



ANGOLA in ARMS

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PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA



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PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

COMPATRIOTS! COMRADES!

Today our Movement is completing 15 years of life. A life of continuous action, of constant growth and victories.

Our People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the heroic vanguard of the fighting Angolan people, has been successfully leading the armed struggle for national liberation for more than ten years, winning for the Angolan people not only freedom in one part of our national territory, but also the respect and esteem of other peoples, new and more just relations at the international level, affirming in a today uncontested way its political personality in the world, quite distinct from that of Portugal, as is felt by its citizens, who never think of themselves as Portuguese. We are and always shall be Angolans. Never Portuguese.

The founding of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, marked by the clandestine publication in Luanda of a Political Manifesto on 10 December 1956, was the sign of a historic change in our people's attitude towards colonialism, expressing the Angolan people's deep-seated desire to struggle for independence. About four years later, on 4 February 1961, the armed struggle of resistance against shameful slavery, for freedom and democracy, was started.

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

It required several years of clandestinity, using various forms of action, to mobilise the most conscious part of the Angolan nation and to go over to open confrontation with the Portuguese occupiers.

After fifteen years' experience of revolutionary struggle, our Movement prides itself on having built itself up from the North to the South of the country, embracing all classes and social strata in fraternal unity in the struggle for independence and dignity.

Guerrilla war was organised and is inflicting signifi-

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

cant losses on the enemy, both in lives and equipment. Military activity in Cabinda, Cuanza-Norte, Luanda, 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 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 coopera-

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tion between men of different races. We are not against the white man simply because he is white. We are against racist and colonialist whites.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

with the Angolan people, by their recognising that our desire for independence is just and respecting our right to determine our own affairs. Today everyone is suffering because of the war, because of the disastrous policy of Lisbon, which has taken the road of repression.

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

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

So long as shells have not yet started to explode in the big towns, so long as commercial firms, banks and vehicles have not started to blow up in the urban centres, so long as the soldier still knows where the rear is, this is the time to safeguard lives and property.

COMPATRIOTS,

COMRADES,

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

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

prepared to endure a protracted war.

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

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

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

The colonialists' crime of using chemical agents on our crops has not lessened our production efforts.

Support from abroad is an important factor in our struggle. In recent years international support for our people's struggle has become increasingly broad-based. Practising an independent policy, our Movement is not subordinated to the policy of any other country or bloc of countries. Because of this line we are today able to maintain friendly relations with different countries in the world, both socialist and capitalist. One of the principles guiding our relations with other countries and political organisations is that each 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

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THE REVOLUTION IN ANGOLA

Life histories and documents from guerrilla war

A book written by DON BARNETT and ROY HARVEY

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

Message from President Agostino Neto

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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?

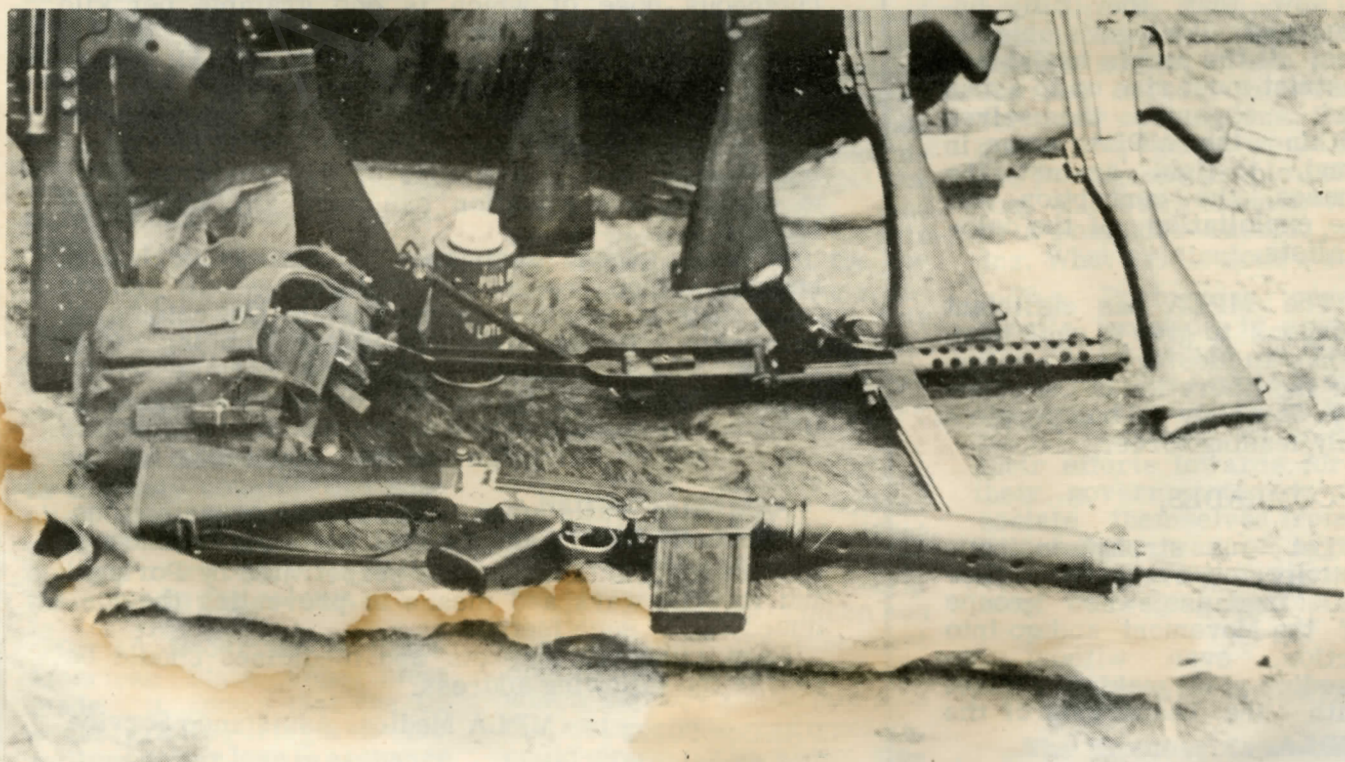
COMPATRIOTS,

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 cur-

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Arms captured by our Liberation forces.

President Agostino's message

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rents subordinated to imperialism which, under the cover of more or less progressive watchwords, are merely delaying our victory.

The MPLA is prepared to accept in its ranks all those who admit the mistakes they have made. They will be well received and will rid themselves of their present anxiety.

The 15 years of our Movement's activity have taught us to adopt a policy of clemency, even towards captured soldiers or those who come of their own free will to ask for the MPLA's protection. The MPLA will give those who leave the unjust war the necessary facilities to establish new conditions of life.

The people in the Angolan district of Cabinda have already realised the mistake they were about to make by accepting the Portuguese government's wily proposals. Alexandre Taty, Nzita Tiago and other traitors who still held illusions ruined themselves through their opportunism.

Now that they fully understand Portugal's objectives, all the people in Cabinda district must rise up to a man and organise themselves within the MPLA, arms in hand, to fight against the abuses, the corruption and the exploitation of the colonialists.

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

COMRADES,

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

Many MPLA groups para-

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

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

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

villages and towns.

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

On this historic date when we are celebrating the 15th anniversary of the founding of our Movement, we are happy to affirm that there are no cannon, helicopters or defoliants capable of shaking our people's will. Colonialism will be defeated. An era of cooperation between all will be achieved.

OUR VICTORY IS CERTAIN

URGENT APPEAL

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

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

- 2, 4 D (2,4 dichlorophenoxyacetic acid)
- 2,4,5, T (2,4,5, trichlorophenoxyacetic acid)

-- cacodylic acid

-- picloram (made by the Dow Chemical Company under the commercial name of Tordon).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE NIXON-POMPIDOU MEETING IN THE AZORES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VICTORY IS CERTAIN

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

Message from Comrade Lucio Lara

Member of the Executive Committee of

the M.P.L.A.

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

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

Thank you for having come here today.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For fifteen years now in Angola, the MPLA has been

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

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

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

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

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

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

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14 APRIL
ANGOLAN YOUTH DAY

Message to Liberation Movements

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

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

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

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 savaana regions, when they were able to carry out large numbers of reprisal raids against the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

".....It would be good if the settlers were to understand that it is not in their interests to throw themselves into the arms of South Africa, the United States of America, France or Federal Germany. In this event, they would be as colonised and exploited as us. Their interests can only be protected through the establishment of just relations with the Angolan people, by their recognising that our desire for independence is just and respecting our right to determine our own affairs."

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

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

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

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

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

OUR VICTORY
IS CERTAIN!

Brazzaville
27.12.71.

ANGOLA IN ARMS (English edition)

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War Communique

The population in the far South of Angola has taken up arms against Portuguese colonialism.

Following the watchword issued by the MPLA, "Generalise the armed struggle throughout our national territory", our Movement's militants and our people are seeking to go into action everywhere.

Taking advantage of the favourable circumstances which have existed for some months in South-West Africa (Namibia), where thousands of Angolans recruited by SWANLA (South West African Native Labour Association) work, the population in the far south of Angola has unleashed armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism in co-ordination with the struggle being waged in Namibia against the South African racists.

The region, which corresponds to the present new Cunene District (the southern half of the former Huila District) has been in armed rebellion since 12 January 1972.

This situation became so serious for the Portuguese colonialists that the Governor General of Angola, Colonel Rebocho Vaz, went to this new district in person on 31 January and remained there for a few days to co-ordinate repression.

Thousands of troops, civil defence militia, PIEDGAS agents and auxiliaries and policemen have been transported to the far south of Angola by air.

Specialists in psycho-social action are already on the spot and technicians from the Official Radio are now studying the installation of a broadcasting station in the town of Pereira d'Eca (Njiva) with a view to ensuring full psychosocial action coverage.

Neither the joint repressive action of the Portuguese colonialists and South African racists, nor their psychological manoeuvres, can ever halt the people of Southern Angola in the national liberation struggle.

The Executive Committee of the MPLA urges the valiant people in Southern Angola to persist in their armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism and hails the courageous people of Namibia in their struggle for National Independence.

The Executive Committee

of the MPLA here and now denounces the rabid colonialist and racist repression and vigorously condemns the collusion between the colonialist Portuguese government

and the racist South African government in exterminating African people.

The Executive Committee of the MPLA calls for a vast campaign of international solidarity in order to prevent further massacres planned by the two ultra-reactionary regimes, enemies of Africa.

Extracts from a report sent from Southern Angola by an M.P.L.A. Action Committee

".....On 31 July 1971, the youth of all the schools in Ovamboland issued a manifesto for revolution.

On 1 August, the whole of the Ovambo population chose a flag for the struggle. The manifesto explains to the South African racists that the people want independence. The manifesto is written in English, Afrikaaner and Ovambo. The manifesto was circulated everywhere and there were demonstrations.

The South African racists sent helicopters as a threat. But the Ovambo population was not worried, was not afraid. They are still singing in the streets "Oh Namibia, we want to be delivered from slavery". However, things are getting a little quieter.

In the month of December 1971, all the workers in the towns stopped work. It was a general strike. They are rejecting contract work. They are demanding better wages and returning to Ovamboland.

In the part of Ovamboland which is in Angola, the Portuguese fascists are, as usual, starting to put out propaganda to sow confusion. The Portuguese colonialists are starting to say that the Angolan teach the Ovambo badly, that if the Ovambo follow the ideas of the Angolans they will be courting disaster. In other words, the Portuguese colonialists are starting to preach tribalism, to create divisions.

On 11 December, the Portuguese sent three hundred Angolan soldiers to South-West Africa and to the Cuanhama region, so that they might help the South African troops.

The Ovambo population is rebelling against the presence

of puppet African militiamen sent by the Portuguese.

On 12 January 1972, the Ovambo population of Honguena post, in Angola, rebelled and attacked the puppet African militiamen from other regions of Angola, killing some of them.

On 16 January, two helicopters full of policemen arrived from South Africa. The racist police had come to protect the traditional chiefs who were siding with the Portuguese authorities.

But the rebellion is spreading to the other side of the frontier. On 18 January, the people at the Honguena post in Angola and the Ochicango post in South-West Africa started to burn villages, to cut the barbed wire around sheep-pens and to burn cattle vaccination stations.

That same day, South African troops appeared, well armed, but the revolutionary population is also armed, with machettes, spears, clubs, arrows, axes and other weapons, and they started to fight.

That day four South African racists were grievously wounded and two killed. On the side of the revolutionaries, one was killed by a bullet in the head and two were wounded.

The South African troops asked for help from the Portuguese puppets. The following day, a battalion arrived at the frontier. They opened fire, but there were no victims. There were many arrests.

(Continued on Page 10)

War Communique

(Continued from Page 9)

One of their soldiers was wounded.

The Portuguese fascists arrested people and threw them into prison. Comrades, there is a great struggle here and we all place our trust in the Voice of Fighting Angola and the MPLA.

The Portuguese fascists have already dotted the whole frontier from high up on the Cunene River with their dirty troops. The "Voice of PIDE" and all the other broadcasting stations are already doing their topsy-turvy propaganda, taking the road to hell and not that which leads to peace.

Comrades-in-the-struggle: it is amazing how the fascists' propaganda completely distorts everything.

We members of the MPLA Action Committee hail you and await your instructions.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN

Action Committee Leader
Siliveli Eci Ndinga

Excellency
Ambassador Salim
Ahmed Salim,
Chairman,
Committee of 24
United Nations,
New York

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

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

persistence Portuguese colonialism and fascist racist regime of South Africa. Appeals committee 24 take necessary measures to help Angolan people and to mobilise all anticolonialist forces of world against Portuguese colonialism, South African regime for defence human rights freedom and independence of peoples and nations and peace.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN

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



M.P.L.A. President inside Angola

Excellency
Diallo Telli
General Secretary OAU
Addis Ababa

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

barbaric way. Incapable of facing the armed forces of MPLA Portuguese and South Africans engaged in systematic attacks and massacres against population of villages. Old people women and children have been slaughtered in Cunene District. MPLA denounces these new crimes against Angolan people which are result of persistence Portuguese colonialism and fascist racist regime of South Africa. Appeals OAU take necessary measures to help Angolan people and to mobilise all anticolonialist forces of world against Portuguese colonialism, South African regime for defence human rights freedom and independence of peoples and nations and peace.

Dar es Salaam,

17 February, 1972

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

MPLA

MPLA-DIP branch in Tanzania

PORTUGAL, THE WAR AND THE NEED FOR AN INCENTIVE

PORTUGAL, THE WAR AND THE NEED FOR AN INCENTIVE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

With such forced manoeuvres for salvation, Senhor

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

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

Invalid pensions for the settlers who want to fight.

Rewards for the soldiers who kill and fight.

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

OBSERVER

11 September, 1971.

C ONCEPT OF REVOLUTIONARY EDUCATION

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

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

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

PRIMARY EDUCATION

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

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

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

the children do not start off knowing the Portuguese language.

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

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

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

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

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

LITERACY — AN ARDUOUS TASK

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

TEXTBOOKS NOT ENOUGH

We have produced a literacy textbook, basing our-

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

INTEGRATE THE PUPILS

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

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

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

CREATED SECONDARY EDUCATION

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

(Continued on Page 13)

MOVE TOWARDS EDUCATION

(Continued from Page 12)

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

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

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

NO RECITING OF READY-MADE FORMULAS

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

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

SOCIO-DRAMAS PUT ON BY THE PUPILS

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

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

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

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

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

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

(Continued on Page 16)



POEM — By Eugenia Neto

Weep land burnt by defoliants
Weep fertile sap become sterile
Weep desiccated leaves
Weep too the tilled soil
Weep immense savanas
Spread with moans and weariness
For your sons are dying of hunger and desolation
Raise up for men's eyes
Burnt pulverised branches
As in tellurian hecatombs

And resuscitate the consciousness
of men who defy history

(Oh beloved earth theatre of so much folly!)

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

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

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

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

(But we are dying!)

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

We are dying
Victims of philosophical discord

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

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

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

Listen in the sound of the rivers
To the colossus of pain
Of those who learned to save the lives of others
And weave projects of death
To live and give continuity to their people

Weep for those between two worlds of incomprehension
Hated and not understood
Marching forward
Armed only
With their consciousness

(Arm yourselves with hearts of steel Oh my brothers!)

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

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

Weep the perfume that leaves
The unclasped hands of lovers

For they are far away on the battlefield

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

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

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

(The wall built by our hands
is unmoveable!)

The earth has belonged to you these thousands
of years.

Enough!

Now we shall be
The just of the earth holding the rudder!

And you will see, my brothers
There will be no more war in Angola
The hands of the guerrillas will leave their
weapons
The hands of the Portuguese soldiers
Will go to till the soil
And cover it with flowers

And one day
Not far from that moment
Men who once killed each other
Can build in unity
The future of mankind.

Press release - 1/72

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

In the course of the present official visit to Zambia of the Danish Delegation led by the Danish Foreign Minister, Mr. Knud Andersen, a meeting was held on 13 March with the President of the MPLA, Dr. Agostinho Neto, in the presence of the Zambian Foreign Minister, Mr. Mudenda.

During the discussions, which lasted one hour and thirty minutes, the Danish Foreign Minister reaffirmed his Government's decision to support the African national liberation movements and to finance MPLA projects related to Education and Medical Care.

During his prior visit to Tanzania, the Danish Foreign Minister stated that his Government would grant 6.63 million shillings to the African national liberation movements this year.

15th March, 1972
Dar es Salaam.

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

ANGOLA:

The next Vietnam?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By the African Relief

Services Committee

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

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

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

(Continued on Page 16)

ANGOLA: The Next Vietnam?

(Continued from Page 15)

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

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

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

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

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

The picture drawn here is one of increasing investment

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

DIP Dar es Salaam, March 1972.

Move towards education

(Continued from Page 13)

tions in which there are manifestations of these reactions, which are often subtle and which can greatly affect our personal behaviour. Instead of blaming tribalism, racism or fetishism in an abstract way, one tries to show the way in which they reveal themselves, their mechanisms and their harmful effects. These are some of the important principles of our ideological work, the consistent aim of which is to create the new man. In carrying out its education programmes, the MPLA has already been able to count on the active solidarity of a number of individuals and institutions. However, the magnitude and complexity of the tasks to be fulfilled force us to appeal for further manifestations of solidarity, especially in meeting the following needs:

1 The construction of a school complex at Dolisie, including five blocks (hostel, primary school, secondary school, secre-

tariat and kitchen), with an approximate total number of 50 rooms.

- 2 Equipment for physics, chemistry, zoology, botany and mineralogy laboratories, including wall maps.
- 3 Four Land Rovers (or their equivalent), one of them a van.
- 4 Typewriters with a minimum 50 cm carriage and a keyboard adapted for typing in Portuguese.
- 5 Duplicating machines of the Gestetner type, and accessories.
- 6 Equipment for a hostel: sheets, camp beds, blankets, towels, cutlery, plates, mugs, cooking pots, kettles, tents and rucksacks for 500 persons.
- 7 School material: exercise books, pencils, ball point pens, erasers, coloured pencils, satchels, drawing cases, rulers, set-squares, protractors, and compasses for use on blackboards.

- 8 Equipment for agricultural work, including seeds.
- 9 Sports equipment (football, volleyball, basketball, athletics and chess).
10. An offset litho press and accessories.
- 11 Three-speed tape recorders.
- 12 16 mm cine cameras and appropriate projectors and screens.
- 13 Slide projectors.
14. Two generating sets.
- 15 Supplementary foodstuffs for children (milk, wheat flour, oil and tinned food).

In considering our needs, we request our friends to remember that consignments for secondary education should be addressed to:

DEC/MPLA
B.P. 2353
Brazzaville
Peoples' Republic of Congo

Other consignments can also be sent to:

DEC/MPLA
P.O. BOX 20793
Dar es Salaam
Tanzania

War Communique

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

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

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

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

EASTERN FRONT

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

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

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

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

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

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

SEVERE LOSSES INFLECTED ON THE PORTUGUESE COLONIALIST ARMED FORCES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

post at 1 o'clock in the morning.

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

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

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

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

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

VICTORY IS CERTAIN

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

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

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

MPLA losses: — 6 fighters killed, 13 wounded.

DIP
Lusaka, 30/12/71

WAR COMMUNIQUE

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

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

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

EASTERN FRONT (Northern Sub-Region)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOUTHERN SUB-REGION

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

22/12/71 — A group of

WOMEN'S MEETING

MEETING OF THE BUREAU OF THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION

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

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

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

invitation of the Organisation of Angolan Women (OMA).

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

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

SPECIAL UNESCO PRIZE AWARDED TO OMA

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

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

(Continued on Page 19)

NORTHERN SUB-REGION — AN EVOLVING SITUATION

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

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

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

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

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

As in previous years, the

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

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

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

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

War Communique

(Continued from Page 18)

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

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

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

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

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

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

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

The Executive Committee Of
The M.P.L.A.

Lusaka, DIP, 4/2/72
Dar es Salaam, DIP, 21/2/72
MCB/-

MONTY

War Communique

The recent successes won on the combat fronts have not only raised the morale of our guerrillas, whose technical level is now considerably higher, but they have also had a mobilising effect on the Angolan people, who are steadily and surely increasing their participation and their support for the MPLA fighters, the armed wing of the Angolan people.

On 15 August the Portuguese colonialists suffered heavy losses. A group of Katangese mercenaries accompanying the occupation troops also suffered high losses. The remainder took refuge in the Congo, heading for the Dilolo-Gare frontier.

At dawn on 18 August, the MPLA fighting forces launched a violent attack on the Lutembo (Third Region) barracks. This operation, which lasted 35 minutes, was part of the combined operation entitled "In Memory of the Martyrs". The operation involved a simultaneous attack on the barracks and the installations of the puppet special groups, together with the sabotaging of the bridge over the Lufuta river, on the road linking Lutembo with Gago Coutinho. More than one hundred and fifty shells were fired from mortars, cannon and rocket-launchers, taking the enemy by surprise and inflicting heavy losses on them. The installations at both barracks were completely destroyed, as was the bridge. During this operation, which was crowned with full success, the MPLA deeply regrets one comrade was killed.

On 1 September, Portuguese colonialist army infantry troops tried to infiltrate into the forest with the aim of taking by surprise both the MPLA guerrillas and the people living in the areas under M.P.L.A. control. When they arrived on the banks of the Vimpulu river, the enemy set off a number of anti-personnel mines laid by our fighters, resulting in two dead, several wounded and the subsequent retreat of the enemy forces. Our guerrillas captured one cartridge-belt, two grenades and a quantity of ammunition.

On 5 September, an enemy military vehicle again blew up on one of our mines, on the bridge over the Kuanza which provides the link between Mutumbo and Impulo (Fifth Region). It was completely destroyed and all its occupants

killed. Also near the river, a group of colonialist troops set off five anti-personnel mines and suffered five dead and several wounded.

On 8 September, an enemy vehicle blew up on one of our mines on the path between the Huwe and Tiola rivers. The vehicle was completely destroyed and all its occupants killed.

On 13 September, two Mercedes trucks filled with Portuguese colonialist troops hit mines laid by MPLA guerrillas on the path alongside the Luela river (Fourth Region). The trucks were completely destroyed. Forty-five enemy soldiers were put out of action.

That same day, the valiant MPLA fighters attacked an enemy camp situated further along the path. Fifteen colonialist soldiers were killed and many others wounded. Four MPLA fighters were slightly wounded in the course of these operations.

On 14 September, a puppet group belonging to the so-called Special Groups (GE's), which had come from the Nhangova Ukuangali military post, was ambushed by MPLA fighters near the Luan-gando river. Six GE puppets were killed and five wounded. Our Guerrillas captured from the enemy six grenade launchers, three grenades and assorted military equipment.

On 25 September, an enemy patrol from the Mavinga (eastern region) post were preparing to steal cassava from the cultivated plots of the people near the Chahola river when they were taken by surprise by MPLA guerrillas. Eight Portuguese troops were killed and a good many more wounded. Two grenade launchers and assorted military equipment were captured from the enemy. On our side, we mourn the death of one of our fighters, and five others were wounded.

On 27 September, a Portuguese soldier was killed by an anti-personnel mine near the Vimpulu river. Our guerrillas found a broken boot and a torn and bloody vest on the terrain.

On 29 September, a group of guerrillas from the Chando Section went out on a mission at the Luiano post. At 11 a.m. on the 30th, near the Mpulu savanna, our guerrillas heard the sound of a moving vehicle and quickly prepared their ambush. At 11.15 a.m. a mili-

tary truck entered the ambush area and our guerrillas opened fire with bazookas followed by machine-gun fire. The military truck was completely destroyed and its occupants killed. Just when our fighters were about to go over to the assault, a second military truck appeared and opened fire in the direction of our guerrillas, who promptly retaliated. This operation lasted 15 minutes. There were no casualties among our forces.

On 30 September, four GE elements from the Kalai post were killed and three others wounded on the banks of the Wanhomba river. The following was captured from the enemy: one FN, one Mauser, one field telephone, six weapons and a quantity of ammunition. We mourn the death of one of our fighters. One other was wounded in the battle.

In the first days of October, a group of MPLA fighters again attacked the Muie post with mortar shells. Six houses were destroyed in this operation. Two of them were occupied by Portuguese troops and the four others by members of the so-called special groups (GEs), who not only serve the colonialist army as cannon fodder, but who are also shockingly discriminated against. Ten Portuguese soldiers and twelve GEs were killed. In addition, an MPLA patrol group attacked a Portuguese troop encampment near the Xizului river. The encampment was totally destroyed and the enemy troop contingent completely put out of action, having virtually not reacted to the unexpectedness and speed with which our guerrillas acted. There were no casualties among the MPLA fighters.

On 5 October, Portuguese colonialist troops fell into an ambush mounted by our guerrillas on the Chio-Cangombe road, suffering an unknown number of losses.

On 6 October, an MPLA guerrilla Section again attacked the Ninda barracks with heavy mortar fire, inflicting an unknown number of losses on the enemy. There were no casualties among the members of the Section which carried out the attack.

The following day, the enemy attempted to counter-attack, but were promptly repulsed by our fighters and suffered further losses. We mourn the death of one of our valiant fighters who fell in combat.

On 13 October, an enemy

(Continued from Page 20)

War Communique

(Continued on Page 21)

Unimog military vehicle on the right bank of the Muokoi river set off one of our anti-tank mines laid on the road from Gago-Coutinho to Luso. The vehicle was completely destroyed and all its occupants killed.

On 21 October, an MPLA guerrilla detachment in the area around the Lomba river attacked a puppet group of so-called GEs (special groups) from the Mavinga post. Three of the puppet soldiers were killed and three others wounded. Our fighters captured the following from the enemy: five Mausers, two anti-tank mines, five grenades and assorted military equipment. We deeply regret that one of our comrades died in this battle.

On 22 October, an enemy column which had been sent out to attack the base of one of our fighter Sections set off one of our mines and suffered two dead and several wounded.

On 25 October, two MPLA fighters on a service mission were taken by surprise by enemy fire. The two valiant guerrillas promptly retaliated. However, we mourn the death of one of these fighters, who fell while performing his duty.

At the end of October, a large group of MPLA fighters armed with infantry artillery weapons attacked the Sessa post completely destroying three houses occupied by Portuguese troops, two others in which so-called Special groups (GEs) were quartered and a number of huts around the enemy post. The colonialist armed forces suffered heavy losses which it was not possible to count properly.

On 3 November, at 4 a.m., an enemy column proceeding from the Chiume post with the intention of taking the MPLA fighters at one of the bases in that area by surprise, did not achieve their aim, since they erupted into a village of puppet troops and a mutual confrontation ensued. The enemy forces left behind them three camouflaged military caps, one belt and six grenades. As they retreated they hit one of our minefields and suffered two losses.

That same day, thirty colonialist troops were killed in an attack by our fighters on the Jimbe Barracks, as was later confirmed by members of the local population around the barracks.

Yet on 3 November, in the

same Northern Sub-Region of the Third Region, MPLA fighters destroyed the Jimbe military barracks with mortar and rocket-launcher fire. At the same time, the principal building of the PIDE installation was severely damaged by shell fire. Two other houses were completely burnt out as a result of the intense fire of our fighters. In this operation, which lasted 23 minutes, three of our guerrillas were slightly injured. Their condition did not require any special treatment.

On 4 November at 10.30 a.m., enemy forces sought to attack a Section of MPLA fighters in one of the areas under our control. When they spotted the approaching enemy, the MPLA guerrillas who were mounting guard immediately alerted the Section, which, once it was in combat position, opened fire on the enemy and inflicted heavy losses on them.

On 7 November, two enemy platoons from the Ntiengu post set out to encircle a detachment of the 1st Section of the Sandala MPLA Squadron. One of our guerrillas who was mounting guard alerted the members of the Section, who promptly reacted, breaking the enemy encirclement and killing five and wounding three. Shortly afterwards, our fighters mounted an ambush against the enemy forces, who had retreated to their reassembly point, and who suffered fresh losses to the tune of four dead. On our side, we mourn the death of the Section's young Political Instructor, Lituai Mussole, who fell in combat while performing his duty.

On 10 November, Portuguese colonialist troops hit anti-personnel mines laid by our fighters on the path leading to the Xiume river and suffered two losses.

On 15 November, a Section of MPLA fighters from the First Squadron once again attacked the Ninda Barracks with mortar fire, inflicting an unknown number of losses on the enemy.

On 19 November, after a further attack by MPLA fighters on the Kaianda Barracks, military trucks transporting Portuguese colonialist troops and Katangese mercenaries from Teixeira de Sousa to reinforce the barracks, set off anti-tank mines laid on the Massibi-Kaianda road. Forty enemy soldiers were put out of action.

On 20 November, at 6.30

p.m., a detachment of MPLA fighters attacked the Xilombo Barracks with heavy mortar fire. Simultaneously, a light infantry Section approached to within less than three hundred metres of the said barracks and also opened heavy fire. The barracks were seriously damaged. In the course of this attack, which lasted 15 minutes, the colonialist armed forces suffered an unknown number of very heavy losses.

On 25 November, our forces flagellated the Xilombo Portuguese barracks with intensive 82mm mortar fire.

At the same time, one of our Infantry Sections, supported by rocket-launchers, machine-gunned the barracks from a distance of less than 300 metres, giving the enemy a trouncing from close quarters. During this attack, which lasted 15 minutes, 120 shells were fired. The enemy suffered substantial losses. Our forces withdrew having suffered any casualties.

With the MPLA,

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

M.P.L.A. DIP BRANCH IN TANZANIA

Dar es Salaam
3/1/1972
MCB/-

War Communique

Substantial new losses inflicted on the Colonialist armed forces.

During battles in August/September/October/November 1971, the Portuguese colonialist armed forces suffered substantial new reverses.

Known enemy losses: — 174 troops put out of action.

Unknown enemy losses: — a considerable number killed and wounded by anti-personnel and anti-tank mine explosions.

Material captured from the enemy: 5 mausers, 2 anti-tank mines, 16 grenades, 3 military caps, 1 belt, 8 grenade launchers, 8 weapons of different kinds, 1 field telephone, ammunition, assorted military equipment.

MPLA losses: 6 fighters killed and 10 wounded.

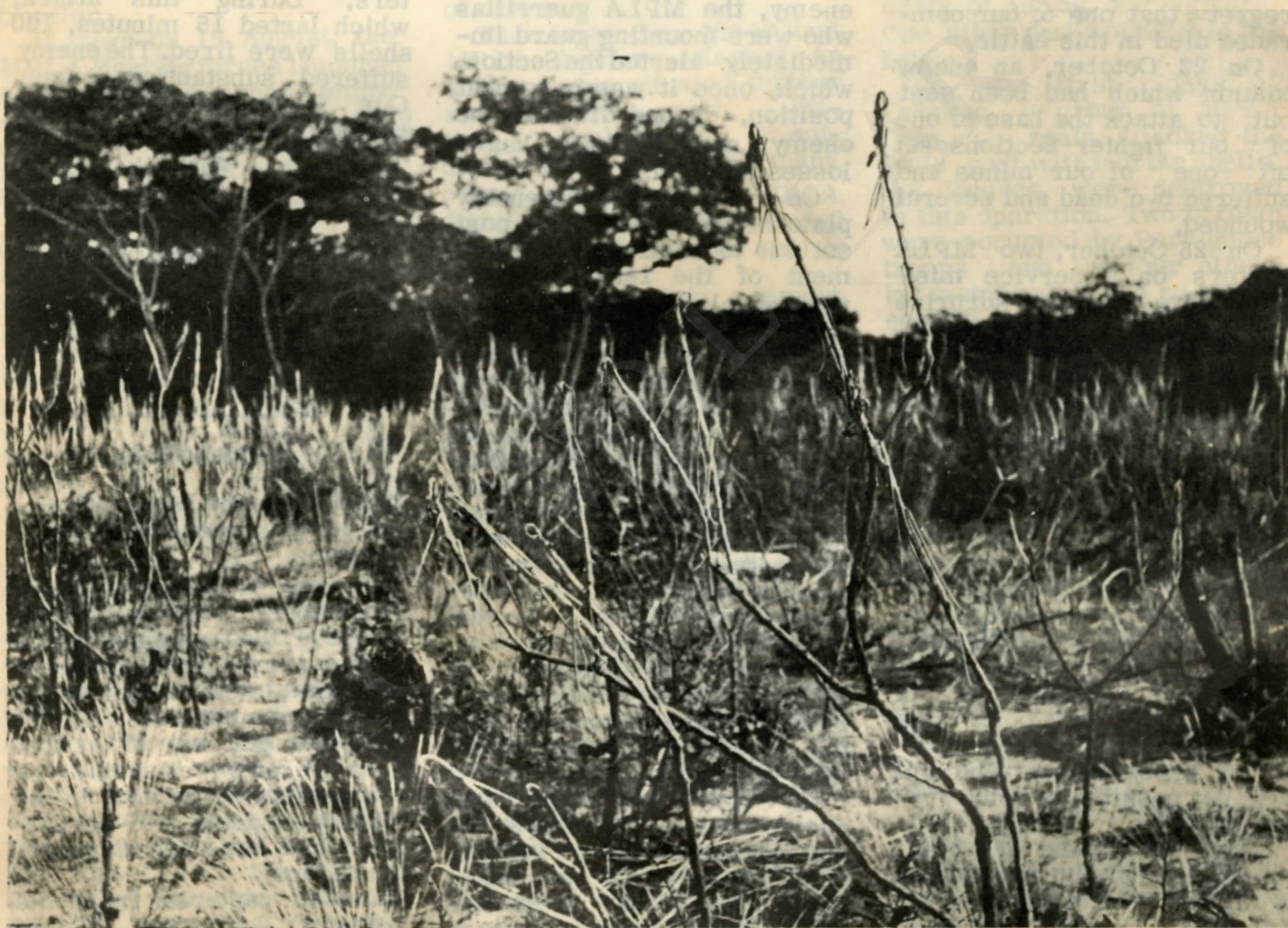
Maintaining constant activity in order to dislodge the Portuguese colonialist troops from wheresoever they are to be found, the MPLA fighters are victoriously pursuing their politico-military operations.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!
MPLA - DIP

1/1/1972
MCB/-

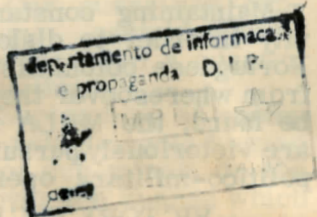


14th April Angolan Youth Day



Picture shows destroyed crops by Portuguese forces inside Angola using herbicides and defoliants.

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



TO: