

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA
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The longest liberation war on the African continent is nearing its end. In the course of almost fourteen years of armed struggle, the Angolan people, writing the most brilliant pages in their history, have won their right to independence at the cost of half a million dead and countless sacrifices.

After 500 years of resistance to the oppressor, this victory is the crowning achievement of the unshakable will of a people who have always wanted to be free and who had no alternative but to assert this by resorting to the armed struggle launched by their conscious vanguard, the MPLA, on 4th February 1961.

The MPLA and the Angolan people have always struggled and will continue to struggle without let-up against slavery, whether direct or disguised, against colonial barbarism, exploitation, plunder and cultural aggression, and against obscurantism, humiliating and degrading alienated structures, for dignity and the defence of the interests of the entire Angolan people, in particular those of the most exploited strata, the peasants and workers, who have borne the full brunt of colonial ferocity.

Throughout all these years of war, the Angolan people, led by the MPLA, has achieved great victories, internally contributing to the forging of a nation out of a diversity of usages and customs, and in the liberated and controlled areas building new structures, a new way of life, a new Man.

At the same time, overcoming seemingly insurmountable obstacles, the violence of the most highly trained and well-equipped enemy troops and the shortage of arms and ammunition, the guerrilla forces were growing and driving the enemy back to increasingly defensive positions.

Abroad, the MPLA compelled recognition of its personality, made its voice heard in the international forums, earned prestige, respect and solidarity, and helped to isolate colonial Portugal internationally.

The courage and determination of the glorious guerrilla forces and the sacrifices they made, as well as their organisational strength in precarious conditions, compelled the admiration and respect of the whole world and of the enemy themselves.

All these factors have made it possible to hold this Inter-Regional Conference of Militants in Mexico, attended by such a large number of participants from every corner of the country.

The growing strength of the MPLA forces, both military and political, has always alarmed the enemies of the Angolan people. Thus, when the inevitable fall of colonialism came in sight, other forces tried to prevent their advance, just as dark clouds prevent the dawn sun from shining.

In collusion with the colonialist forces, imperialism launched an offensive of a new type against MPLA, simultaneously combining military attacks especially on our most advanced positions, with attempts to disrupt our rear and our Movement itself, resorting to the infiltration of agents and spies. It was not enough to weaken it. It was necessary to destroy it, to deprive the Angolan people of their vanguard, the major obstacle to the entrenchment of neo-colonialist and imperialist interests.

Demobilisation and intrigue were not sufficient for this. They had eliminate the mainstay of an independent political line and the intransigent defence of the Angolan people's interests. Thus, agents of colonialism and imperialism organised a plot to assassinate the the Movement's President and other leaders and cadres. The MPLA militant's vigilance caused the plan to fail, and other forms of pressure, all aimed at the destruction of our organisation, then came into play.

However, the resistance put up by our forces and the victorious action of the liberation wars in Guinea Bissau and Mozambique led to the inevitable defeat of the colonial regime. And imperialism, our principal enemy, is tending increasingly to become the direct enemy.

The armed struggle in the territories under Portuguese colonial domination led to the fall of fascism in Portugal, paving the way for democratisation in that country and to the process of decolonisation.

As a reflex to this, a multitude of political groups sprang up in Angola, almost all of them opportunist in character, with no past of struggle, or else marked by close collaboration with the former regime, their purpose being to defend neo-colonialism and fight the MPLA.

At the same time, as is only natural, there are still small groups nostalgic for the old colonialism who, clinging to their retrograde ideas, are trying to oppose the march of times. Their methods are always the same: they use racism, tribalism and slander.

While inciting small settlers to racial struggle, as a way of keeping their exorbitant privileges intact, they are distributing fake pamphlets among the Angolan people which, in the name of MPLA and its President, exhort them both to massacre whites and to wage a fratricidal struggle of one tribe against another.

In this way, groups of aroused settlers went over to acts of aggression against the Angolan people, causing loss of life in outbreaks of violence, especially in the city of Luanda. The self-defence measures taken by the population in the face of reactionary violence are legitimate and fully justified.

The Angolan population will overcome this situation by standing united to face their present direct enemy, Portuguese colonialism.

As for the question of Angolan nationalism, the MPLA reaffirms that it has always advocated and endeavoured to achieve a vast National Front for the Liberation of Angola, forged inside the country with all genuinely patriotic organisations.

Since its founding, the MPLA has always fought for the fulfillment of this objective and firmly condemned factionalist tendencies in its ranks. Thus, the Brazzaville agreement of September 1974, which makes it possible to solve the organisation's internal crisis, cannot be welcomed with anything but jubilation by all its militants and by sincere patriots. This is an important step towards strengthening the objective for which MPLA and the Angolan people have always fought: the liquidation of colonial domination in Angola and of all vestiges of colonialism and imperialism, for the immediate and complete independence of our Angolan homeland. It also encourages the determination of all militants to step up their political activity among the masses, and hence to transfer inside Angola all MPLA

structures still existing outside the country, thus concretising the primacy of struggle inside the country. The MPLA will tackle as a priority the problem of the transfer of power into the hands of the legitimate representatives of the Angolan people.

The district of Cabinda has been a favourite target for the manoeuvres of powerful foreign interests, which are making use of the tribalist or regionalist opportunism of elements who are very much out of touch with national realities to try to enforce partition, so as to gain control of the territory's resources.

Basing itself on the decisions of the UN and the OAU, and on the recent joint statement of the Portuguese Government and UN Secretary-General, the Inter-Regional Conference of Militants reaffirms its unshakable determination to defend by all possible means the maintenance of Angola's territorial integrity.

The Inter-Regional Conference of Militants hails the creation of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FALPA), the defender of the people and the guarantee of the gains of the national liberation struggle, the defence of the interests of the most exploited strata, the establishment of a democratic, popular and progressive regime, and one indivisible nation and its territorial integrity.

It supports the FALPA's attitude of maintaining a state of war so long as no ceasefire agreement has been signed.

At the same time, it repudiates the process of decolonisation that it is proposed to impose on Angola, reaffirming that it is for the Angolan people, and them alone, through their legitimate representatives, to discuss or negotiate problems having to do with independence.

Thus, the Provisional Government formed without the participation of representatives of the vanguard of the independence struggle is devoid of all representativeness and cannot satisfy our people's just desires.

Reaffirming the MPLA's anti-racist policy, the Conference guarantees protection of the persons and property of all foreigners who respect the laws in force in the country, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. There is therefore no justification for the hasty departure of some technicians who have not been systematically and violently opposed to national independence and who could play a useful part in the reconstruction of the Angola of tomorrow.

We extend special greetings to the democratic forces which have always maintained a correct attitude towards the colonial problem and shown consistent solidarity with our people's struggle for dignity and independence, especially all the democratic movements in Angola.

The MPLA Inter-Regional Conference of Militants reiterates the principles laid down in the maximum programme on maintaining an independent, peaceful and non-aligned foreign policy. At the same time, it reaffirms that the establishment and maintenance of relations with all countries in the world must be based on mutual respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equal and reciprocal advantage and peaceful coexistence.

The MPLA Inter-Regional Conference of Militants reaffirms unequivocally:

- Respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter.
- Respect for the principles of the OAU Charter.
- Militant solidarity with the fighting peoples of Guine Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe, and with their vanguard organisations, the PAIGC, FRELIMO and the MLSTP, and the certainty that the close links forged in the common struggle will endure for generations to come.
- Militant solidarity with the fighting peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.
- Militant solidarity with the Portuguese people in their long and tough struggle against fascism, for freedom and democracy and for the consolidation of the victories won since 25th April, thanks to the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement.
- Militant solidarity with the just and heroic struggle of the peoples of Indo-China against imperialism and neo-colonialism, of the Arab and Palestinian people against zionism and to regain their usurped land, and of the Latin American peoples against financial oligarchies and imperialism.
- The need to establish special relations of good neighbourliness and cooperation with all countries adjacent to Angola.
- Gratitude for the political and material help given to the MPLA by African countries in general, and in particular by the People's Republic of Congo, the United Republic of Tanzania and the Republics of Zambia, Algeria, Egypt, Guinea, Somalia and Sudan.
- Gratitude for the unconditional political and material help given by the socialist countries, the principal friends of our armed struggle for national liberation, and especially the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, China, the German Democratic Republic, Rumania, Bulgaria, Cuba, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.
- Gratitude for the humanitarian aid given to the MPLA by the Scandinavian countries, principally Sweden, Denmark and Norway.
- Gratitude for the assistance given to the MPLA by specialised UN agencies, especially UNESCO, FAO, WFP and ILO, as well as the material help provided by international religious organisations.
- The gratitude of the MPLA militants to the Support and Solidarity Committees throughout the world which have contributed their political and material support for the advance of our liberation struggle.

The Inter-Regional Conference of Militants expresses satisfaction at Portugal's recognition of the independence of the sister Republic of Guine Bissau and at the success of the heroic struggle of the people of Mozambique, culminating in the signing of the Lusaka agreement.

One of the purposes of the Angolan people's national liberation struggle, led by the MPLA, is the abolition of all privileges granted to Portuguese and other foreigners by the colonial regime.

Independence must benefit essentially the interests of the peasant and worker masses, the two largest groups in the country which together constitute almost the entire population of Angola.

On the eve of the Angolan people entering the concert of free and democratic nations in the world, they must prepare themselves to transform Angola into an economically independent industrial, modern, prosperous and strong country.

The uneven economic development of the various regions of the country imposed by the interests of the colonialist system must be abolished and replaced with balanced, planned and phased development.

However, this period implies continued struggle against the forces which have risen up to maintain colonialist or neo-colonialist exploitation. Therefore, all MPLA militants, all Angolan people, must redouble their vigilance in order to forestall, expose and smash all the manoeuvres of the enemies of the Angolan nation, whatever the colour of their skin. At this decisive time we are going through, everyone, without exception, must make every effort to overcome internal contradictions and tribal and racial barriers, so as to be able to achieve our principal objective in the shortest possible time: COMPLETE AND IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN !

Angola, 18th September 1974