



ANGOLA in ARMS

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PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA



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DECLARATION OF THE ROME CONFERENCE



Dr. Agostinho Neto, President of the M.P.L.A.

ONE of the essential characteristics of the history of our times is the vigorous development of national liberation struggles which has been transformed for many countries into independence and the regaining of dignity for hundred of millions of men and women in Africa and elsewhere.

Portuguese colonialism, which refuses decolonisation and conducts genocidal wars against the people of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, is manifestly a crime against humanity. To dominate and exploit the peoples and riches of Angola, Guinea and the Cape Verde, Mozambique and San Tome, it has resorted more than anything else to repressive actions.

It has instituted forced labour, the export of workers who are not given any choice, a system of the obligatory cultivation of certain crops solely its own profit and that of the companies alone.

Every time the peoples attempted to express, even by peaceful means, their rejection of the brutal exploitation which was enslaving them, the Portuguese colonialists in cold blood resulted to massacres.

That is why in fully assuming their national and historic responsibilities FRELIMO, M.P.L.A. and PAIGC led their peoples along the only road which could bring them freedom and independence: armed national liberation struggle. In developing the popular fight towards victory in identifying themselves with interests of their peoples, FRELIMO, M.P.L.A. and PAIGC are confirmed as the true representatives of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea and Cabo Verde. Their activities can be seen in the destruction of the structures of domination new and unconditional and in the establishment of a new and popular social order.

In order to oppose this situation the colonialists of Lisbon are facilitating penetration of powerful economic interests of imperialist powers to ensure that these interests should consider their fate as linked to that of Portuguese domination. They become defenders of the cause of Portugal's colonialism expressing themselves through the policies of their governments, and thus create conditions for an increasing internationalisation of the confrontation.

The direct and massive aid from NATO — not to speak of the military and economic support Lisbon receives from the governments of the United States, West Germany, Britain and France — is a decisive factor in Portugal's ability to continue her colonial wars. The government of member states of NATO must dissociate themselves from this crime, isolating Portugal at both political and military levels and firmly condemning this colonial war. It must also be underlined that Portugal's grand design is strengthened by the racist and colonial alliance between Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia.

In spite of the assistance and the collaboration which she en-

struggling peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

This solidarity must be translated into urgent and immediate actions, the nature of which will be decided by the evolution of the situation in each country and taking into consideration their specific conditions. They must first be concerned with forcing Portugal to grant immediate and total independence to these peoples, who already have sovereignty over large areas of territory administered in Angola by the M.P.L.A., in Guinea by the PAIGC and in Mozambique by FRELIMO.

To achieve this, we must increase the isolation of the Portuguese colonialists by exposing the massive support they receive from the NATO Alliance in general, and in particular from the United States, West Germany, Britain and France. This must also be undertaken with regard to all the national and international economic and financial institutions that provide Portugal with the necessary means for continuing her aggression.

We must also, especially through mass popular action, prevent the countries linked with colonialist Portugal from committing themselves to a new phase of armed intervention to replace the failure of their political and military strategies.

Finally, our activities must concretely support the efforts towards liberation and national reconstruction made by FRELIMO, M.P.L.A. and PAIGC, whom the Conference considers as holding effective power in their countries, on the basis of the law of their peoples. This new legal situation must be recognised internationally.

In this tenth anniversary year of the United Nations Declaration on the right to independence of the colonial peoples, and on the threshold of the tenth anniversary of the launching of the armed national liberation struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies, the Rome Conference reaffirms its solidarity with the peoples of Angola, Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands and Mozambique, and S. Tome and Principe, and calls on all countries, governments, national and international organisations, and to all men of good will, to accomplish these inspiring tasks.....

THE ROME CONFERENCE

The International Conference in support of the people in the Portuguese colonies was held in Rome from 27 to 29 June 1970.

Those who attended this historic International Conference were able to note and appreciate the efforts and achievements of the organisations leading the liberation wars — the MPLA, FRELIMO and the PAIGC, represented by delegations led respectively by Comrades Agostinho Neto, President; Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President, and Amilcar Cabral Secretary-General.

This conference came at a time when, as Comrade Agostinho Neto said there, "Portuguese colonial domination is in decay".

Here is the full text of the General Declaration adopted at the Rome Conference, which already gives a clear idea of the level attained by the struggle of the peoples still under Portuguese colonial domination and of the critical position in which fascist and colonial Portugal has entrenched itself.

joys, Portugal cannot control the situation so that her allies have been led to consider direct military intervention which has already materialised in Angola and Mozambique. The struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies becomes in this context a vital contribution to the cause of freedom in Africa, and to the cause that applies all humanity — national independence and human dignity,

At the same time, the activities of democratic and progressive forces towards these objectives, and in particular the development of the anti-colonialist movement in Portugal and the other liberation struggles in Africa and throughout the world, are an important and necessary factor for the cause of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies. On this we must state that the successes already won by the peoples of Angola, Guinea, the Cape Verde Islands and Mozambique, while being the result of the efforts and sacrifices of these peoples in their struggle are also owed to the active solidarity of the independent countries of Africa, the Socialist countries of the non-aligned countries and of democratic and progressive forces throughout the world.

For the first time delegates from 64 countries, representing 177 national and international organisations, have met in Europe to study and decide upon ways of developing political, moral and material solidarity with the

EDITORIAL

ON THE 4th February, 1970, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the Angolan people entered their tenth year of armed struggle for national liberation.

It has been a difficult road, travelled heroically, with a spirit of self-denial and exemplary sacrifice.

THE BALANCE SHEET IS TRULY IMPRESSIVE.

In the interior of the country, MPLA has made its influence felt as the only force conducting the armed struggle for liberation. More than one third of the country is liberated, which amounts to almost the area of France or five times the area of the colonising power, Portugal.

In the liberated regions the people, organised into action committees, are discovering a new life, free and dignified. The organisations of the people, as much as OMA (Angolan Women's Organisation), as UNTA (National Union of Angolan Workers), and JMPLA (Youth of the People's Movement for the liberation of Angola) and the Organisation of the Pioneers embrace the people, organising production and raising the level of political-military preparedness of the population.

The services of MPLA, in particular CIR (Centre for Revolutionary Instruction) and SAM (Medical Assistance Service) serve the people and the guerrillas and train vigorous cadres. In this they throw out a fatal challenge to reactionary Portuguese colonialism which, after five centuries of exploitation, is responsible for the highest illiteracy in the world.

In the regions still occupied by the enemy in the cities the people are organising themselves into underground committees. Incontestable proofs of this are the hijacking of a Portuguese plane on the 4th June 1969 to Pointe Noire (Congo-Brazzaville) by militants of MPLA in Luanda and also the firing of a petroleum well in the vicinity of Luanda which caused the Portuguese to lose something in the region of six million escudos.

Outside the country, the prestige of MPLA, already immense, is growing day by day. The Military Commission of the OAU (Organisation of African Unity) who visited the Eastern Front in April 1969 could verify the enormous achievements that have been made by MPLA; and they reached the conclusion that MPLA is the only force conducting the war.

The Portuguese enemy is constantly feeling ever-harder blows — despite substantial help (and for her indispensable) from her friends of NATO and from racist Southern Africa; and despite the enormous growth of her military expenditure (58% of the total budget in 1970). Our unremitting blows are increasingly reducing Portugal's capacity to resist, are exhausting her and will finally liquidate her.

THE FUTURE IS ALSO MOST PROMISING.

The generalisation of the armed struggle over the whole national territory is the great strategic objective that MPLA and the Angolan people have set themselves to achieve to the full. With the generalisation of the armed struggle the enemy will be surrounded on all sides, dispersing his forces, forced into inaction and eventual expulsion from the Angolan fatherland.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

THE PEOPLES OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES

WILL WIN!



PORTUGUESE

COLONIALISM WILL

DISAPPEAR!

News in brief

ON 1 JULY 1970, after the Rome Conference, Pope Paul VI received comrades Amilcar Cabral, Marcelino dos Santos and Agostinho Neto, respectively Secretary-General of the PAIGC, Vice-President of Frelimo and President of the MPLA, in audience.

The Pope told the leaders of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies that "the Catholic Church is concerned about all those who are suffering and especially about the African Peoples, and shares the cause of those who are fighting for justice, freedom and national independence".

The recall to Lisbon of Mr. Eduardo Brazao, Portuguese Ambassador to the Holy See, "for consultations" as a result of Pope Paul VI's disavowal of Portuguese colonialist fascism, clearly shows the extent to which Mr. Caetano was "shocked".

This is also going to encourage the progressive Portuguese Christians who, together with other progressive forces, have consistently opposed the colonial war.

On 7 July, the head of the Portuguese government, Marcello Caetano, spoke of this matter to the Portuguese people. According to him, the Pope had replied to Portugal's official protest, giving a full explanation, and the problem had been settled.

Not even Caetano himself believes in his optimism. He knows that his Portugal — the fascist and colonialist he inherited from Salazar — will feel more isolated with each passing day.

BASIL DAVIDSON HAS VISITED THE LIBERATED AREAS OF ANGOLA

The well-known English writer and journalist Basil Davidson has visited the Third Region, accompanied by Dr. Agostinho Neto, President of the MPLA, and other leaders of our Movement. Extremely impressed by our people's degree of mobilisation



and our Movement's high level of organisation, Basil Davidson did not hide his satisfaction.

Basil Davidson visited Angola as far back as 1955, when he wrote a book entitled "The African Awakening" which is a violent indictment of Portugal's "civilising" activity in Africa.

A DGS/PIDE COMMUNIQUE

The communique of 16 April 1970 in which the Portuguese secret police (DGS/PIDE) announced the arrest of the Reverend Father Pinto de Andrade, accuses the MPLA of having "infiltrated" agents into Portugal itself. To quote the actual words of the communique: "The so-called People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), whose criminal activities are being stepped up in this province, has infiltrated some individuals into certain sectors of the metropole".

LACK OF MILITARY CADRES

Owing to the growing shortage of

cadres, up to now Portuguese officers have been forced to carry out a number of missions in the colonies. Since this extreme measure has not proved sufficient, the Portuguese government instituted the "Special Officers' Cadre" (QEO) for "militia" officers. Thus "militia" officers can henceforth be promoted above the grade of captain, major and lieutenant-colonel.

ONLY 0.8 PER CENT OF THE POPULATION CAN VOTE!

There were only 628 votes in the elections for the so-called Municipal Council of the town of Lusom (Eastern Angola). Since this town has 86,405 inhabitants, the only conclusion one can reach is that a mere 0.8 per cent of the population has the right to vote! The settlers, of course Portugal's so-called colonial reformism is nothing but a farce in the Portuguese style.

MARCELLO CAETANO'S RACISM

Fascist Marcello Caetano cannot conceal his racism. On 8 April 1970, he stated in a radio speech that Portugal was not giving the colonies independence because "self-determination is not expressed by little bits of paper (ballot papers) put into hands of savages in the savannas".

IN THE SO-CALLED NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

On 30 January 1970, a draft government law on the conscription of doctors over 40 years old of age was tabled in the so-called "Portuguese National Assembly".

The new draft law submitted to the "Portuguese National Assembly" by the government abrogates the law on military service in force only since January 1968 but already considered out

of date in the preamble explaining the need for the new law. According to this new law, a "militia" officer (i.e. a non-career officer) of over 40 can be

called up.

Camilo Mendonca, a deputy to the so-called "Portuguese National Assembly", says that there are about 500,000 Portuguese

emigres in France and that about one million people in Portugal are dependent on those emigres.

(Note: in 1959 there were 34,000 emigres to France.)

CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF LENIN

THERE are dates in the history of mankind which are celebrated in all countries, by all peoples. One of these dates, which will for ever be inscribed in letters of gold in the history of the struggle of the peoples, is 22 April, the day of the birth of the great Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov — Lenin!

In 1970 we are celebrating the first centenary of the birth of the founder of the first Socialist State, of that great genius, powerful theoretician and exceptional revolutionary leader — Lenin.

Leninism is now a powerful weapon in the hands of the working classes the world over.

Leninism is Lenin's great legacy to the peoples of the world fighting for complete liberation.

The centenary of Lenin's birth is being celebrated at a time when his ideas are already widespread in the world. Lenin's ideas, his activities and his name are indissolubly linked with contemporary history, with all the important events of the twentieth century, the most important being the GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION, which was to start a new era in the life of the peoples: the transition from capitalism to socialism. At this frontier of world history, the giant figure of Lenin stands out, showing men the road to a new life to attain freedom, social justice, peace and general welfare.

Referring to Lenin Comrade Agostinho Neto President of the MPLA, said:

By applying the theories of Marx and Engels, Leninism gave practical life to proletarian internationalism, to the unity of the oppressed classes against the exploiting classes. But proletarian unity and solidarity extend beyond their own frontiers, whether class or geographical frontiers, to become a part of the world movement for freedom, against the common enemy, the international monopolies, capitalists of all kinds, and their agents.

That is why, in our Liberation Movement, our fight for independence is not detached



Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov Lenin

from the world process of man's emancipation. In its consequences and objectives, our struggle is not confined to Angolan national frontiers but is naturally linked with Africa's general struggle, which today assumes the most diverse forms, from armed struggle to economic struggle for the development of underdeveloped countries.

Our struggle is a further contribution to the triumph of Lenin's just ideals, which were concerned above all with man, in his entirety. Those ideals have guided our people as they have all other peoples who are fighting for freedom.

Lenin's life was not long. Just 54 years. But it was a life full of activity, indomitable intellectual effort and selfless struggle, a life which constitutes a true epic for the well-being of humanity.

The thought and work of Lenin

have always been at the service of the workers of the entire world. The centenary of Lenin's birth is a radiant festive day for the Soviet people and the workers of the whole world.

The Angolan people who are successfully fighting for the independence of our country under the leadership of the MPLA, will continue to deal ever more deadly blows at the colonial presence in Angola, for they are convinced that the best way to commemorate the centenary of Lenin's birth is by generalizing the armed struggle.

The best contribution that the Angolan people can make to reaffirm the invincibility of Lenin's ideas is to free our country and build a truly independent State!

GLORY TO LENIN, exemplary fighter for the national and social liberation of the peoples!

MPLA DENOUNCES CRIMINAL USE OF CHEMICALS

We want to bring this matter to the attention of international organizations, world public opinion and all people of goodwill who love peace and liberty.

ON 1 MAY 1970, the Portuguese colonial army started to spray chemical herbicides and defoliants over cultivated fields in the liberated regions of Eastern Angola.

An MPLA doctor who on 21 May happened to be in the area affected, sent us the following report:

"It was ten o'clock. Five enemy planes flew low over the banks of the Luena River. Two of the bombers circled over the area trying to detect any signs of human life. The three other planes — they were civilian 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 the 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 though they had been in a violent fire.

These chemicals deposited on the leaves (and perhaps also on the soil) quickly penetrated to the roots and tubers, and gradual deterioration set in from the outside to the heart of the plants. Soon the cassava roots and sweet potatoes turned soft and mushy, then black as if they had soaked in stagnant water for several days. The results begin to appear about twenty-four hours after the poison touches the plants. The result is the total destruction of all the crops affected.

Tubers eaten in this poisoned condition cause severe abdominal colic and diarrhoea."

This use of chemicals is a GENOCIDAL CRIME since it reveals the inhuman intention to decimate the civilian population by destroying the land and causing widespread starvation.

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

Finally, it is a HEINOUS AND COWARDLY CRIME, because

being unable to check the advance of popular resistance, the colonialists have resorted to criminal and desperate methods.

The MPLA now draws world public opinion to these crimes and calls upon all international organizations and all people of goodwill to condemn this monstrous crime, to bring pressure to bear on the Portuguese colonialists to give up this inhuman practice, and to reinforce their support for the Angolan people who are fighting only because they want to be free in their own country.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE MPLA
Angola 10th July 1970.

Note on the herbicidal and defoliant chemicals used by the Portuguese army.

These products, which are the same as those used by the Americans in Vietnam, are the following:

- (1) 2.4-D (2.4 dichlorophenoxyacetic acid)
- (2) 2.4.5-T (2.4.5 trichlorophenoxyacetic acid)
- (3) Cacodylic acid
- (4) Picloram (from the "Dow Chemical Company," under the commercial name of "Tordon")

Of course, the products also have very harmful effects on human beings, causing pulmonary constriction, digestive disorders and mouth bleeding. Cacodylic acid, which contains arsenic, is particularly poisonous, since the lethal subcutaneous dose is one gramme per kilo of body weight. Picloram is the most dangerous herbicide.

During tests carried out in an equatorial forest in Puerto Rico, the trees remained leafless for two years.



WAR COMMUNIQUE

DURING the months of January and February, our offensive operations on the Eastern Front -- Third Region and some sectors of the Fourth Region -- were outstanding for the progress made by our forces in advancing into new areas and attacking enemy garrisons, sowing panic, chaos and complete demoralisation in the fascist ranks of the colonial army.

Held at bay like wild beasts by the MPLA guerrillas, the Portuguese colonialists proceeded to plunder the civilian population, robbing them of their scant

possessions (dishes, clay pots, blankets and grass huts) and to loot Zambian goods in transit through ANGOLA (wine, money, tobacco, petrol and various machines).

Having actually lost control of the settler population, the fascist authorities became involved in the most ridiculous contradictions, ascribing our guerrillas' victories to the Republic of Zambia and at the same time admitting to the attacks carried out by MPLA guerrillas at Cazage, Caianda, Longa, Luachi, Lunachi, Kalunda, Sandando, Teixeira de Sousa, Cavungu, Ninda, Serpa Pinto, Gago Coutinho, Coutada do Mucusso, Marco 25, Cassai Gare, Lemege, Leua, Lovua, Mucondo, Gazombo, Tchfindha, Tchilombe, Muie and Kangamba, as well as Kibaxe, Uchua, Bula Atumba, Kitexe, Negage, Kamabatela, Aldeia Viciosa and Vista Alegre, in Northern Angola, and also Miconge, Sabgamngo, Sangamiconge and Sangaplanicie in Cabinda, among many other places.

The most important operations during this period are shown in the following table:

SUMMARY REPORT OF MILITARY ACTIVITIES

In January and February 1970, in sectors of the Third and Fourth Regions.

Attacks on colonialist barracks.....9;
Boats sunk.....2;
Ambushes and encounters.....11;
Vehicles destroyed.....12;
Portuguese terrorist losses.....147;
Puppets eliminated.....48;
Traitors shot.....4;
People liberated from colonialist strategic hamlets.....841;
Varied equipment and ammunition captured.

A brief analysis of the above table reveals the following two facts:

1. The number of attacks on barracks confirms the MPLA's repeated denunciation of the fact that the colonialist troops have entrenched themselves in their barracks, only coming out sporadically to commit criminal acts against the civilian population and their property, as the following table shows: Agricultural plots destroyed.....8;
Grass huts destroyed.....13;
Women raped.....4;
Women killed.....5;
Children kidnapped.....7;
Children killed.....9;
A few dozen head of cattle stolen two canoes stolen.

A village near Caianda was completely destroyed and its population massacred because a mine laid by our guerrillas on a nearby road exploded and caused heavy casualties among the Portuguese terrorists.

2. The decreased number of ambushes and direct encounters shows our control of the terrain, over which the forces of occupation venture only when they are heliported and covered by the aircraft supplied by South Africa and imperialist NATO countries.

The MPLA, the Angolan guerrillas, are therefore carrying out the watchword calling for the extension and intensification of the armed struggle and they are advancing decisively to victory.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Extracted from War Communique
No. 4/70 received from Angola.

REVEREND FATHER PINTO

AFTER a number of years in prison in Angola and Sao Tome and after being deported to Portugal, where he was kept in "restricted residence" in Lisbon, the Reverend Father Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, Honorary President of the MPLA, has again been imprisoned by the PIDE/DGS and put in solitary confinement under conditions of illtreatment and humiliation.

Father Pinto de Andrade, who has always identified with our people's deepest aspirations since the start of our national liberation struggle, was imprisoned for the first time in June 1960, one month after the imprisonment of Dr. Agostinho Neto, President of the MPLA.

After half a year in solitary confinement in the Aljube prison, he was deported to the Island of Principe, where he was kept for another six months in the PIDE cells. From there he was taken to the Sirgeverga monastery, from whence he was returned to the PIDE prison in Porto for a further six months. Once again, he was deported from there to Aljube, where for years he was subjected to the worst possible conditions, without trial or access to a lawyer.

In response to the viciousness of the PIDE butchers who interrogated him, Father Pinto de Andrade stated: "I consider that a people's aspiration to Independence is a just and reasonable



Reverend Father Joaquim Pinto de Andrade.

sentiment. Independence is to the people what Freedom is to the individual."

A courageous militant of integrity and great moral rectitude, today the Reverend Pinto de Andrade is a victim of the fascists' despair. Unable to counter the wave of protest of the Portuguese people and in the face of determined demonstrations by Lisbon University students, the Caetano government has sought in him a scape-goat on whom to vent their impotence.

An exemplary priest, Father Pinto de Andrade's indubitable consistency is combined with lofty patriotic sentiments which do honour to the MPLA and dignify the church of which he is a mem-

ber, despite the not always entirely correct stand taken by that church in the course of our national liberation war.

The Reverend Father Pinto de Andrade has been an executive member of the Society of African Culture, former Dean of the Episcopal See of Luanda, Chancellor of the Archdiocese, Professor of Philosophy at the Great Seminary in Luanda and he has a Doctorate in Philosophy from the Gregorian University in Rome. During the most recent period of approximately two years PIDE-imposed "restricted residence" in Lisbon, he was allowed to study at the Law Faculty there.

He is a man in poor health and with a weak constitution, whose condition has been aggravated by the torture and suffering of his prolonged captivity.

This new imprisonment, on 12 April 1970, puts his very life in grave danger.

While fulfilling its duty of intensifying the armed struggle — the only way to put an end to the crimes the Portuguese commit against Angolan citizens with impunity — the MPLA appeals to Catholics throughout the world and to all democratic and progressive forces to demand, without delay, that the Caetano government immediately release Father Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, Honorary President of the MPLA.

The Executive Committee of the MPLA

MEDICAL CARE IN THE LIBERATED AREAS OF ANGOLA

THE MPLA has made available to the Angolan people a medical service known by the name of SAM (Medical Assistance Service). It started its activities with the advance of the armed struggle in Angola: i.e. in 1963.

The conditions required for providing medical care for the guerrillas obliged the SAM to adopt the same structure as the MPLA's armed forces. Therefore, it carries out its work at regional, zonal and sector level wherever the war is.

Our present structure is as follows:

First Region, embracing the districts of Zaire, Uige, Cuanza-Norte and Luanda.

Second Region, the district of Cabinda.

Third Region, extending throughout the districts of Moxico and Cuando-Cubango.

Fourth Region, embracing the district of Lunda and Malange.

Fifth Region, the district of Ble (see attached map).

Taken as a whole, the regions represent more than two-thirds of the total area of Angola; i.e. the combined area of France, Germany, the Netherlands and Italy.

Each region is divided into a number of zones, in turn sub-divided into sectors. The region is headed by a director, in most cases a doctor or a medical assistant, the zone is headed by a medical assistant or qualified nurse, and, finally, the sector by a nurse or nursing assistant.

The SAM's cadres are guerrillas who take part in battles against the Portuguese colonialist army. We have already had our victims, among whom we lament the death of our brother in the struggle, Dr. Americo Boavida, a specialist in obstetrics and gynaecology, who was killed in the Third Region last year during an attack by enemy troops transported by helicopter.

The SAM is very short-staffed. We are far from meeting the needs of the people living in the guerrilla areas under our Movement's control. Our personnel is as follows:

4 doctors; 2 medical assistants; 7 qualified nurses; 3 nursing assistants; 18 first aid assistants; 2 midwives; 1 pharmacist; 2 laboratory technicians.

We have therefore had to train cadres. A school for elementary medical care has been in operation since 1969 to meet this need. The school imparts general knowledge on anatomy, first aid, physiology, pathology and hygiene. The first course enabled us to train 14 cadres, 1 nursing assistant and 13 first aid assistants. We hope to be able to increase the attendance at our school, since the course has been a success and has been enthusiastically welcomed by Angolans coming from the villages and from places still under colonial control.

As regards health centres, we still have a great deal to do. At the moment we have only one somewhat rudimentary hospital in operation in the Second Region. This is thanks to the solidarity of the people and Government of the People's Republic of the Congo Brazzaville who, despite persistent violations of the country's sovereignty by Portuguese troops, had no hesitation in making a part of their territory available to our Movement. The hospital has only 12 beds, a small operating room, 2 consulting rooms, 1 rudimentary laboratory and adjoining treatment rooms.

We have therefore been able to treat wounded from the Cabinda front and other Angola patriots and nationalists engaged in activities related to the national struggle.

There are tremendous difficulties in the other regions! There we have neither hospitals nor means of transport, and there

is a terrible shortage of technical personnel. Treatment is given in field dispensaries built with rural materials, and also by mobile teams which have to cover hundreds of kilometres on foot to be able to treat the people scattered throughout the villages.

There are camouflaged dispensaries along the frontiers with neighbouring countries and the others in the interior are always exposed to the risk of being destroyed by the Portuguese.

In 1969, in just zones A, B and C of the Third Region, which means in less than one tenth of the territory covered by guerrilla activity, there was the following turnover of patients.

ZONES A AND B	
	Patients
May	111
June	132
July	106
August	321
September	496
October	150
November	90
ZONE C	
	Patients
Total	500

Sixteen per cent of these patients were war wounded, most of them victims of explosions or bullet wounds. Among the civilian population, our activity has



increased essentially in the popularisation of rules of hygiene and the examination and treatment of patients. We noted a high incidence of malaria, splenomegaly, infectious diseases, deficiency diseases and degenerative lesions of the spinal column. There is also a high percentage of leprosy trypanosomiasis, parasitic diseases and tuberculosis.

Among the parasitic diseases, ankylostomiasis, amoebiasis and bilharzia of the bladder cause us problems difficult to resolve. Filariasis is also very common.

The classical symptom of intestinal amoebiasis is well known to all doctors. It is the dysenteric syndrome. But we often have to deal with the major complication of colic amoebiasis, amoebic hepatitis. It may appear as a simple painful hypertrophy of the liver accompanied by feverishness. In other cases, the patient has all the signs of serious infection, with an oscillating temperature and signs of deep suppuration which, upon clinical examination, after taking a typical specimen of pus, is soon confirmed to be an abscess in the liver. Weeping discharges are often accompanied by signs of pulmonary suppuration.

As is well known, ankylostomiasis is a parasitic disease caused by a nematoid which lodges in the duodenum and jejunum and whose parasitic cycle explains why it is so widespread in hot climates. The ankylostoma eggs are rejected through the faeces and need to remain for some time in warm and humid soil to reach maturity. Once hatched, the larvae enter trans-

cutaneously and, after travelling through the principal and secondary circulation systems, lodge parasitically in the small intestine.

In Angola, patients suffering from this terrible disease may present signs of the various phases: sometimes they are dyspeptic signs, diarrhoea or genuine abdomitor. In the advanced phases, there is anaemia and its consequences. These take the form of cardiac failure with cardio megalia and oedema with prevailing ascites and signs of brain asphyxia. Patients in this condition usually die, especially since we have absolutely no possibilities of giving them blood transfusion.

The filariasis so rampant in Angola is due to *Filaria F. Bancrofti*, which causes the type of lymphatic filariasis associated with elephantiasis of the lower limbs and testes.

On the other hand, malaria is responsible for the death and invaliding of thousands upon thousands of Angolans. Apart from intermittent and fatal attacks, we note situations of real cirrhosis of the liver of the Laennec type with portal hypertension, splenomegaly of the Banti type and severe anaemia. A number of patients suffering from cirrhosis die of fulminating hematemesis, hepatic coma and severe hepatic failure.

Although very widespread in Africa arterial hypertension is very rare in the Angolan rural areas. Angolan peasants do not suffer from hypertension or arterial sclerosis. On the other hand, diabetes attains a percentage which is not negligible.

The hearts of Angolans living in the villages under MPLA in-

fluence are not spared. We have noted a few cases of acquired valvular defects, congenital diseases and above all, irreversible cardiac failure of unknown clinical etiology. These are probably cases of endomyocardial fibrosis, a very well known disease peculiar to undernourished Africans, which affects men and women of all ages.

Malignant tumours are not unknown. The liver is the organ most affected. These are single or multiple hepatomas or colangiomas which may appear unexpectedly or show immediate signs of portal hypertension, obstructive icterus which always soon ends with the death of the patient in a state of cachexia. Children under twelve years are not exempt from early cancer of the liver. But it is men between the ages of 30 and 50 who are most often victims of this disease.

Under-nourishment is a constant in Angolan villages. There is an almost total lack of meat, irregular meals are based on carbohydrates with a rather low calorie content and there is no salt to be found. This, together with customs, the tradition of the healer and the supernatural evocations associated with peasants, aggravates the high rate of infant mortality. Children are affected by haemolytic anaemia with falciform cells and by kwashiorkor, which takes the form of a deficiency in vitamins B1, C, D and PP, with oedema from hypoproteinaemia.

Measles heads the list of infectious diseases. Most newborn babies which contract measles die as a result of dehydration caused by uncontrollable diarrhoea and pulmonary complications.

Most of the women are sterile. This may be related to the early age of marriage. We find some married women to be under the age of puberty!

Cutaneous afflictions also give rise to complex situations, especially the tropical ulcer when it results in extensive sores which become infected and may even attain the bone, sometimes resulting in spontaneous amputation.

It can therefore be seen that all these diseases cause us difficult and sometimes insoluble problems because neither the quantitative nor the qualitative development of our medical services is sufficient to cope with them. We lack hospitals, means of transport, medicines and other equipment indispensable to the treatment of patients.

We have planned the following programme for 1970 with the aim of improving and extending medical care in the areas under the political and military influence of the MPLA:

1. A mass vaccination campaign
2. expanding the school and training cadres
3. Building a 30-bed hospital
4. Increasing the number of field dispensaries

This will mean aid from the countries which have traditionally shown solidarity with the Angolan people's struggle and from all freedom-loving people and men of good will. Aid should be based on our most pressing needs, which are as follows: Ambulance jeeps, transport jeeps, hospital equipment, material for the school of cadres; anatomical charts, skeletons, anatomical models, school material, medical documentation. Scholarships for further training for doctors, medical assistants and qualified nurses. Clothing and tinned foodstuffs.

All aid should be addressed to:

SAM — MPLA
P. O. BOX 1595
LUSAKA — ZAMBIA

VICTORY IS CERTAIN

The Medical Assistance Service.
December 1969. -

Portugal, South Africa and Brazil are Preparing a South Atlantic Pact

(Conclusion of article in last issue)

THESE three countries have similar economic and political structures, providing highly profitable conditions for foreign investment. Moreover, they have tremendous natural resources. The imperialist, and especially the American imperialist foothold there is enormous; it is increasing and has great possibilities for further development. It was therefore to be expected that the United States should wish to establish a special strategy for this vast region, which includes the southern part of the American continent, Southern Africa and Oceania.

There is every reason to believe that the United States is behind all these projected military pacts for the southern hemisphere, whether for South America, Southern Africa and Oceania, or only for the South Atlantic.

But what role can Portugal play in all this?

In the first place, Portugal is one of the most loyal members of NATO, if not the most loyal. As a NATO member, it grants the United States and Germany facilities for the use of bases on its territory and receives sub-

stantial aid from these countries and from France. (Needless to say, this aid is used for the colonial war.) Secondly, Portugal still retains its colonies, which are in what are looked upon by the West as strategic regions.

Indeed, Mozambique and Angola are countries, with great resources which share frontiers with other extremely rich mining countries. Cape Verde constitutes an important maritime and air crossroads. Finally, by making NATO accept its idea of the need to extend North Atlantic Treaty Organisation activities to the South Atlantic and elsewhere, Portugal is further dragging the other members into the colonial war and strengthening its own position within NATO.

In other words, the sharpening of the contradictions of imperialism is making the imperialist countries, headed by the United States, adopt increasingly reactionary policies, to the extent that they have now aligned themselves with the anachronistic policies of ultra-colonialist Portugal.

It is no accident that relations between Portugal and the United States are getting closer and that American military aid to Portugal is being stepped up.

A FEW CONCLUSIONS

1. The advance of the Revolu-

tion in South East Asia, Southern Africa and South America is making imperialism take increasingly extensive repressive measures.

2. Brazil, Portugal and its colonies, South Africa and Australia hold a very important place in the world strategy of the imperialists and of the United States in particular.

As regards the South Atlantic, Portugal and South Africa have a vital interest in the formal establishment of a military pact in this region to try to cope with the revolutionary armed struggle.

4. Very tangible moves have been made by Portugal, South Africa and Brazil with a view to establishing a vast military alliance of reactionary South Atlantic countries.

All the imperialist manoeuvres aimed at forming military pacts or economic alliances in the South Atlantic are doomed to fail when faced with the determination of the revolutionary forces in Southern Africa and Latin America.

To oppose the imperialist front victoriously we must intensify our struggle in that part of the world.

Imperialism will be crushed in the South Atlantic.

ARE WE RICH OR ARE WE POOR

Angolan economy unbalanced

IF WE SAY that Angola is the fourth world producer of diamonds, that it and the Ivory Coast are vying for the position of first African coffee producer, that it is the third world producer of sisal and that it is becoming one of the first African producers of iron ore, we are stating facts which conceal the the profoundly unbalanced development of the country's economy.

When we say unbalanced, we are not referring merely to the gap between the African and colonial economic sectors common to all colonial countries, but we are also referring to the Angolan economy as a whole, where the colonial sector is extremely important, both now and as regards the future, when it will be the heritage bequeathed to the Angolan people by Portuguese colonialism.

Basing ourselves on figures published by the Portuguese colonialists, we shall try to say something about the economic structure of Angola. Let us first take a brief glance at the various branches of the Angolan economy as it is today.

AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY

These are the main activities of the African population, as well as the principal basis of settler prosperity. Agricultural exports amount to an average of 64% of total Angolan exports. Coffee, sisal and maize represent 95% of agricultural exports, and coffee alone 90%. In 1962, this monoculture, with about nine-tenths of production controlled by Europeans, occupied a cultivated area of 525 thousand hectares, all of which was in European hands. Ninety-thousand African wage-earners worked on the plantations.

The sisal estates, which are owned exclusively by Europeans, covered 363 thousand hectares, 133 thousand of which were cultivated and worked by 25,000 African workers in 1967. Maize is grown solely by African cultivators almost everywhere in the country. Most other crops, apart from sugar and cocoa, are cultivated exclusively, or almost exclusively, by Africans (cotton, cassava, palms, beans, groundnuts, tobacco, rice etc.)

It is with regard to the sugar and coffee plantations that one finds the biggest companies having ties with Portuguese finance capital — Companhia do Acucar de Angola, Sociedade Agricola do Cassequel, Sociedade de Comercio e Construcões, Companhia Angolana de Agricultura.

FISHING

The African population engages in intensive fishing in the rivers and lagoons in the interior; also in fish drying. Independent African fishermen are becoming increasingly rare on the seaboard owing to competition from Europeans. In recent years there has been large-scale investment by fishing companies from Portugal, as well as South African capital investment.

MINING INDUSTRY

Until recent years, the mining industry was based essentially on diamond extraction, but since 1966 other sectors have been registering a rise. Petroleum prospecting has been stepped up and manganese ore mining resumed (owing to western needs as a result of US aggression in Vietnam). A start has been made in exporting iron ore. Yet diamonds are still most important, since they hold second place in Angola's total exports.

The number of wage-earners in this industry ranges from 32,000 to 35,000, of whom 28,000 are employed in the diamond industry. The mining industry is virtually in the hands of international trusts. In petroleum, there is Petrangol, a subsidiary



of Petrofina (Belgian), Cabinda Gulf Oil Company, a subsidiary of Gulf Oil Corp. (USA), Compagnie Francaise de Petroles (CFP) and Angol, a company controlled by the Portuguese company Sacor, in turn controlled by the French CFP.

The companies operating in iron ore extraction are the Companhia Mineira do Lobito, which is financed by Krupp (German), but which has numerous as yet little known ties with international capital; Companhia do Manganese de Angola (iron and manganese) linked with West German capital, and Companhia do M'Bassa. In diamond mining there is Diamang, which is rather well known for its ties with South African, Belgian, British, American and other capital, but since 1961 prospecting rights have been granted to South African companies.

Copper extraction, which has been stepped up since 1961, was previously carried out by a subsidiary of the powerful Portuguese trust CUF, the Empresa do Cobre de Angola, which is now linking up with Japanese capital to resume mining. A subsidiary of the Anglo-American Corporation, the Exploracoes Mineiras Africanas, prospected for copper recently.

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

This is a somewhat developed sector in comparison with what existed in most African countries at the time of independence. This is due to the existence of a relatively large settler population which had to be self-sufficient locally because of the industrial weakness of its metropole, especially prior to 1960. As in every colonial country, the food and beverages industries are the most developed in Angola.

The fish processing industry is important, as are the cement and building materials industry. Petrol refining meets the country's needs. The metal industry has developed in recent years because of the requirements of the Portuguese army.

In the past few years, Portuguese industrial concerns have been taking over the major industries previously in settler hands. A survey carried out in 1964 gave the number of wage-earners as 30,000, but it must have attained 40,000 by now.

BUILDING AND PUBLIC WORKS

In 1965, the building sector again reached the rate of construction of the years preceding 1961, but it is beginning to register another fall. Owing to the needs of the Portuguese army,

road construction has greatly increased since 1961. A few big Portuguese firms have established themselves in Angola in recent years. This sector employed more than 40,000 wage-earners in 1964 and must employ more than 50,000 now.

POWER

Electricity output and distribution in the north and centre south is controlled by two combines — Sonefe and Hidro-Elctrica do Alto Catumbela, with a high percentage of Portuguese finance capital. In the south, production and distribution are done by the State, which is planning to construct new dams in association with South Africa.

COMMERCE AND BANKING

Exports, imports and wholesale trade are in the hands of big Portuguese, British and Belgian companies, and a few settlers. Retail trade is almost entirely in European hands (African traders are virtually non-existent). Since 1961, three new banks have been established in Angola: Bancodo Credito Commercial e Industrial (controlled by the Portuguese bank Borges & Iramao), Totta Standard (founded by the Portuguese bank Totta-Alianza and the Standard Bank of South Africa? Standard Bank) and Pinto & Sotto Mayor bank (a subsidiary of the bank with the same name in Portugal).

The Banco de Angola and the Banco Commercial de Angola (controlled by Banco Portugueso do Atlantico in Portugal) already existed before 1961. These two banks have already associated themselves with a South African trust to found the Bank of Lisbon and South Africa, operating in South Africa and Lisbon. In short, there are five banks in Angola at present. The number of wage-earners in commerce and banking must be more than 30,000, most of them Europeans.

TRANSPORT, WAREHOUSING AND COMMUNICATIONS

Road transport is provided by individual settler vehicle owners and by small and medium-sized firms belonging to Europeans. Major air links within Angola and with South West Africa are done by a State-owned company, while lesser air traffic is undertaken by small firms. There are two State-owned railways, the Luanda to Malanje line in the north and the Mocamedes to Menongue (Serpa Pinto) line in the South. The Benguela Railway crosses Angola and serves

MPLA INDO-CHINA SOLIDARITY

ON 6 MAY 1970, the Executive Committee of the MPLA issued a statement on the Conference of Indochinese Peoples, attended by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. As the historic importance and the total success of this meeting have already been amply demonstrated, it now only remains for the MPLA to congratulate the heroic peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos on this further step towards the defeat of imperialism in South East Asia.

The Joint Declaration of the Peoples of Indochina is eloquent proof of the Indochinese peoples' resolve not to lay down their arms until Yankee imperialism is totally defeated in South East Asia and of their desire to win at whatever cost their right to independence in peace and dignity.

The Angolan people who, under the leadership of the MPLA, are fighting arms in hand to drive Portuguese colonialism from our national territory, are heart and soul with their Indochinese brothers in the struggle until FINAL VICTORY!

Below is the full text of the Statement by the Executive Com-

mittee of the MPLA:

STATEMENT

The Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples was held on 24 and 25 April 1970.

During this historic conference, the Cambodian, Laotian and Vietnamese peoples, through their respective delegations, reaffirmed their intention firmly to oppose American aggression in Indochina, and once again outlined the objectives of their heroic struggle: independence, neutrality, the banning of all foreign troops or foreign military bases on their soil, non-participation in any military alliance whatsoever and the banning of the use of their territory by any foreign country against another country.

The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which is also engaged in a war of national liberation, avails itself of this opportunity once again to reaffirm its unconditional solidarity with the heroic peoples of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam and to assure them of its full support.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE MPLA



Katanga. It is controlled by Tanganyika Concessions.

The number of wage-earners in transport and communications must now be more than 35,000.

SERVICES

Most services are provided by small companies. The highest number of wage-earners is to be found in domestic work, followed by public services. It is hard to estimate the present number of wage-earners in this sector, but there were more than 40,000 in 1964, which put it in third place as regards the number of employees.

From this brief outline, it can be noted that the main branches of the Angolan economy are in the hands of Europeans (either settlers or local Portuguese firms and metropolitan and international companies). Angolans work for the settlers in the mines and factories, or on the land, either directly, on European estates, or indirectly by being subject to the prices the European traders fix for their produce. The wealth created by Angolans goes either into the pockets of the settlers or abroad, without the African wage-earner or cultivator deriving any social or other benefits from it.

But the capitalist economy in Angola — the future heritage of the Angolan people — is very

vulnerable and could easily collapse under the effect of external factors, even if it were able to develop normally internally (which is quite impossible, owing to the spread of the armed struggle led by the MPLA).

Angola's foreign trade is concentrated on ten imperialist countries — Portugal, the United States, Federal Germany, Britain, the Netherlands, France, Sweden, Italy and Japan, in addition to South Africa since 1966. The first five countries control three-quarters of Angola's foreign trade. Therefore, any serious lowering of raw materials prices these countries might impose would seriously affect the capitalist economy in Angola.

Indeed, Angolan exports rely on a few products the prices of which are susceptible to considerable fluctuation: coffee, sisal, maize, fish meal, cotton, timber and iron. Together with diamonds, these products constituted 80% of the total value of Angolan exports in 1967. But most important is the fact that coffee alone represents 52% of this figure, and diamonds 16% of Angola's exports, and that the price of one of these commodities, coffee, has long been menaced.

Colonialist newspapers noted

(Continued in Page 6)

THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN MOZAMBIQUE

"THE CENTRAL Committee's meeting is always an important event in the life of our Organisation". That is how the editorial in No. 43 of Mozambique Revolution, FRELIMO's official publication, begins.

From 9 to 14 May 1970, the Central Committee of FRELIMO met to analyse the situation and study the problems arising from the national liberation struggle in Mozambique.

That meeting held by the FRELIMO C.C. was undoubtedly one of the most important, if not the most important, since the barbarous assassination of Dr. Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, president of FRELIMO, on 3 February 1969. One of the problems dealt with at the meeting of the Central Committee was that of centralising the organisation's leadership.

The establishment of a Presidential Council, in April 1969, solved the problem in the difficult period which followed President Mondlane's death. When the situation returned to normal, this solution was no longer useful.

The Central Committee therefore decided to elect a President and a Vice-President, so as to give FRELIMO a strong leadership which might continue to guide the Mozambican people in their national liberation struggle.

Comrades Samora Moises Machel and Marcelino dos Santos were elected President and Vice-President. Both of them had been members of the Presidential Council.

The Angolan People and the MPLA congratulate the People of Mozambique and FRELIMO

on having successfully come through a very difficult stage, during which the Angolan People and the MPLA never wavered in their support.

At the same time, the armed struggle is developing at an increasingly rapid pace, frustrating the military plans of the Portuguese colonial army.

In recent months, enemy strategy had centred on restoring land communications between military posts, in order to overcome their isolation in the regions controlled by FRELIMO.

This operation, which involved a large number of men as well as vehicles, cost the enemy one plane which was shot down, more than 130 men killed and 17 vehicles destroyed, over a period of five weeks (6 May to 13 June), and this happened in the province of Cabo Delgado alone.

When the operation came to an end, the situation was just as it had been before. The roads were impassable for the colonial army, while FRELIMO was in control of those zones.

At Niassa, FRELIMO stepped up the pace of its operations. **Nine vehicles were destroyed and 45 soldiers killed** between 16 April and 25 May, and this is only a preliminary report.



ANGOLAN ECONOMY UNBALANCED

(Continued from P. 5)

with alarm the deficit in Angola's balance of trade in 1967, the first for many years. The official explanation was the import of equipment for Cabinda Gulf Oil and the Companhia Mineira do Lobito. Whatever the reasons, for the first time in a number of decades, Angola has not been able to sell enough to cover its purchases. Yet, apart from sisal, prices have been steady.

The colonialist press also speaks of the growing external debt to Portugal. Indeed, the transfer of company profits and settlers' savings to Portugal is causing a tremendous deficit in Angola's balance of payments with Portugal; so much so that the colonial government had been forced to impose restrictions on the export of money to Portugal. Otherwise the colony will not have the financial wherewithal to survive. The colonialist government of course hopes to balance its trade and payments by intensifying the extraction and export of iron and petroleum. Large contracts have been signed with Portuguese companies and international groups, and facilities have been granted for investment in the mining industry.

We have said that the capitalist economy in Angola could never withstand a rapid fall in the prices of a few raw materials, among them coffee. Indeed, its structure is based on production for export and for the most immediate needs of the colonial sector, while in recent years it has been providing for the needs of the Portuguese colonial army in Angola. The ultra-anarchistic nature of capital investment is glaringly apparent in Angola.

The slightest sign of high profits in certain fields leads to a rush to invest in those fields, and the subsequent ruin of most of the investors a few months or years later. As an underdeveloped capitalist economy set up for plunder, living off the plunder of the semi-slave labour of African workers, it cannot produce much. Its characteristics are a lack of large and regular investment, lack of equipment, low productivity and unbridled competition.

This is the economy that the Angolan people will have to re-fashion. In our liberation struggle led by the MPLA, we are now creating the means for making our people the future masters of our country's wealth and for rebuilding the Angolan economy along entirely new lines.

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SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF GUINEA, CAPE VERDE ISLANDS AND THE PAIGC

THE PORTUGUESE colonial army has latterly sustained heavy losses in Guinea Bissau.

The weekly communique's issued by the Portuguese military command in Guinea Bissau no longer trouble to conceal the truth about their defeats... Impotent, assailed on every side by the fighting impetus of the PAIGC guerrillas, the Portuguese soldiery are devising new forms of savagery each day.

The ideal targets for the Portuguese air force are hospitals, schools and TABANCAS (villages) in the liberated areas. On 2 February 1970, the Portuguese air force bombed a school in the liberated area of Iador, killing eight children and wounding seventeen.

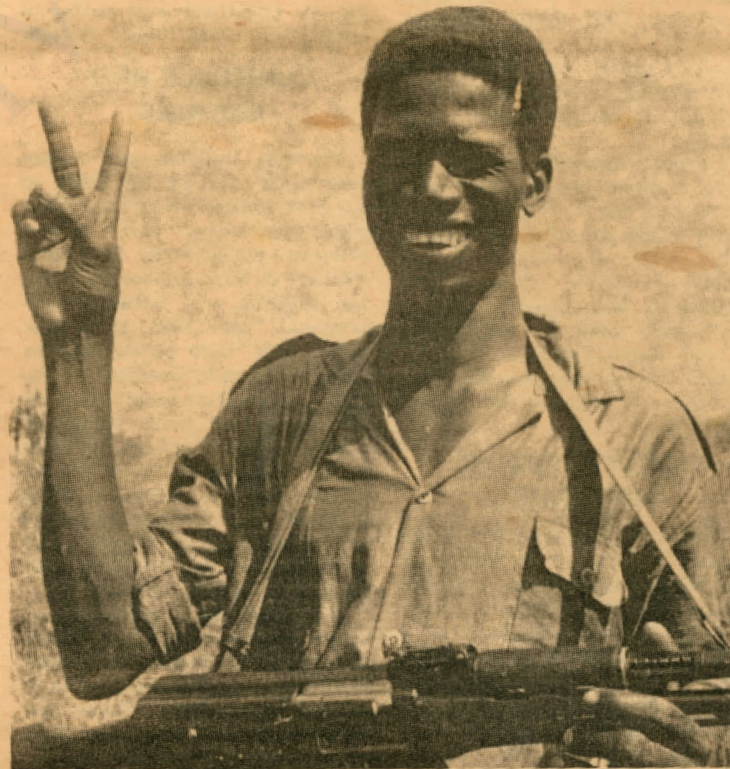
On 30 March 1970, another school was the target of savage attacks by the Portuguese air force. Another seven children

were killed and eight wounded in the Tambico area.

These desperate acts committed by the Portuguese colonialists provide definite evidence that the struggle of the sister nation of Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands is steadily advancing towards victory, under the leadership of the PAIGC.

Recently the Portuguese air force made bombing attacks on the frontiers of Senegal and Guinea Conakry, on the pretext that those two independent countries were PAIGC "bases"!

This Portuguese reaction only shows the manifest incapacity of the Portuguese army to contend with the heroic PAIGC fighters and the Guinean people's determination to defend liberty in the two-thirds of the national territory already freed from colonialism.



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FACTS ON THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

THE COMPLEXITY of the current international situation, which is characterized by the constantly intensifying aggressiveness of imperialism, complicates the tasks of the national liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Despite the intensifying struggle of the exploited and oppressed people against their exploiters and oppressors, there are obstacles in the way of an early victorious end to that struggle.

Many formerly subjugated people have liberated themselves already, and imperialism was subsequently forced to seek new forms of domination and exploitation, not shrinking from resorting to even more barbaric forms of violence. Despite defeats, imperialist aggression continues, therefore. Our world is experiencing an era of colonial wars, of the consolidation of fascist and racist regimes, of the resurgence of right-wing extremist movements, of the establishment of puppet regimes of unabashed disregard for human rights, of armed aggression against peaceable peoples, of disregard for the United Nations Charter and other international agreements.

The war American imperialism is waging on two fronts against the heroic Vietnamese people has assumed dimensions evidencing only too clearly the criminal nature of the American warmongers. The patriotic selflessness of the courageous Vietnamese people in the north and in the south of that country could alone thwart the sinister plans of the aggressors.

Despite the international tension which the imperialists are trying to aggravate, new forces and new potentialities are arising everywhere.

Even in the United States the struggle of the American black population is experiencing a new upsurge which assumed additional dimensions as a result of the assassination of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King.

In Latin America, where Cuba continues to defend itself passionately against the American aggressors' blockade, the masses of the exploited proclaim their determination to frustrate the exploitation of their countries and build up social orders strong enough to resist the Americans who are robbing them of their riches.

Africa, which in the past ten years has seen some thirty countries gaining independence, is now becoming the scene of continuous confrontations between the revolutionary forces and the forces of imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism. Independence was in most cases achieved under conditions of almost complete economic dependence, the serious and harmful effects of which made themselves felt immediately. In most of the newly independent African states, new forms of imperialist exploitation developed and intensified, to the great disadvantage of the people of those countries who are

SOUTHERN AFRICA



forced to work for the growing dividends of the big companies which still control the markets, fix the prices and pocket the lion's share of all profits.

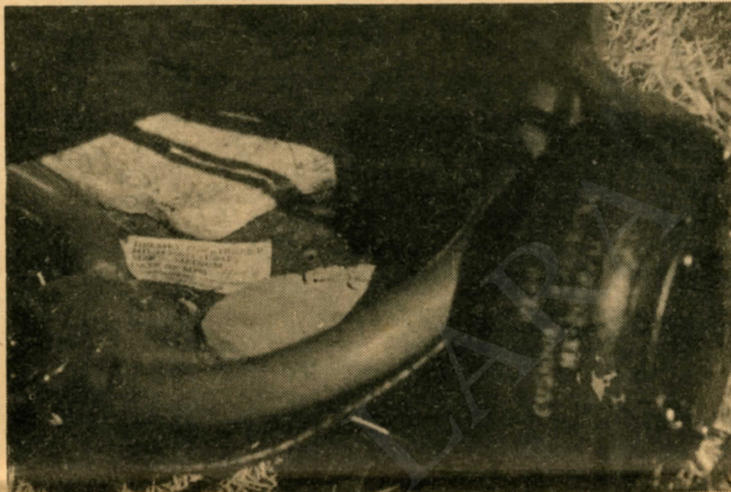
Thus Africa remains the supplier of cheap raw materials and a market for the industries of the western powers.

France, Great Britain and Portugal promote the infiltration of new "partners" in Africa, a fact which has resulted in new struggle for influence on the Continent, for the maintenance of old positions and for the conquest of new markets.

Through huge investment, generous credits and increased, dubious technological aid, the United States and West Germany have been able to expand their influence. The struggle for a new division of the African continent is becoming more and more evident every day. One after the other the African stooges are removed in the different countries and on different occasions, depending on the strength of the different powers. All means are being used — scandalous corruptions, threats, blackmail and war. The BBC, the Voice of America, the Voice of (West) Germany, and RTF transmit different programmes to Africa listeners in an eternal attempt to outdo each other.

The young African nations are still helpless vis-a-vis all of these stratagems mainly because of the difficulties of taking the management of their economy into their own hands. In their efforts to achieve economic stability, the African countries frequently fail because of involved domestic policy problems. The situation in Nigeria is an obvious example of this fact.

Over and above this, because of unequal trading conditions, the so-called economic aid of the developed countries is not designed to correct the inequality in the trade relations between the African countries and the western powers. This aid, in



the main, means the export to the developing countries of surplus products or those which do not find other customers.

At the recent United Nations conference on trade and development (UNCTAD) attention was drawn to the deterioration of the critical situation resulting from the unequal trade relations between the so-called developed and the emergent countries. The latter are trying in vain to free themselves from the influence of the highly developed states or at least reduce this influence to a minimum. Regional groupings have been formed, but the influence of one or the other economic power is still making itself felt.

The future of the whole of the African continent will be determined in Southern Africa, because a number of political, economic and social conditions have resulted in the development there of a revolutionary situation which is bound to be decisive to the complete emancipation of the African countries, Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, South West Africa, Swaziland, the Republic of South Africa and Zambia cover an area of almost six million square kilometres with some 50 million inhabitants, that is one-fifth of the population

of Africa.

Together with the adjoining Congo Kinshasa, Southern Africa has abundant riches from which only the big international monopolies, with their seats in Washington, Paris, London, Frankfurt-on-Main, Brussels, Rome, Tokyo, Madrid, are profiting, whereas the working people of Southern Africa are living under the most discriminatory, colonial and racist laws and in many cases under conditions reminiscent of slavery. And this is the case despite the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and at a time when the United Nations have declared 1968 Human Rights Year.

Although Zambia has in the almost four years of its independence been advancing on a road allowing it to enjoy a privileged place among the Southern African states, its destiny remains linked with that of the other nine countries still languishing under the yoke of the white colonialists and racialists. This interconnection, which is a heavy burden on Lesotho, Malawi, Botswana and Swaziland, as well as the brutal exploitation by the Portuguese ultra-colonialists and by the white racialists in the Republic of South Africa and in Rhodesia, are having a strong effect on the entire life of Zambia.

This country adjoining Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, is living under constant pressure and threats from the colonialist and racist bloc on which it is economically dependent. The threats against Zambia do not let up. The Portuguese colonial rulers hold Zambia responsible for the acts of sabotage against the Benguela railway which that country is using for its copper transport.

The Labour Minister of the illegal Ian Smith regime stated that the construction of the Lusaka Dar es Salaam railway with Chinese aid constitutes a threat to the colonialist-racist bloc and should be reacted to correspondingly. The South African Defence Minister Botha threatens to initiate military action or sanctions against Zambia which the racist colonial bloc accuses of harbouring patriots from Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, the

Republic of South Africa and South West Africa, and allowing them free passage.

Zambia is therefore facing the dangerous hatred of the Salazar Vorster-Smith alliance alone since President Kaunda's appeals for a defence pact and the establishment of a joint command with the neighbouring African states have not met with any response. The three conferences of Central and East African countries have not succeeded in developing a system which could protect Zambia in the case of an attack from the racialists.

Bearing in mind that communicating roads to Tanzania, which is still the safest country for the outlet of Zambia's production, have not been built yet, and bearing in mind the Kariba Dam on Rhodesian territory, it is understandable that most of Zambia's power supplies come from Rhodesia. President Kaunda told a Times correspondent: "It is as though we are in a canoe on the Zambezi drifting with no hope of help towards the waterfall. The stream is plunging us into the danger and we do not yet know who is going to save us."

In Rhodesia, however, Finance Minister Wrathall informs "parliament" that the rate of growth of the gross national product has reached 8.6 per cent and that the deficit in the balance of payments has been reduced to 60 per cent, thanks to a considerable foreign exchange income of 9.1 million Rhodesian pounds, six million of which had been invested by South Africa.

Over and above this, trade was showing a positive balance amounting to 7 million pounds, agricultural production had increased by 5 per cent, and mining output had in the same period risen by about one million pounds. The minister added that despite sanctions, a new economic upsurge was expected for 1969.

Tanzania's Ambassador Malecela declared before the United Nations as far back as November 1967, that not only the Republic of South Africa and Portugal were responsible for the sanctions against Rhodesia remaining ineffective. He drew attention to the fact that Rhodesia's exports to the United States had increased by 5 per cent in the first three months of 1967 as compared to 1966, to Switzerland by 71 per cent in 1967, and to West Germany by 64 per cent.

Trade relations with France rose by 100 per cent, with Netherlands by 50 per cent and with Japan by 38 per cent. In addition, information on oil supplies was given to prove that many other countries were also in favour of a boycott, but were at the same time maintaining direct or indirect trade relations with the Vorster and Smith regimes.

The boycott had thus proved a bluff, perpetuating the existing situation.

The Zapu and the ANC patriots, being fully aware of their responsibility, decided to take up arms in view of the situation, thus changing the problem. Despite immediate aid from the Vorster troops, the struggle in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) caused a wave of panic within the racist colonialist bloc. Ian Smith himself admitted that many colonialists abandoned their possessions when operations started.

If we think of the long discussions in UN committees and the many resolutions passed over almost a quarter of a century in connection with South West Africa, one is tempted to wish that the UN would discontinue these discussions, for this might be the only possible way of speeding up the liberation of that area.

The arrogance of the Vorster regime, which is no different from that of its predecessors, is justified when taking into consideration its conviction that the UN

(Continued on Page 8)



SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

(Continued from Page 7)

will never take military action. As far back as in 1949, South Africa was able to violate the international agreements on South West Africa with impunity, to annex the territory as a fifth province and to introduce apartheid there.

In reaction to armed action by the South West African patriots, the Vorster regime passed the Terrorism Act in 1967 under which patriots were liable to be sentenced to death when they fell into their hands.

This is evidence of the fact that the Republic of South Africa is continuing to expand its machinery of oppression. But it is also preparing itself to keep the Southern African countries under control and using them as stepping-stones for the domination of other already independent African countries.

The theoreticians of apartheid and of the economic expansion of the Republic of South Africa do not conceal their intentions. They are moving towards a trade pact between South Africa, Angola, Rhodesia, Mozambique, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

Under the prevailing conditions, the leading role in such an economic zone will fall to the Republic of South Africa, which is already looking as far afield as such countries as Congo-Kinshasa and Kenya, where South African capital has already been invested. Taking this aim into consideration, a new plot has been hatched by the white racists in the Republic of South Africa, designed to win the sympathy of most African states with advantageous promises and by making use of the reactionary nature of certain regimes.

The Republic of South Africa is today the main base of imperialism in Africa, and it is even making efforts to contest the other imperialist powers' right to certain spheres of influence. In view of their consolidated economic position, the white racists of the Republic of South Africa will not hesitate to use their military power, which they are already expanding, in a similar way to Hitler, so as to force puppet regimes upon its neighbouring countries.

Minister Botha of the Republic of South Africa stated in a recent speech that his country was already in a position to produce all the weapons it needs. It is also well known that in the field of nuclear research the Republic

of South Africa has greatly advanced and is even close to producing atomic bombs.

Technological, industrial and economic developments in the Republic of South Africa in the past few years provide fresh evidence that the boycott policy has failed. Direct foreign investments in the Republic of South Africa in 1967 exceeded 3,479 thousand million rand (1 rand 1.40 US dollars). The extent of foreign trade induced the Dresdner Bank to open a branch in Johannesburg.

The expansionist efforts of the Pretoria government have already resulted in some minor successes with its nervous neighbours who are afraid of being swallowed up by the economic power of the Republic of South Africa and its Portuguese and Rhodesian allies.

This also explains why the present leaders of Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi have become the heralds of the expansionist aspirations of the Republic of South Africa. Evi-

electric power stations supplying South African industry.

The forms of racist oppression and exploitation used by the Portuguese colonialists are assuming new proportions, directed not only towards exploiting the Africans but towards attempts to make them "people on the periphery", the same as under apartheid.

Portuguese colonialism has been trying to deprive the Africans of all opportunities of development. For this reason the African population has been systematically denied education, health protection and other progressive amenities. They have been merely considered as manpower.

When the armed revolt broke out in Angola, the Portuguese colonialists introduced phoney reforms to prevent a link-up between the people of Angola and the liberation movement, and to make the world and the Angolans believe that slavery would now be changed into conditions under



dence of this is that Malawi, for instance, is consolidating its economic and political relations with the Republic of South Africa and with Portugal.

Within this framework mutual visits of the two Foreign Ministers to Lisbon and to Zomba have already taken place. Malawi recently negotiated the sale of its shares in the trans-Zambia railway to Portugal for 150,000 pounds sterling. Portugal on the other hand promised to extend the railway line from Nacala to the Malawi line so as to create an easier connection to the Indian Ocean.

Over and above this, Malawi is going to profit from the huge Cabora-Bassa dam, which will be the biggest dam in Africa, now under construction in Mozambique (with South African capital) to ease the lack of hydro-

which the Africans would enjoy the very same rights as the colonialists.

But time exposed this clumsy stratagem of the Portuguese colonialists. Only with the revolution, however, did the men and women of Angola become enthusiastically aware of the fact that they had become human beings able to achieve goals in the interests of liberating their homeland.

Portuguese colonialism, which is unable to check the growing revolution by its own means, is increasingly urging international monopolies to make investments in the areas still under its rule.

This fact, one of the most important characteristics of the colonial policy presently pursued by Portugal, has resulted in a permanent race between the

monopolies of the imperialist countries for the riches of Angola and Mozambique.

Portugal is pocketing the interests from this exploitation, which help it cover a considerable part of the cost of its colonial war. Angolan iron ore alone, which is being exploited by the Krupp trust, gives the colonial government some 37,000 US dollars per day.

Since the problem of financing the war has been half-solved in this way, Portugal has tried to settle the question of active co-operation (at the very site of armed struggle) with the Republic of South Africa and with Rhodesia, which are also affected by the smouldering fire in Southern Africa. This secretly arranged co-operation is taking on increasingly tangible dimensions.

As far back as April 1966 Salazar came out openly in support of the racist Smith regime, his potential ally in the planned expansion of the armed struggle in Southern Africa. Portugal and the Republic of South Africa were later the only countries in the United Nations to vote against sanctions against the Ian Smith regime.

The fact that the Salazar-Vorster-Smith alliance came about rather secretly did not however escape observers. The "tripartite council", which frequently brings together high-ranking officers from Portugal, Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa, in Luanda, Pretoria, Salisbury or Lourenco-Marques, was established after more than a dozen mutual visits by delegations of Portuguese, Rhodesian and South African ministers in the course of the past two years.

Allow me to draw your attention to the fact that as far back as February 1962 officers of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force in Salisbury received officers of the 2nd Air Force Division of Angola to conspire against the liberation movement. Only recently information leaked about joint exercises of Salazar's and Smith's troops on the Mozambican border, clumsily explained by a Portuguese spokesman as being joint fire-brigade exercises. Military co-operation also covers road-building and the construction of airports in order to facilitate troop movements between Angola, Rhodesia and Mozambique.

NATO continues to be an essential factor for supporting Portugal in her colonial wars and is thus strengthening the colonialist-racist alliance. West Germany is playing the most active role within NATO, by economically and militarily supporting the "Tripartite Council". In 1967, West German Federal Republic monopolies invested 30 million US dollars in the Republic of South Africa. West Germany is also the best trading partner of Rhodesia and Portugal.

West Germany, which is superseded at present by the oil trusts ruled by American, French, British and Belgian capital which are exploiting the mineral oil in Angola and Mozambique, is trying to force her way in there. Together with SACOR and OLIVA (Portuguese firms) the West German firm "Schwelmer Eisenwerk Mueller & Co." has built a factory in northern Portugal (Guimaraes) for the production of gasoline tanks and gas cylinders.

West German military experts are actively supporting every country in the colonialist-racist alliance and are supplying them

with large quantities of war material.

By giving military and economic support to each of these three criminal regimes France is also taking an active part in the strengthening of the colonialist and racist bloc. This is a fact which gives the lie to the anti-colonialist reputation that country has gained in Africa in the last few years.

US imperialism, with its immense capital and subversive organisations, including the CIA, is contributing to the strengthening of the "Tripartite Council" against the patriots of Southern Africa. The Cabinda Gulf Oil Company has invested 13 million US dollars in Angola alone for the exploitation of petroleum. The American trusts exploiting mineral oil in Mozambique intend to invest 15 million dollars there in the next three years.

The "Tripartite Council" is trying to create an economic base of its own. Therefore an economic union of the Southern African countries has been repeatedly proposed as the best guarantee for a politico-military alliance against the liberation movements in Southern Africa and for the expansionist tendencies of the Republic of South Africa.

In spite of these facts the national liberation struggle in Southern Africa is gaining in extent and intensity.

In Angola the enemy's war reports can no longer conceal a considerable intensification of military operations.

The appeal to extend the armed struggle is being enthusiastically supported by broad sections of the people in the four areas comprising eight of the fifteen districts of Angola, where military operations are led by the MPLA. The number of regions backing the appeal is growing unceasingly, and fighting is going on as little as 50 kilometres from the capital (northern front), and 60 kilometres from the district capital of Mexico (which is more than 500 kilometres from the border with Zambia), over an extent of 800 kilometres.

The extension of the fighting fronts brought about organisational problems for the population in the areas controlled by the guerrillas. At present the MPLA is engaged in setting up organs of people's power. It sets up people's councils, which are to guarantee administration at sector, zone and regional level, and establishes production and trade centres. In several regions, people's militia units have been set up, and medical centres, schools and training centres for revolutionary cadres are in operation.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

War communiqué

FIFTH REGION

Following to the letter the MPLA order to generalise the armed struggle throughout the national territory, violent combats have taken place in the centre of the country, in the district of Bie, which constitutes the 5th Politico-Military Region of MPLA.

Thus, in the month of March, our forces carried out several rushes against colonial-fascist troops from the barracks of Mumbwe, resulting in about 30 enemy casualties.

These actions in the centre of the country are producing panic among the fascists, who feel incapable of deterring the advance of MPLA toward the Atlantic Ocean. Inversely, the Angolan peoples still under enemy control feel increasingly confident and are employing all means to contact our guerrillas and enter the regions controlled by us.

Victory is certain!

THE STEERING
COMMITTEE OF MPLA.
War Communiqué No. 8/70,
Angola.
11/7/70.



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

TO :