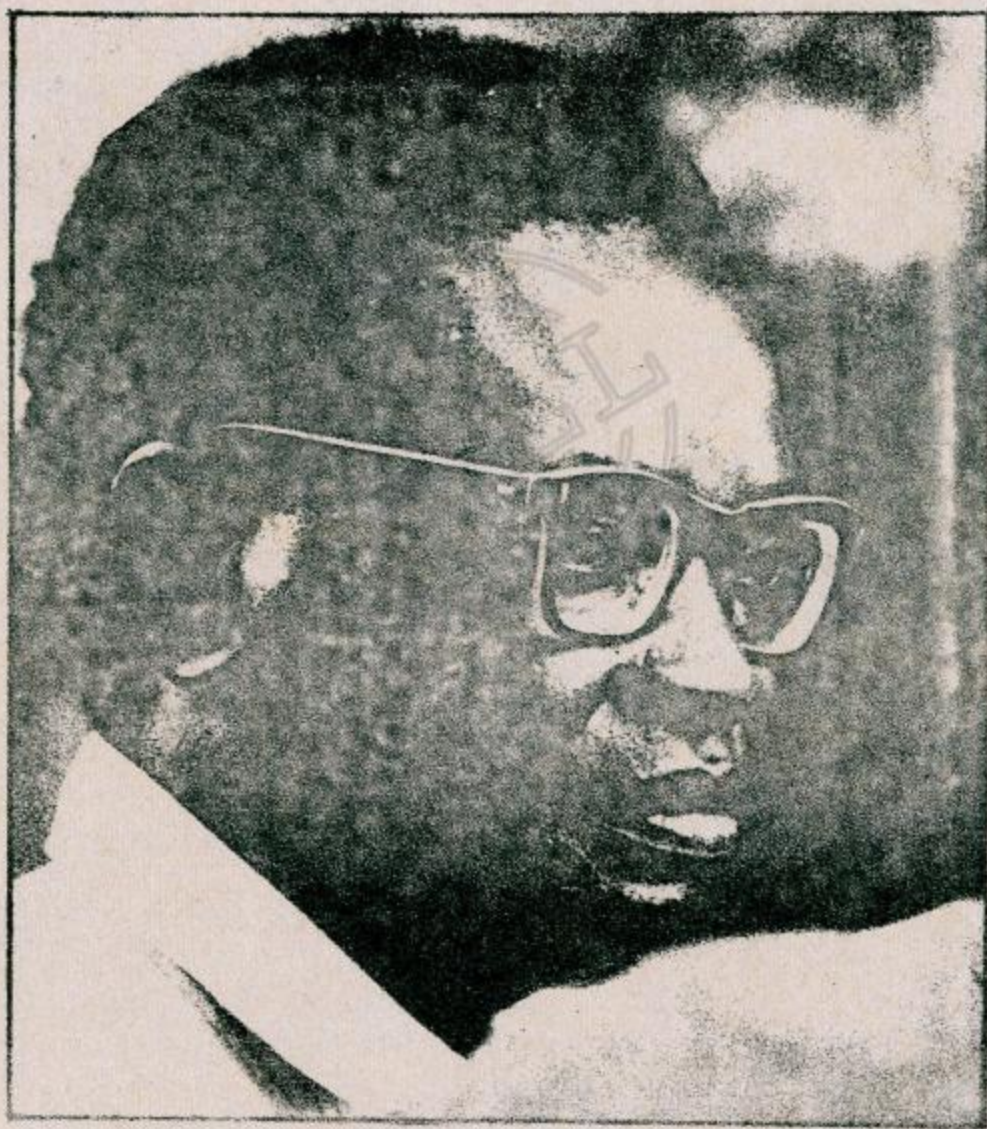


# MPLA

FACTS and DOCUMENTS



THE PRESIDENT OF THE MPLA

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT AGOSTINHO  
NETO ON THE OCCASION OF THE 15th  
ANNIVERSARY OF THE MPLA.

10.12.71

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 inde

LUCIO LARA

pendence 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 revolutionnary struggle, our Movement prides itself on haviang 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 significant losses on the enemy, both in lives and equipment. Military activity in CABINDA, CUANZA-NORTE, LUANDA, MOXICO, 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 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 cooperation between men of different races. We are not against the white man simply because he is white. We are against racist and colonialist whites.

For us independence does not mean 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 freer 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 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 respect 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 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 SECULO" 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 currents subordinated to imperialism which, under the cover of more or less progressive watchwords, are merely delaying our victory.

The MPLA is prepared to accept in its ranks all those who 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 paralyse 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!

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XXXXXXXXXXXXX

P R E S S   R E L E A S E

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 the colonial wars in ANGOLA, 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 agreement 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 turn over. 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 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 Presidents 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.

OUR VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE MPLA  
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15.12.71

P R E S S   C O N F E R E N C E

Given by Comrade LUCIO LARA, member of the Executive Committee and of the Politico -- --Military Coordinating 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 peoples 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 par-

ticipating 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 peoples 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 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 supplying 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 judgement 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 effectives 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 ATTACK 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 savana 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 Afri

can 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.

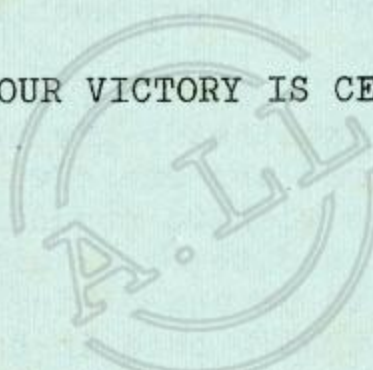
On the other hand, Portugal's isolation is growing and demoralisation is gaining ground in the ranks of the colonialist troops.

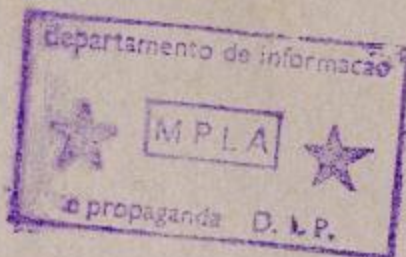
Once again, we thank our Congolese comrades, and this on behalf of the PAIGC, FRELIMO and the MPLA, for this proof of active solidarity they are now offering us and which, we are certain, will be a brilliant success. Our friendship will emerge from it strengthened. Our enemies will feel the results.

OUR VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Brazzaville

27.12.71





DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION  
AND PROPAGANDA OF THE MPLA

FEBRUARY 1972

D.I.P. - P.O.BOX 1595  
LUSAKA ZAMBIA