970

Fellow citizens,
Comrades,

The year 1970 begins a new decade; it also presents very favorable prospects for our national liberation struggle, and especially for our Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola. Conditions created by events in 1969 permit us to set our sights in this new year on a period of progress and decisive steps -- so long, that is, as we promise to take upon ourselves, seriously and resolutely, work in all sectors of our struggle.

In the past year, fundamental objectives for both our Organization and our People were realized. New fronts were opened in the northeast and central parts of the country which, by extending the sphere of military activities beyond previous limits, represented a defeat for the colonialist forces. The cities saw a new period of agitation and organization, forcing the colonialists to reinforce their defensive and control systems. The European population in Angola now better understands the objectives of our Revolution and our just anti-racist position.

In the external sphere, the fascist government of Portugal has suffered major defeats and has been unable to maintain even the apparent unity which has existed in NATO regarding Portugal's colonial "problem". This year the fascists will suffer even greater defeats.

In 1970 the mobilization of international public opinion will be facilitated by the existing predisposition against the obstinate Portuguese colonial policy and against the demagogic tactics of the new Portuguese fascist dictator, Marcelo Caetano.

This year we will celebrate not only the 13th anniversary of the founding of MPLA, on 10 December 1956, but also the 9th anniversary of the beginning of the armed struggle and the 10th anniversary of the adoption by the United Nations, in 1960, of the Declaration for the Independence of Peoples still Colonized.

All these important events in the History of our People will be celebrated on 4 February, a day on which the whole world will demonstrate its solidarity with the liberation struggle of the Angolan people.

Alongside the significance of these dates, we are facing immediate and gigantic tasks which have to be implemented immediately. Our principal action must take place in the interior of the country. Those who are obliged to remain abroad in order to carry out tasks necessary for our Movement must consider their stay outside the country as temporary, thus eliminating the opportunistic idea of expecting to live comfortably and without risks until our Motherland becomes free through the efforts of other militants.

To those who tell us to spare our cadres -- who say that we should not expose them to physical combat against our enemy, that we should not risk their health, or their lives, or their freedom, because they are necessary in an Independent Angola of tomorrow, or because the Movement cannot live without them -- we respond by saying that it is not possible to carry out a war of national liberation without cadres.

Each trained cadre, regardless of his field of specialization, must be able to function inside the country in order to help resolve the various problems of the war and of national reconstruction. This is the only just and revolutionary attitude.

With cadres capable of correctly employing the tactics of guerrilla warfare and of faithfully applying the political principles of our Movement, we will save lives and forces not only in the present but in the future as well. The protection of cadres must take place where the action is, and not where there exists an illusory security or where degradation and corruption of the patriotic conscience is produced.

Our action is directed toward the conquest of the future. And for the future toward which we are struggling, we must fight to resolve the present contradictions between our desire, our right, to self-determination and the arrogant colonialist imposition, by force of arms, of its domination over the Angolan territory.

Our patriotism, at this moment, can only be expressed through participation in the struggle. And by struggle I mean participation in both the military and political actions taking place inside the country

We do not scorn, nor are we against, those who through political weakness or moral frailty, or simply through cowardice, are unable or do not want to participate in this momentous and glorious enterprise which is the Struggle for National liberation.

We are against those who betray us!

In relation to the former, we will content ourselves simply by placing them in their proper position; accepting their sympathies, understanding their limitations, and giving them tasks to do according to their situation. Thus, under present circumstances, our principles will not be betrayed.

This is a war of the whole People, united by the same ideal.

But in the vanguard are those who are able to go to the front lines of struggle; with their eyes on the future, confident of Victory, serving the People faithfully and humbly. The political struggle is no less important. Quite the contrary. We must organize ourselves for an independent life, consolidate our political organization at the national level, link the leadership to the base, leaders with ordinary militants -- we must effectively link together all of our activities. In the zones under our control we must effectively organize education, work, and administration; and we must create in our young people a revolutionary spirit. We must adopt in the Movement proper methods of administration among the civilian population; and we must make impossible the utilization of anti-democratic methods in the activities of the Organization.

But we need more initiative. Initiative is our most powerful weapon, capable of aiding us in resolving the numerous problems faced by our large Organization. We need more initiative in combat: We must constantly seek contact with the enemy in order to harass and to liquidate his living force; in order to realize the objectives of guerrilla warfare. We need more initiative in the countryside and cities. We must maintain the initiative in all sectors in order to intensify the generalized struggle; in order that all of our People become engaged in actions linked to the MPLA.

Many times, and particularly in zones to the rear of the combat fronts, our militants remain for months and months awaiting instructions and directives from the Central Committee -- even when occasions present themselves which are favorable for actions. This is an erroneous attitude. Passivity was never a quality for the combatant, nor a rule for the militant. We must organize more actions, seize the initiative as on 4 February in Luanda, as in Moxico in May 1966.

One of the major principles which we must rigorously follow is to utilize our own forces in resolving the problems of the revolution. This is not to depreciate in any sense the importance of international solidarity or sympathetic movements which are now emerging in all the capitalist countries of Europe and America, including the United States itself. Nor, of course, do we depreciate in any way the political and material support given by socialist and African countries -- support which has greatly facilitated our struggle. But we must recognize that all of this is secondary. What is primary and essential is our action within the country, for it is through this action that we will achieve real Independence.

To utilize our own forces in military activity means to arm our guerrillas with the weapons of the enemy; it means to regain the food, clothing, medicine, money and other means necessary for the guerrilla's existence. And we have the right to do this, not only the necessity. Because everything the colonialists possess in our land, the arms, the food, the clothes, the medicines, the money and other material goods, all of this is the product of the labor of our People. It is the result of the exploitation of our People. It all belongs to our People, and must be used in the legitimate interest of our People.

In the zones under our control, to utilize our own forces means to produce, to organize industries, organize trade, organize schools, etc., without having to wait for outside assistance coming to resolve all of our material problems. What

is essential in the solution of these problems must come from us from our labor, from our initiative, from our creative abilities.

In this phase of generalized struggle, and for this year 1970, we thus need:

- First: to increasingly utilize our own forces in the coming struggle, so that our standard of living will be the result of our own labor, of the work of each one of us;
- Second: to consolidate our politico-military organization, decisively eliminating opportunism, anti-democratic methods of work, and indiscipline;
- Third: to take the initiative in all sectors of activity, especially in that most noble of activities, direct action against foreign occupation.

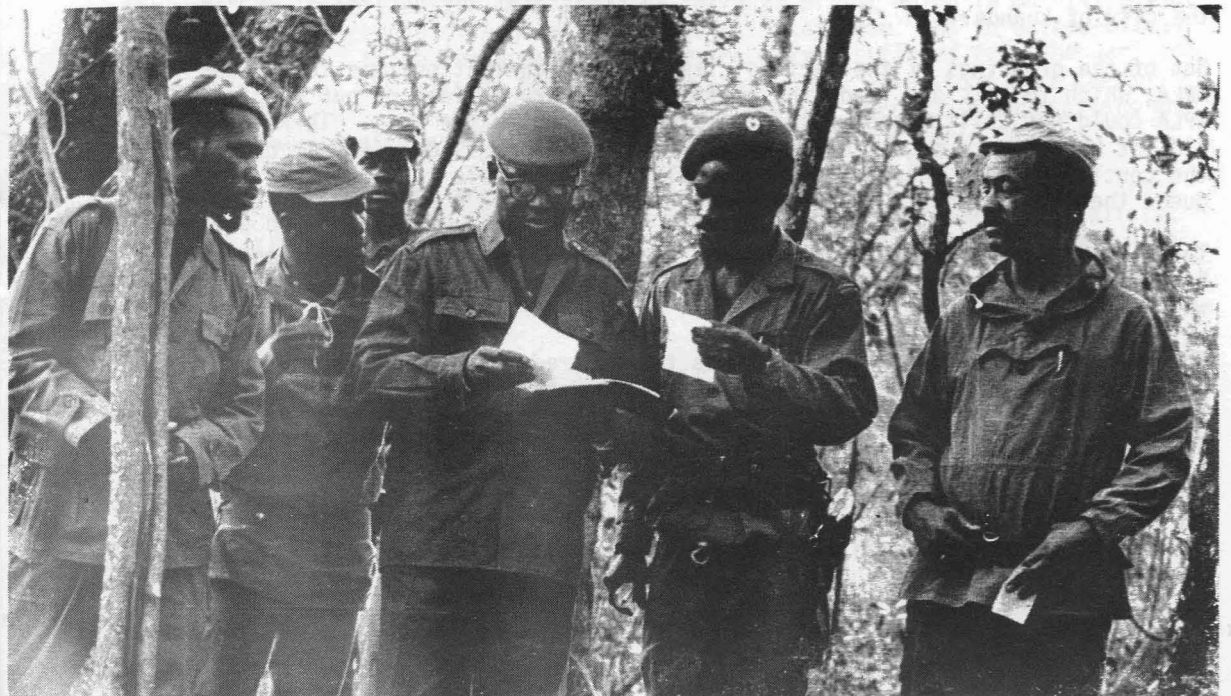
Fellow citizens,
Comrades,

I want to express, in the name of the Central Committee of our Movement, to all MPLA militants, men and women, our confidence and certainty in the effectiveness of your patriotic work, which is being fervently carried on for the conquest of total independence for the whole Angolan People.

I am hopeful that this year will become the most significant for the current phase of our struggle.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN !

From left: Commanders Janginda and Toka; President Neto; Commander Spartacus Monimambu; Eastern Region Director de Melo.



DR. AGOSTINHO NETO:

SPEECH OF

FEBRUARY 4TH,

1970

On the 10th of December 1956, the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola was formed in Luanda. This was the result of a long historical process which was developed particularly during the last century. Our people resisted the colonialist penetration with arms in various regions of our country.

The generation preceeding ours began an enterprise of great political importance, especially in the towns, where the intellectuals led the action. They proposed to find a pacifist solution to the problems arising from the presence of the colonialists in order to terminate the shameless exploitation of our natural resources and the violent oppression of our Angolan people.

But later, during our time, various organizations of different character were formed in order to develop clandestine political activity, since the fascist colonial Portuguese had used their police to crush the people's movements. But this political repression did not stop the various political organizations from being formed, especially in the towns and in particular the capital of Angola - the city of Luanda.

Out of the groupings of the various clandestine organizations was formed the MPLA, which to this day leads the political-military actions of our people. The MPLA could not utilize the methods of struggle used in the past. Therefore, it did not hesitate to organize the first armed groups in 1960, after it came to the conclusion that only by violence would it be possible to change the Portuguese thesis that Angola is a province of Portugal.

Then, on the 4th of February, 1961, the first revolutionary armed action was begun, with the intention of opening the way to the general insurrection of the whole Angolan people.

The action which began in the towns was transferred to the rural areas where, under the leadership of MPLA, the peasants who were subjected to forced labor, constituted themselves into a guerrilla base which has today spread to nine of the fifteen districts of Angola.

Therefore, the MPLA takes justified pride in celebrating the two glorious dates in the history of our people --dates which mark a qualitative transformation in the age-old resistance against Portuguese occupation.



MPLA GUERRILLAS

Our enemy, the Portuguese colonialists, have no alternative but to accept the fact of the war, which has decimated hundreds upon hundreds of their sons. The fascist leaders, in spite of being aided by their allies, the NATO imperialists, headed by the United States of America and West Germany, have difficulties in their own country and also in their relations with the countries that belong to NATO.

In Portugal, a small and poor country which has to spend half of its budget on the war, the people suffer more from the effects of war which is maintained not only against the people of Angola, but also of Mozambique and in Guinea-Bissau. Many Portuguese, those Portuguese who have themselves suffered from the war, and those inspired by the idea of political justice, have understood that Caetano's diehard supporters are destined to maintain the big Portuguese capitalists and those of other countries. These Portuguese are against the war.

Inside NATO, divisions are growing over the support of Portugal in her armed repression of our people. And, most dramatic for the Portuguese colonialists, is the realization of the impossibility of their winning this war. They have confessed many times the impossibility of a military victory for themselves against the dedicated patriots who defend with confidence their victory and their right to Independence.

The colonialists say that bullets alone will not win the war without the sympathy and support of the population. And this is where the drama lies. The population of our country cannot accept Portuguese domination in any form. All of us in Angola believe that we should be ruled by Angolans.

And, if the enemy has already confessed their defeat, it signifies that our victory is certain -- this victory which we never doubted.

We have received in these last few days dozens of messages from all over the world in support of our cause. This shows that all over the world there are men and women, organizations and governments, who support our struggle and are giving inestimable contributions on the political level so that our people can be free. Their support is encouraging and has helped us overcome some of the major obstacles.

International support is much more important in this year of 1970, in which we commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the Peoples of the Colonies by the United Nations.

Our war is necessarily long. In order to achieve the fundamental objectives, of the revolutionary struggle for National Independence, as carried out by the MPLA, it is necessary to work hard, not only to find methods of organizing, but also in political and ideological work, which transforms the social behavior of man anxious to see the end of exploitation of man by man. Our organization takes care also to preserve our freedom from any foreign domination, whatever it might be. But it does not mean to say that we are against whoever fights on our side against imperialism, and against colonialism, or against racist regimes dominating one part of our continent.

The multiple facets of our revolution go even to the point of fighting against a concept often defended in a simple manner -- that the fight is against the white, because the colonialists are white. The MPLA refused to adopt this formula because there in lies the essence of counter-revolution. From the fight against whites, instead of the struggle against an unjust colonial system, we can easily pass to tribalism with its consequences of division. From such a concept of the struggle, we would easily go to chauvinism and then towards establishing undesirable relations with other peoples and races.

We have made it clear that the hard work done by MPLA during the struggle for national liberation, many-sided work by its own nature, is destined to change radically the relationship between the Portuguese people. It must bring about the unification of all forces inside and outside our country, to fight against the colonial system. It must bring about a change of consciousness in man, by political clarity, by a change in the conditions of living, and in the concept of the manner of existence. Our struggle is against exploitation and for the normal and healthy development of man, and of the Angolan nation on the road to progress.

In this case, we also fight vigorously against tribalism and the small groups of stooges organized on a tribal basis who often appear mainly in neighboring countries. These groups, being supported by certain foreign powers, seek to provoke confusion and try to tell the world that they are the true patriots. But their activities do not even reach tribal limits. They are rejected by our people.

Pretending to be ultra-revolutionaries, these small groups proclaim their violence, alias violence directed against true patriots within the MPLA. Therefore, they forget that violence is not always revolutionary. There is reactionary violence. And we know how to distinguish one from the other. Between Hitler and Ho Chi Minh, we can not have any confusion.

At this moment, as we celebrate the ninth anniversary of our armed struggle, we can say that we have accumulated a dose of experience by the vivid facts of the struggle. This experience will help us to overcome whatever difficulties may arise. Our people, the militants of the MPLA, are accustomed to saying VICTORY IS SURE!



Compatriots,
Comrades,

Allow me to express sympathy for the People struggling for the liberty of our continent, our allies in the common battle for one Africa for the Africans, especially the people of Guinea-Bissau under the leadership of PAIGC, of Mozambique, under the leadership of FRELIMO; of Zimbabwe, under the leadership of ZAPU; of South Africa, led by ANC, and also to salute the struggling people of Namibia.

We salute the people of the various independent African countries who are building their economy in order to attain total independence.

We salute the struggling people of the whole world fighting against imperialism, such as in Vietnam, the Middle East and in other parts of our own continent. We salute also the Socialist countries and progressive forces in Western countries that support our cause.

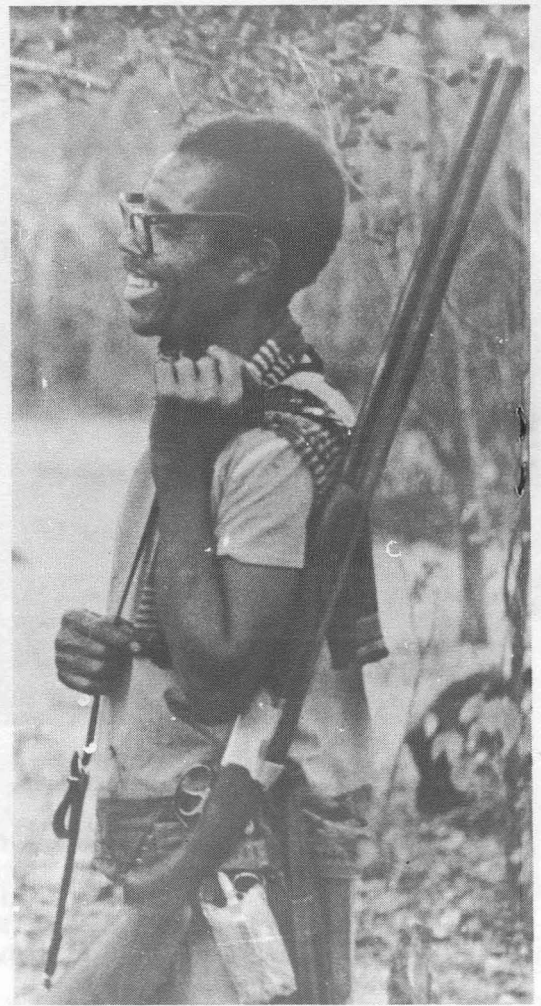
Allow me again, on behalf of the militants and the Steering Committee of the MPLA, to thank the Zambian authorities who made this ceremony possible in which we mark the 13th anniversary of the founding of MPLA and the 9th anniversary of the armed struggle.

At this time we reaffirm publically our firm determination to continue the struggle until we win our complete Independence and achieve Democracy, Peace and Happiness for all the people of Angola.

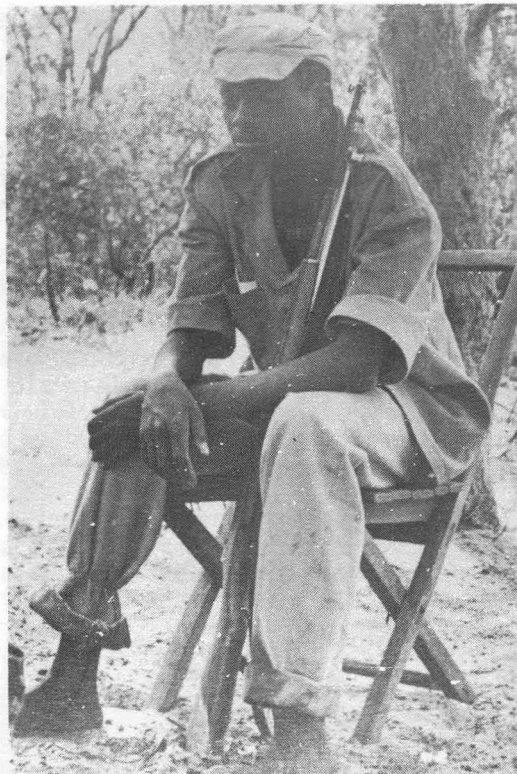
For the Angolan people and for the MPLA

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Lusaka/Feb. 4, 1970



M P L A



MPLA - THE 4TH OF FEBRUARY TENTH YEAR OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE

With the 4th of February 1970 begins the tenth year of armed struggle that the Angolan people, led by the MPLA, are conducting against Portuguese colonialism.

After long years of intense clandestine activity -- always repressed with the most brutal and ferocious political apparatus, which never hesitated to use cold-blooded assassination without scruple and which, to this very day, keeps hundreds of Angolans in prison -- the 4th of February has come to symbolize the longings of the martyred peoples of Angola.

In 1953, there emerged the first clandestine political parties. The Peoples' Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), created December 10, 1956, emanated from these groups as much as from the Party of Armed Struggle of Angola (PLUA), and the Movement for the Independence of Angola (MIA). Later, in 1958, another organization called the Movement for the National Independence of Angola (MINA) was also integrated into the Peoples Movement for the Liberation of Angola. MPLA evolved an intensive programme of activities for the clandestine organization of the popular masses in the cities and villages.

In the meantime, in 1957 the fascist police, PIDE, reinforced their organization in Angola. On the 29th of March, 1959, they effected a sweeping police raid, throwing into prison some dozens of influential nationalists and a multitude of suspects.

One month later, on the 26th of April, the Portuguese Air Force was installed in Angola with an extensive apparatus. And to salute the occasion the Governor General gave one of his most threatening speeches: "The country will not be defended if it does not possess a military structure." At the same time, it was necessary, for the first time, to recognize that "Angola does not live in peace and harmony," adding "as the era of waiting for political pamphlets has appeared in Angola."

In July 1959, there was a new wave of imprisonments, in particular some of the leaders of the MPLA, including Ilidio Machado.



On the 8th of June, 1960, into prison in Luanda went Dr. Agostinho Neto, in that period the Honorary President of MPLA. The people of Icolo e Bengo protested against this imprisonment. The prompt reply of the Portuguese: 30 dead and 120 wounded - the massacre of Icolo e Bengo.

On the 25th of June of the same year, the Rev. Pinto de Andrade, Doctor of Theology, currently Honorary President of MPLA, at that time Chancellor of the Archbishopric of Luanda and member of the Executive Committee of the Society of African Culture, was similarly imprisoned.

The activities of PIDE were allied to those of the Portuguese troops, and constant round-ups, persecutions, burning of houses, tortures and assassinations became daily spectacles.

On the 29th of December 1960, twenty nationalists who were mainly composed of people originating from Cabinda, were shot in the courtyard of a prison in Luanda.

The police terror managed to destroy a great part of the network of MPLA and to decapitate, on a large scale, the internal organization of the Movement. Very naturally, this fact was invested with tragic consequences with the unleashing of the armed struggle one year later, when the lack of cadres in the interior was sorely felt.

There are two conclusions: first, the Angolan nationalist movement which dates from the beginning of this century is one of the oldest in Africa. If the major part of the continent has overtaken Angola in accession to political independence, this ought to be a clear indication of the difficulties inherent in underground struggle and the drawn-out nature of the actual liberation struggle. Secondly, the Angolan political struggle during the period before the war was conducted clandestinely under conditions of incomparable repression, such that it became particularly difficult in this period to take account of the inexperience of the Angolan people and of the nationalist movement. Also, countries that conducted or conduct extremely hard wars of liberation, such as that recently in Algeria, or today in South Africa, experienced the existence of legal parties in the earlier historical phase.

This date, upon which is also celebrated the thirteenth anniversary of the formation of MPLA -- which the Steering Committee of MPLA has decided to commemorate in conjunction with the glorious date of the 4th of February -- emphasizes the importance of this decisive action of our struggle in the light of actual historical perspectives. In fact, the difficulties that the Angolans had to face and overcome were enormous. But the 10th December, the date of the formation of MPLA was, above all else, an act of confidence in the people and, what is more, it was based on the certainty that despite all gags and chains and violence, it was only a partisan organization with its character of national unity which would be able to constitute the motor of popular revolt on a nation-wide scale.

On the basis of this awareness it was possible to arrive at the 4th February!

An analysis of some aspects of the historical and political significance of the 4th February reveals the enormous importance of the great strategic victory that it represents: the call acted as a catalyst through the whole country setting on fire the hearts of all Angolans who rose up in arms to attack the colonialists over the whole national territory, unleashing an insurrection that in traditional zones of resistance, such as Nambuangongo, came to the seizure of political power.

The enemy reacted brutally, launching a massive and extensive counter-offensive based on gigantic repression consisting of a mixture of crime, torture, barbarisms and genocide on a scale surpassing all that it is possible to conceive.

And, in the same way, the 4th February has come to be registered in the history of the struggle of national liberation of Angola, also, with the greatest example of sacrifice by a people determined to live in freedom: on the 4th, 5th, and 6th of February in Luanda 3000 innocent Angolans fell before the savage and bloody fury of bands of armed settlers and this later expanded into a new massacre of 5000 persons in Lower Kassange. The signal of combat was given to all our people.

The long road, the odyssey that then began to be written, gives the Angolan people the right to be placed in the highest circles of peoples who have offered the lives of their best sons for the achievement of a finer humanity. This aspect of our struggle is registered not only in the field of direct opposition to an archaic and equally retrogressive and hideous Portuguese colonialism. The extensive presence of huge foreign economic interests rooted in Angola and, more immediately, the voluminous and constant support that Imperialism provides and continues to give to fascist Portuguese colonialism, has equally placed our people in the front line of the struggle against Imperialism.

All the events in this situation now, in fact, include the most divergent forms of foreign intervention in our struggle -- which is to say their massive support in arms and other logistic material, and political help to the enemy which aims to introduce into the war groups of open and secret counter-revolutionaries.

The fact that, during the period 1961 - 1963, MPLA did not manage to gain secure positions in the interior of the country (on account of the obstruction of Imperialist puppets) gave the counter-revolutionaries an opportunity to gain some international credit. This international credit reached its peak in 1963 when the counter-revolutionaries managed to get into their hands an important element (becoming a provisional government recognized by some countries) that could have enabled them to become an immense danger to the aspirations of our people, were it not for their own organizational weaknesses, and were it not for the immediate response of MPLA.

With the opening of the war front in Cabinda and the great victories gained by MPLA,

the counter-revolutionaries became anxious, accentuating the contradictions in their midst. Their internal situation became ever more explosive until, in 1965, they broke apart with the desertion of Savimbi and Taty. From that date on they began to disintegrate and could no longer present themselves as the only united front. Now, in every region where MPLA is in combat, it comes into contact with the systematic obstruction of little bands of counter-revolutionaries along the frontiers: in the First Region with UPA, in the Second Region with Taty and in the Third Region with UNITA.

The year of 1966 dealt a big shock to the counter-revolutionaries with the great strategic victory of MPLA -- the opening up of the Eastern Front. It constituted the death blow for the counter-revolutionaries in eliminating for them the possibility of getting some internal credit. MPLA vigorously reaffirmed its truly national perspective. The counter-revolutionaries were, year by year, being discredited and breaking up. MPLA then achieved the scale of unity of the Angolan people for which it had always battled; revolutionary unity of the inalienable principles of total independence.

Our President, Dr. Agostinho Neto, speaking over the air in the programme 'Angolan Combatente' on the 12th October 1966, reaffirmed that "the Portuguese colonialists are fomenting the creation of more groups on the frontier of Cabinda into which they impudently infiltrate PIDE agents that will tomorrow use the label of nationalists or revolutionaries, or would like to do so, in order to approach MPLA with the question of 'unity'. In the meantime, the bullets that are eliminating the Portuguese soldiers in Cabinda, as in Moxico or Cuanza Norte, are being fired by MPLA militants who are the only existing force on all the fronts of the politico-military struggle of our people. The problem of 'unity' does not worry us. For MPLA this problem does not exist. We have nothing in common with the puppets who journey outside our country cheaply selling the politics of Imperialism. There can never be unity with puppets. The question of unity is justly put when it is between patriotic forces of differing tendencies, but not when it is between patriots and traitors." Thus did our President answer the tendency that, to this very day, seems to have seduced even some esteemed friends of MPLA in the press.

At the beginning of 1967, the movement conducting the liberation struggle of the Angolan people, launched the motto of the GENERALISATION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE OVER THE WHOLE NATIONAL TERRITORY. In January 1968, our President summed up the situation in the following way: "We feel proud today to confirm that, during the past year the struggle of our people recorded successes of such significance that permit us to foresee, in the near future, the general insurrection of the population which will lead to the Final Victory over colonialism. The fronts of combat are widening, the number of men, women and children participating in the armed action is constantly growing. Both the political and military mobility of the enemy are so stifled and paralyzed that the conditions for the development of general armed action are being created. Today it is possible to rain ever harder blows upon the enemy; as much in the towns as in the countryside."

In June 1968, our President once again affirmed that "The progress that has been made by our guerrillas is crystal clear in the sense of realizing in practice the motto of generalizing the armed struggle over the whole national territory. The enemy themselves, through the voices of their most elevated representatives, cannot hide their concern over the advance of our struggle. When they say that the guerrillas have not reached the center of the country this means they are already being met there; and those who wish to mislead the Portuguese people, by leaving them ignorant of the truth, only fall into ridicule because the Portuguese people know that the guerrillas are already installed in the center of the country".

Tremendous sacrifices are being made and will be made each year with ever redoubled dedication to the motto of Struggle and Victory for one people, one nation, for the whole of Angola.

In the meantime, in Portugal, Marcelo Caetano took over on the political death of Salazar. The continued physical presence of Salazar did not permit his successor for a long time to give more clear evidence as to what he aimed at, thus creating amongst some the illusion that there were possible changes in the reactionary course of the fascist and colonial policies of the regime that for forty years has ill-treated Portugal and the colonies under its rule. MPLA, however, vigilantly and calmly denounced such illusions, placing the false demagogy of Caetano in its real context: Salazarism slightly less archaic; sweeter Salazarism; Salazarism capable of changing the name of PIDE to call it DGS; Salazarism without any other possibilities. The position that we took has been confirmed with the course of time up to this very day. We made the denunciation that there has been continuity in the regime of Portugal, with only an effort to put into practice a new strategy of colonial war adapted to the new exigencies imposed by our victories and our determination.

The year of 1969 is past and it did not bring the Portuguese any fruits at all from their increased war expenditure, their closer relations with the South African and Rhodesian racists, or Caetano's journeys in vain to the United States and Brazil, or even his fearful and rapid passage through the colonial capitals. 1969 saw additional major successes in our struggle: The development of the struggle in the regions opened in the previous year, in Lunda and Bié, the political mobilization of the masses of the Sixth Region, and the decisive spreading of the struggle to the urban centers in a spectacular manner. The newspapers of the world gave due credit to the heroic action of three MPLA militants from the capital who hijacked a military plane flying from Luanda to Cabinda and forced it to go to Pointe Noire in the Peoples' Republic of the Congo. There was also the sabotage of the petroleum wells of Quengele Norte near Luanda.

Equally a victory for MPLA was the visit of the Military Commission of the OAU to one of the zones controlled by our Movement. This has enabled the OAU to officially verify that our struggle is, above all, an armed combat which is daily pushing the Portuguese towards the sea; equally, that our struggle is a victorious battle to raise the cultural, health, political and social levels of the people who have withdrawn from direct contact with the oppressor. The Military Commission had the opportunity to converse with the people and guerrillas, with pupils in the CIR (Centres for Revolutionary Instruction), doctors, nurses and assistants of SAM (Medical Health Assistance), activists of UNTA (National Union of Angolan Workers) and of OMA (Womens Organization of Angola). The commission had the rare privilege of living the hard but noble life of a people at the threshold of making their supreme contribution to Africa, to the liberation of the continent. And in order that reality should open up to the OAU perspectives to impose a just solution, the same Commission could ascertain that, in the hundreds of kilometres that it travelled or in the human contacts that it made, there are no traces of any forces other than those controlled by MPLA.

The year of 1969 also reconfirmed our progress in raising the level of the war and its military effectiveness. The plane brought down on the 18th August by our guerrillas, the T-6 G, the wreckage of which was presented at a Press Conference in Lusaka, proved the collusion of the U.S. in the direct intervention of Imperialism against our struggle. On the 29th October a helicopter, Cherokee 180 D, piloted by Rafael do Anjos Silva and transporting Lieutenant Sebastao Pires Correia Mourao, Adjutant of the Civil Defense, Manuel Alfredo Corte, administrator of Kangamba, and Ernesto Augusto Pimentel agent of PIDE, was brought

down by our guerrillas about three kilometres from Alto Cuito. These actions that constitute, once again, another step forward towards the generalization of the armed struggle, have destroyed the enemy's arrogant claims that he holds absolute security in the air, having already lost much of the control of the ground.

1969 was, therefore, a year of opening up wider perspectives. The confusion of the enemy appears constantly through their own declarations -- either through their weekly war communiques which invariably announce our action across the scale of almost the entire area of our country; or through diverse deceitful laws that are promulgated and the unprecedented possibilities for better employment and improved wages for Africans; through the dilemma in which the fascists find themselves of having to plead with the people on the eve of the elections -- something without precedent -- that they should give a vote of confidence to the regimes' colonial policies; through the arbitrary decrees that have been launched to call students into the war if they fail in any aspect of their studies in any year; through the calling up of officials, doctors, nurses and other cadres for indeterminate periods of service in the theaters of war (and they can be recalled to the war even after they have completed their compulsory military service); through the slanderous propaganda, low and unscrupulous, against MPLA and MPLA leaders that is part of their so-called psycho-social campaign; through the complete failure in their recourse to professional assassins who try to infiltrate our ranks with the objective of liquidating our leaders and militants; through the defeated plan of Sa Viana Rebelo, so-called Minister of Portuguese National Defense, ex-Governor and Assassin of Angola, who in December 1968 predicted the end of the war in 1969 saying they would be chasing those whom they call 'terrorists' to the frontiers of bordering countries.

From this sum of defeats for colonialism, the year 1969 was not only a year for the opening of wider perspectives but also the deeper rooting of our popular base because these victories would not have been possible without the total and unconditional support of our people for the mottos of MPLA.

In the year that celebrates ten years since the date of the United Nations Declaration on the subject of colonial peoples, notwithstanding the growing support of the people of the whole world for the general liberation struggles of peoples under foreign domination, there nevertheless does not appear to be imminent fulfillment of the decisions of the World Organization on the part of all member states.

They are, in doing so, risking not only the colonial peoples' degree of confidence in the United Nations but also the UN's own very existence.

The resolution of 1960 states that the fact of the submission of peoples to domination, foreign rule and exploitation, infringing upon fundamental human rights, contradicts the UN Charter and has obstructed the development of cooperation and the establishment of world peace. The General Assembly of the United Nations proclaimed in the light of those conclusions "the necessity to bring an end, without delay and without reserve, to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations."

In the years that followed, diverse resolutions confirmed, complemented and gave more force to that historical decision condemning colonialism as being a crime against humanity. In the meantime, Portugal, a recognized criminal against humanity, persists in its crimes and totally ignores such resolutions. Having confirmed the impotence of the United Nations in expelling her from its circles, Portugal herself ironically threatens to abandon the UN.

The Angolan people, although it has not received the concrete support from the UN which its charter commends, associates itself with the general manifestation of sympathy by the peoples of the world for the principles that the UN Charter represents. The Angolan people, led by the MPLA, know how to contribute with the cost of blood and thousands of lives in order that the declaration of 1960 should be mirrored in the effective liberation of all peoples. If only the UN could equally fulfill its purpose.

Still in the external sphere, the meeting of the Liberation Committee of the OAU in Dakar and of the Heads of State in Addis Ababa confirmed their respect for our Movement for its combative action for the liberation of our people and the peoples of Africa. The help granted to our Movement has also been widened by all the socialist countries and from many people of the capitalist countries, even from the people of the United States.

Meanwhile, faithful to the principles of which we are proud, we look to the future with confidence in our own forces. Our perspectives are real and positive, perspectives of advance as far as total generalization, to general insurrection. It is necessary, however, at this stage of the generalized struggle and for this year of 1970 as stated by our President Agostinho Neto in his message on the 1st January 1970 to:

First - constantly utilize more of our own forces in making our combat; that our standard of living should be the result of our own work.

Second - consolidate our political-military organization, firmly eliminating opportunism, anti-democratic methods of work and indiscipline;

Third - take the initiative in all sectors of activity and most especially in the more noble activities, namely, direct action against foreign occupation;

in order that this year should be more significant for the present phase of the struggle.

4TH FEBRUARY 1970!

NINE YEARS OF ARMED STRUGGLE IN ANGOLA!

The most moving homage goes toward all the fallen Angolans, inextinguishable Heroes of the War for the Liberation of Angola.

The strongest confidence, homage and respect goes to all the guerrillas of MPLA and to all the Angolan people for their willing sacrifices and courage, self-denial and determination shown in the course of these nine heroic years.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN !

Angola/February 4, 1970
(D.I.P./MPLA)

MPLA COMMUNIQUE

THE WESTERN COUNTRIES ARE PROVIDING PORTUGAL WITH ARMS TO FIGHT THE ANGOLAN PATRIOTS

Aircraft are among the most important weapons used by the Portuguese colonialists in their bloody repression of the Angolan people and the people in the other colonies. They make it possible to massacre the people, to transport troops and to supply bases in the controlled areas.

Portugal does not manufacture aircraft but it has an assembly industry which, between 1962 and 1967, put about 150 small planes of the AUSTER D 5/160 type in the air, the parts being supplied by Great Britain.

According to the Publication PORTUGAL AND NATO, the Portuguese Air Force possesses the following airplanes:

- 1) 50 Republic F-84 G Thunderjet hunters supplied under the American Military Assistance Program, the first in 1952.
- 2) 50 North American F-86 F Sabre hunters, also supplied under the American Military Assistance Program, in 1960. This type of aircraft was intended to replace the Thunderjets.
- 3) 40 Fiat G-91 hunters of the NATO R4 type, supplied by Federal Germany in 1966. These airplanes are built in Federal Germany under Italian license and are used by the German Luftwaffe. The United States previously ordered these planes to supply Greece and Turkey under the NATO plan.
- 4) 30 Cessna T-37 C planes supplied by the U.S. in 1963 and 1964.
- 5) A few hundred aircraft of the North American Harvard T-3 and T-6 type, supplied by Great Britain as from 1956.

- 6) 18 Lockheed PV-2 Harpoon bombers supplied under the American Assistance Program in 1954.
- 7) 12 Lockheed P-2V Neptune bombers supplied under the American Assistance Program in 1960-61.
- 8) About 110 Dorniers DO-27's supplied by West Germany, the last in 1969.
- 9) 20 Douglas B-26 bombers supplied by the American CIA in 1965-66.
- 10) 20 Nord 2502 Noratlas transport planes supplied both by the French firm Nord Aviation and by West Germany.
- 11) In addition to these types of aircraft, the Portuguese Air Force also has the C-47 Dakota, the C-54 Skymaster and the Beech C-45 Expeditor. The last was supplied by Canada in 1952; the others by the United States of America.
- 12) In 1960-61 Portugal bought 4 Holste Broussard transport planes and a few JUNKER JU-52's from France.
- 13) Federal Germany is to supply Fouga-Magister and F-86K Sabre aircraft. The Fouga-Magister was used by Israel in the June 1967 war against the UAR and it proved itself to be an extremely dangerous weapon. The F-86K Sabre is made in Canada.
- 14) The helicopters used by Portugal are of French manufacture, of the Allouette and Saro skooter type supplied by Federal Germany.

According to the English aeronautical journal Flying Review International (II Nov. 1969, p. 12), the fascist Portuguese Government has been negotiating a contract with Sud Aviation for the acquisition of a certain number of SA 30 puma helicopters for the Portuguese Air Force.

The Portuguese Air Force, the same journal goes on to say, has considerably increased the number of its helicopters in the past three years, having received a total of 54 Alouette III's from France, after acquiring seven Alouette II's.

Also in 1968, there were negotiations between Portugal and the Italian firm Agusta for the acquisition of AB 205 Iroquois helicopters.

The Bell UH - Iroquois or Iroquois AB 205 originates in the USA, where it is used by the armed forces.

The Italian firm Agusta is licensed to sell to the armed forces of Austria, Italy, Finland and Sweden, and now also to Portugal.

It can carry 12 men, has a cruising speed of 552 kilometres at an altitude of 1,200 metres, and an interchangeable mounting for various arms.

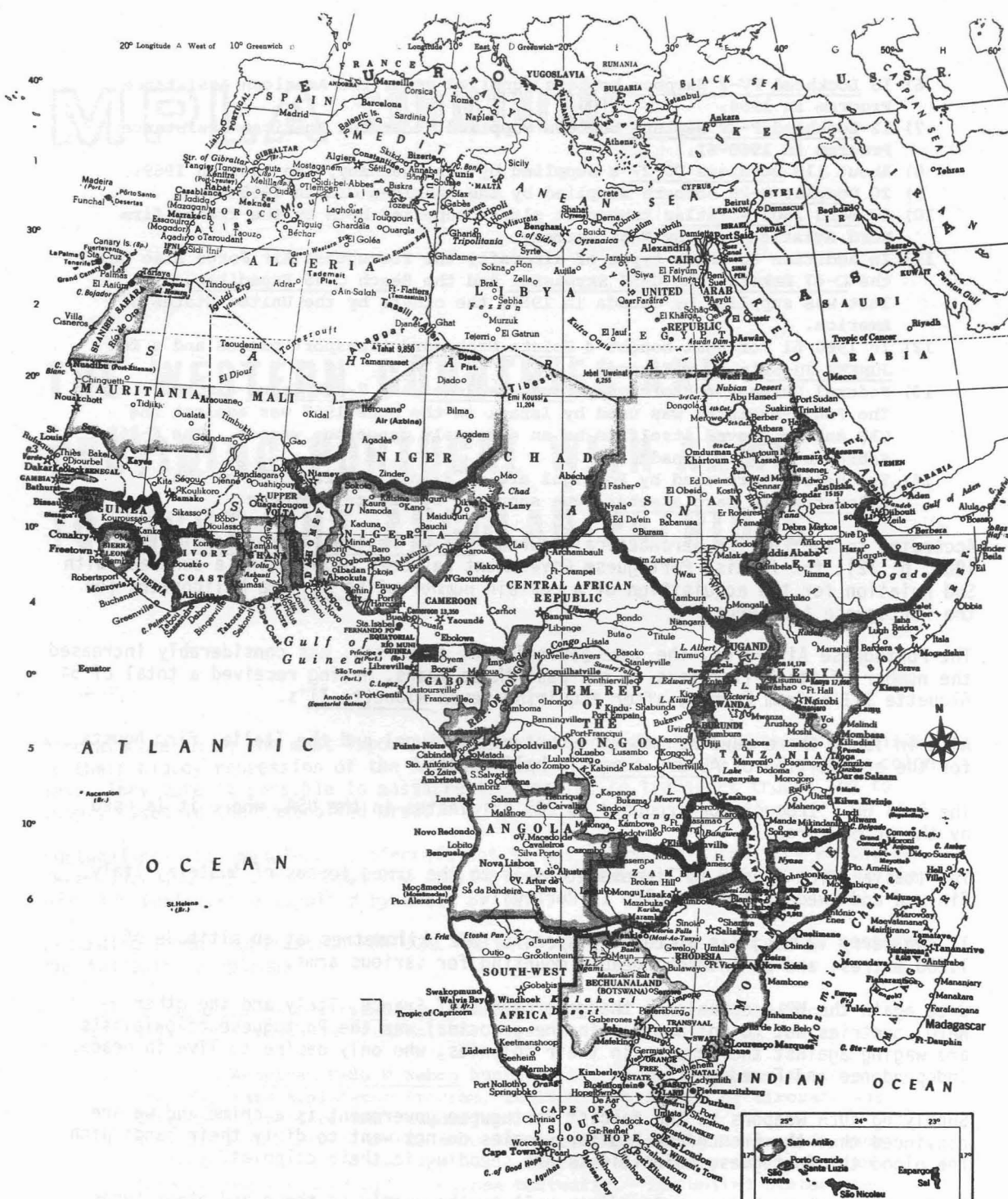
Once again the MPLA appeals to the governments of France, Italy and the other NATO countries not to collaborate in the genocidal war the Portuguese colonialists are waging against the peoples in their colonies, who only desire to live in peace, Independence and Freedom.

Supplying such weapons to the fascist Portuguese government is a crime and we are convinced that the French and Italian peoples do not want to dirty their hands with the blood the Portuguese colonialists are shedding in their colonies.

It is necessary to bring an immediate halt to the supply of these and other types of arms to Portugal and to take a firm stand at the side of the Angolan people fighting for their Independence.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE M.P.L.A.

January, 1970

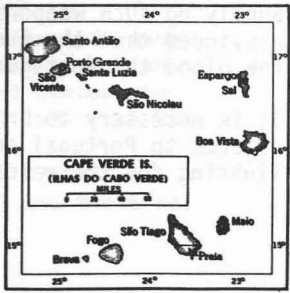


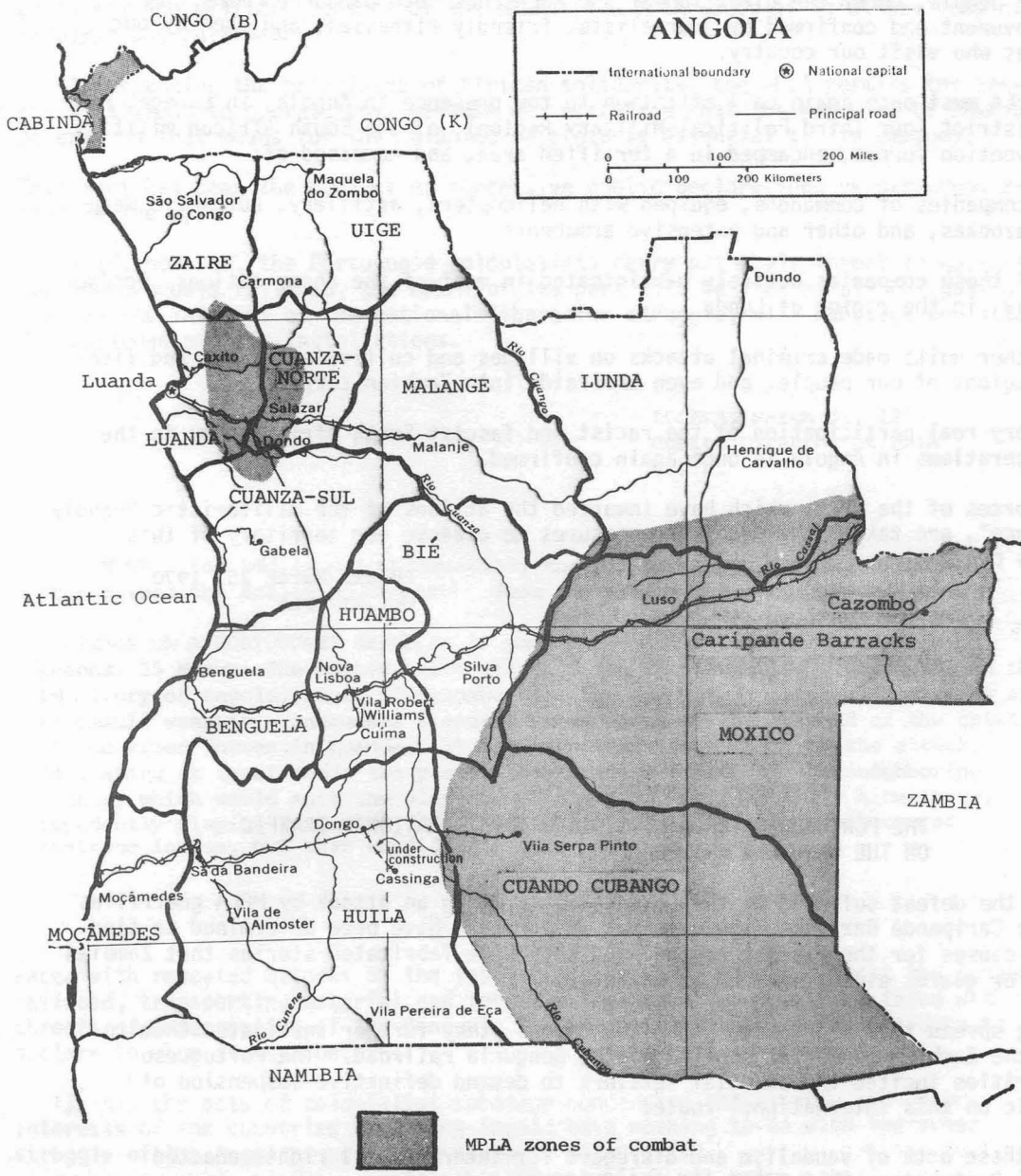
AFRICA

SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500

SCALE OF KILOMETRES
0 100 200 300 400 500

Capitals *
 Canals ~~~~~
 International Boundaries - - - - -
 Mountain Peaks ▲





SOUTH-AFRICAN FORCES OF INTERVENTION IN ACTION IN ANGOLA

The active support of foreign powers for the Portuguese colonialists, their intervention on the side of the Portuguese in the repression of the liberation struggle of our people, under the direction of the MPLA, has been denounced many times by our Movement and confirmed by journalists, friendly witnesses, and even by our enemies who visit our country.

The MPLA must once again call attention to the presence in Angola, in Lumege, Moxico District (our Third Political-Military Region), of the South African military intervention forces, encamped in a fortified area, and composed of:

Four companies of commandos, equipped with helicopters, artillery, automatic weapons and bazookas, and other and extensive armaments.

Two of these companies actively participated in most of the enemy actions, Oct/Nov. of 1969, in the region of Lunda.

The other units made criminal attacks on villages and cultivated fields and fishing regions of our people, and even maderaid into Zambian territory.

The very real participation of the racist and fascist South African army in the war operations in Angola is once again confirmed.

The forces of the MPLA, which have thwarted the actions of the militaristic "unholy alliance", are taking the necessary measures to cleanse our territory of this odious occupation.

Lusaka March 25, 1970
D.I.P./MPLA

THE PORTUGUESE THREATS TO DISRUPT INTERNATIONAL TRAFFIC ON THE BENGUELA RAILROAD

After the defeat suffered by the colonialist army in an attack by MPLA guerrillas on the Caripande Barracks, the colonial authorities have been determined to find other causes for their being routed, and thus have fabricated stories that Zambian frontier guards aided the MPLA combatants.

Having spread this propaganda among the colons, they further instigated them to loot the Zambian goods transported on the Benguela railroad. The Portuguese authorities incited the colonial settlers to demand definitive suspension of traffic on this international route.

With these acts of vandalism and disregard for international rights enacted by the Portuguese, MPLA makes the following clarification:

- 1) The looting of Zambian merchandise by the colonialists constitutes an act of fascist reprisal in the face of losses inflicted on them by MPLA guerrillas at Carapande;
- 2) The responsibility for the theft and destruction of goods from the Republic of Zambia rests exclusively with the Portuguese and was carried out in the large urban centers, instigated by PIDE and the Portuguese army: in Huambo (Nova-Lisboa),

in Silva Porto (Bié), in Dilolo (Teixeira de Sousa) and Caola.

3) The Benguela Railroad crosses a large part of our country which is under the political and military control of the MPLA. The MPLA could if it wished completely paralyze the railroad.

4) Respecting the principles of African solidarity, the MPLA permits the Benguela railroad to operate only because we understand that the Republic of Zambia depends on that means for the shipping of products essential to its economy.

This fact has been the subject of successive public declarations by our organization in the past.

5) If, however, the Portuguese colonialists carry out their threat to definitely cut the Benguela railroad, the MPLA for its part will be free of all obligations and, in the interest of the national liberation struggle, will sabotage and attack the railroad and its installations.

LUSAKA, March 31, 1970
Comité Director of MPLA
D.I.P.

NOTE: For additional information, the MPLA representative in Algeria transcribed the following dispatch, from the AFP news agency:

--ATTACK ON A PORTUGUESE BARRACKS IN ANGOLA--

Luanda, 25 March: The nationalists attacked the Caripande troop barracks, in the territory of Angola, south of Cazombo near the Zambian frontier with mortars and automatic weapons - announces a special communique by the command of the chief of the armed forces in Luanda. It declares that the authors of the attack, "operating at least under the eyes of the frontier guards of the neighboring country which would suit the elements of the MPLA, who assuredly hide there, impudently playing in Zambia." The communique adds that the attack caused numerous losses, but that they didn't count for much. (jd)

DECLARATION

Faced with repeated attacks of the fascist and criminal colons against the Benguela railroad, transporting material and food for the Republic of Zambia; faced with threats of interruption of the Benguela railroad, the MPLA makes it its duty to declare to whom it may concern:

1) All the acts of colonialist sabotage concerning the economy and other interests of the countries bordering Angola have nothing to do with the armed struggle of the Angolans against Portuguese colonialism.

2) Our national liberation struggle is the exclusive and inalienable task of the Angolan patriots. Our struggle is independent of the aid and solidarity that the neighboring people give us. If the fascist Portuguese persist in their desperate acts of vandalism and destruction, the MPLA will take all the necessary measures required by the situation to put an end to the extortions committed by the colonialist forces, incapable as they are of stopping the inevitable victorious advance of our guerrillas.

Translated from the French by K.E./LSM

The period covered by the months of March and April of the current year was characterised by the continuation of the action initiated in January in fulfillment of the MPLA command for action and more action in a more pervasive initiative as recommended by Dr. Agostinho Neto, President of our Movement, in his New Year Message to our guerrillas and militants.

The enemy is besieged inside his barracks. Our mines do not spare any of the enemy's vehicles which always travel fearfully in columns at great speed in the depths of night. The number of ambushes, greater than in the preceding period, corresponds exactly to the occasions when the enemy has had to venture outside his barracks to replenish his water supplies. The heavy losses suffered by the enemy is the crushing response of our guerrillas in the areas of our effective control.

During this period the enemy has continued to make ridiculous announcements, claiming to average forty dead each week amongst our forces. Together with their base crimes and their use of insulting and vulgar terminology in the pamphlets distributed by plane, this recourse to lies and low slander typifies the dominant aspect of the mentality of the Portuguese terrorists.

Summary of the Military Activity

March and April 1970

Third Military/Political Region: districts Moxico and Cuando-Cubango

Colonialist barracks attacked	4
Vehicles destroyed	27
Ambushes and skirmishes	16
Bridges destroyed	3
Portuguese terrorists downed	269
Puppets liquidated	55
Traitors punished	2
African mercenaries from neighboring countries	17
Population liberated from strategic hamlets	157

The Portuguese terrorists bombarded vast cultivated areas and concentrations of population with toxic chemicals and defoliants, while simultaneously trying to distribute poisoned fish and meal to the people living near the barracks.

During the same period MPLA mourned the loss of nine of our heroic and noble comrades.

In generalising the armed struggle yet further and striking ever surer and harder blows against the Portuguese terrorists, MPLA renders its deep and moving tribute to these brave comrades.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Steering Committee of MPLA

Angola / June 17, 1970

THE MPLA DENOUNCES THE CRIMINAL USE OF CHEMICAL
DEFOLIANTS AND HERBICIDES BY THE PORTUGUESE COLONIALISTS

WE WANT TO BRING THIS MATTER TO THE ATTENTION OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS,
WORLD PUBLIC OPINION, AND ALL PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL WHO TREASURE PEACE AND LIBERTY

Beginning May 1, 1970, the Portuguese colonial army began spraying chemical products, herbicides and defoliants on the cultivated fields in the liberated regions in Eastern Angola.

AN MPLA DOCTOR, WHO HAPPENED TO BE IN THE AFFECTED AREA ON MAY 21, SENT US THE FOLLOWING REPORT:

"It was 10 o'clock. Five enemy planes flew low over the banks of the Luena River. Two of the bombers circled the area trying to detect signs of human life. The three other planes began to spray the fields with chemical poisons. From time to time the bombers dropped incendiary bombs on the gardens and camouflaged houses in the forest.

The chemical agents acted very quickly on the cassava leaves and branches and on sweet potatoes, causing them to become completely dry in less than two days. The toxic poisons were also attested to by the badly burned trees in the forest, which looked as if they had suffered a violent fire.

These chemicals, deposited on the leaves (and perhaps those deposited on the soil), penetrated quickly the roots and tubers, causing a progressive deterioration from the exterior to the heart of the plants. Soon the cassava roots and sweet potatoes became soft and mushy; they turned black, as if they had been soaked in bad water for several days.

The results begin to appear about 24 hours after the poison touches the plants - the result being the total destruction of all crops affected.

Tubers eaten in this poisoned condition cause several abdominal colics and diarrhea."

This use of chemical products is a GENOCIDAL CRIME - it clearly reveals the inhuman intention of decimating the civilian population through destroying the land so as to cause widespread starvation.

It is also a CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY, as chemical warfare has been condemned by international laws.

Finally, it is an IGNOMINIOUS AND COWARDLY CRIME, because finding themselves unable to stop the progress of popular resistance, the colonialists have resorted to criminal and desperate methods.

The MPLA is now alerting world public opinion and asks all international organizations, all people of good will, to condemn this monstrous crime, to bring pressure on the Portuguese colonialists to renounce this inhuman practice, to reinforce their support of the Angolan people who are fighting only to become free in their own country.

THE STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE MPLA
Angola July 10, 1970

The Portuguese war criminals have again sprayed chemical defoliants and herbicides over the cultivated areas of liberated Angola, using the same products as those employed by the Americans in Vietnam. These chemical agents are:

- 1) 2,4-D (2,4 acid dichlorophenoxyacétique)
- 2) 2,4,5-T (2,4,5 acid trichlorophenoxyacétique)
- 3) acid cacodylique
- 4) picloram (from Dow Chemical Company, with the commercial name of Tordon)

These chemical products have also obviously had a detrimental effect on human beings, causing respiratory diseases as well as digestive problems and vomiting up of blood. In particular, cacodylique acid, which contains arsenic, is very poisonous since a lethal dose is only one gram per kilogram of body weight.

Among the chemical defoliants, picloram is the most dangerous. In a test conducted in an equatorial forest in Puerto Rico, affected trees remained without leaves for over two years.

liberation support movement

an excerpt from the LSM Constitution:

"Aims and Objectives"

"The major objective of the LSM is to provide concrete and meaningful support to genuine National Liberation Movements and Struggles within the U.S. - Dominated Imperialist System. Such support is to consist primarily of essential supplies, research and publicity, and technical aid.

"We believe that far too little practical and fraternal assistance has been given in support of National Liberation Movements by North Americans who are both capable and, in theory, desirous of providing such vitally needed support. The Liberation Support Movement was established in order to help resolve this glaring contradiction between theory and practice, between the potentiality and actuality of our own contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle."

"Within North America, vast human and material resources are at our disposal to serve the pressing needs of Imperialism's super-exploited masses in their just struggles to achieve genuine political, economic and cultural independence. Such struggles, and the peoples engaged in them, are in a very real sense our own. Though of different national, ethnic and linguistic groupings, we are all one people within the American Empire. The victories against exploitation and oppression achieved by our people in the "countryside" of the Empire serve to hasten the total destruction of the Imperialist System. They thus bring those of our people who dwell in the "metropole" of the American Empire closer to their own decisive victories and liberation.

LSM BRANCHES

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LSM INFORMATION CENTER

LSM Information Center functions under the direction of the National Executive Committee of LSM. In addition to printing LSM publications, materials from national liberation movements (such as the MPLA) are also prepared, printed and distributed. Monies are needed to cover printing costs, etc. - your contribution would be greatly appreciated.

Sept. 1970 LSM will launch a bi-weekly newspaper, which will take as its scope reportage and analysis of struggle in both the rural and metropolitan sectors of the imperialist system: national liberation struggles in Africa, Asia and South America and analysis of political events and theoretical trends in the advanced capitalist countries. A year's sub. is \$5.00 For more details, contact LSM Information Center: P.O.Box 15210, Seattle WA 98115, or one of the LSM Branches.

Persons further interested in work of LSM, or in forming an LSM Branch write Information Center.