MPLA

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summary..

Dear friends,comrades,

The MPLA celebrates 1971 its 15 years anniversary.The people of Angola look at their future in a quite new prospect.The MPLA follows its program namely to spread the armed fight in the whole territory,a strategy that sooner or later will lead our people to independence.The MPLA also has proved in action more than well to fulfil the revolutionary task that the history has called it to.

The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola,the MPLA, has really during the ten years of fight armed,led by its revolutionary vanguard,once for all put an end to the colonial exploitation in more than a third of our native country,that is an area of appro. 500 000 square kilometers where one million people live and now make the basis of the Angola of tomorrow.

This change of the situation gives the MPLA the right also to appear on the international level as the Angolan people's authentic and legal representative.

It is in this situation that the MPLA recently has established a representation in Sweden,and others will be established,to make our people's fight for liberation better known and to establish new bilateral relations with the different nations in question,based on a reality in our country,that also is recent.

The President of the MPLA,comrade Dr Agostinho Neto,said,in regard to this,on the conference in Rome:"The MPLA has,we can not repeat that enough often,a program for the fight aiming against every form of oppression and exploitation - imperialistic,colonial or neocolonial.In our indefatigable fight against several difficulties of different kinds,we have always preserved the attitude of independence that our people's highest interests have forced us to.We want all our true friends to understand this attitude.We are sure of that Rome is going to be the basis of a new phase in the winning of the moral,political and material support that our people is in need of."

Thus,when we today present these collected documents to you,the representation of the MPLA in Sweden hopes that they will help to a better understanding on your side in favour of our national fight of liberation,and that this will be followed by your moral,political and material support to our people's cause,that actually is common to all who love peace,freedom and social progress.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN

THE REPRESENTATION OF MPLA IN SWEDEN

Stockholm 26.6.71

M. P. L. A.

People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola

Speech delivered on behalf of the African Liberation Movements
at 3rd conference of non-aligned countries
by

Dr. Agostinho Neto,

President of the M. P. L. A.

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of the MPLA in Sweden

MPLA

Mr. Chairman,
Your Imperial Majesty,
Distinguished Heads of State and Governement,
Distinguished Delegates
Ladies and Gentlemen
Comrades in Struggle,

IT IS FOR me very great pleasure to have the opportunity to address the distinguished Heads of State an Governement at this Third Conference of No-Aligned Countries, to fulfil the task entrusted to me by the Representatives of the authentic African national liberation movements - the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) the South West African People's Organisation of Namibia (SWAPO), the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO),the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), the National Liberation Front of the Somali Coast (FLCS) and the National Liberation Front of the Comores (MOLINACO).

The honour granted to the African liberation movements to state their opinions and describe the conditions in their respective countries before Your Excellencies we consider to be a tribute to the heroic struggle of our peoples for independence democracy and peace. We also consider to be a just appreciation of our position in the world context on the part of the Non--Aligned countries, which are meeting this time in Lusaka, thanks essentially to the efforts of President Tito of Yugoslavia, whose action on behalf of the African liberation movements is well known.

On behalf of the peoples each of our movements represents, we wish to express our satisfaction at the fact that this coferenis being held in a African country whose militant attitude is beyond all doubt.

The fact that Dr. Kennth Kaunda is presiding over this conference give us the assurance that the non-aligned countries have their thoughts and their programme of work the problem of liberation of the peoples in Africa and the rest of the world who are fighting for the independence, for freedom against racism, colonialism and imperialism.

We militants of the national liberation movements look upon President Kaunda not only as a great leader and great Patriot, but also a comrade in the struggle who is sparing no effort to show his concrete solidarity with those who ere still oppressed in Africa. The builder of Zambia, he is also a pilar of the liberation of the rest of Africa. For this reason his election to the chairmanship of this conference takes on special significance for this occasion and his geographic region. Our national liberation movements express our most sincere satisfaction.

Mr. Chairman,
Your Excellencies,
FROM the speaches we have heard at this August Assembly, it is clear that major preocupation of the distinguished delegates is the problem of decolonisation and the liquidation of racial oppression.

We believe that the characteristic of this historical period is the existence of irreconcilable forces confronting each other. On one side the forces figthing in defence of the peace, independence and freedom of the peoples, and their political and social progress; and on the other side are the forces that want to neutralise this historic progress leading to freedom and social progress, i.e. colonialism, imperialism and racism. This is why we note that problems of this nature are extremely acute, as much in Africa as in Asia and other continents.

The situation in South East Asia, especially in Indochina, where the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people against US aggression stands out with vigour and beauty, as well as the struggle of the peoples of Cambodia and Laos and also Korea, the struggle of the Palestinian people and the Arab peoples against Israe's aggression, the struggle of the Latin American peoples against regimes submissive to American imperialism, and also the demands of the Afro-American population, often drowned in blood, are all expressions of this confrontation which extends to other countries too.

In our continent we are openly resisting colonialism and racism.

The armed struggle of the peoples in the Portuguese colonies is constantly advancing and this particular problem must be seen objectively within the African context.

Facing the most anachronistic type of colonialism, the patriotic liberations forces are steadily extending their zones of influence, so that in Guinea Bissau more than two-thirds of the country is under the PAIGC's effective control, in Mozambique the districts of Nyasa and Cabo Delgado, more tahn a fifth of the territory, are under Frelimo's control, and in Angola the MPLA controls more than a third of the total area.

South Africa's racist forces have intervened in Zimbabwe to counter the joint liberation operations of ANC and ZAP, while in Namibia Swapo is developing sustained action for the reconquest of rights usurped from its people.

For obvious reasons, this very same South Africa is becoming more and more involved in the colonial war in Angola and Mozambique, providing the Lisbon government with economic, techinical and military aid.

This has not prevented the buildin of an independent life in the liberated areas of Portuguese colonies through the organisation defence, production,education and medical care,despite the difficult war conditions.Moreover, at no time have the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia ceased to fight by all possible means for the liquidation of the violent racial and economic oppression of a minority which does not conceal its expansionist aims.

The Non-Aligned countries, which are presented at such a high level at this conference and which are perfectly aware of this situation, suport our struggle and their statements have assured us that we are working together in defence of justice.

However, the Portuguese colonialists have not disarmed. The racist minority regimes have not yet been defeated. Our action must therefore be substained up to the end.

Since most countries in the wordl are on their side, the African liberation movements are also conscious that they are defending the common cause of humanity in their countries. Ours is a common fight.

On the Guinea, Angola and Mozambique fronts,in the struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, the Somali Coast and the Comore Islands, the stability and security of the other alredy independent African countries and people are also being recipients of their solidarity.

This is why I should like to stress a few factors which might be of help in more effectively advancing this common struggle for the independence of the peoples, their free om and progress.

Our material needs are well known and they relate essentially to funds,military equipement, transport facilities and requirements for reconstruction in the liberated areas.

There is a scandalous disproportion between the financial means of the enemy we are facing in Southern Africa (Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia) and those of the liberation movements.

As far as military equipement is concerned, our inferiority is flagrant. Despite this, the effective control of the liberated areas and the steady expansion of the combat fronts are clear proof of the determination and firmness with which are fighting to win or die for our countries, our peoples, our independence and Dignity.

For our common cause for our freedom, we appeal to the countries presented here for concrete aid in arms and funds to meet our most pressing material needs.

I avail myself on this opportunity to express our great satisfaction at the practical way in which his Ecellency the Prime Minister of Guyana approached this problem yesterday.

We thank his Execellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Somalia for his kind words about our speach to the Assembly of African Heads of State in Adis Ababa.

We extend particular thanks to our friends, a great African militant, His Excellency the President of the People's Republic of the Congo for his objectivity and commitment to the national liberation struggle.

The armede struggled we are waging does not allow us constantly to go from conference to conference, from country to country, without precise objectives. War is not compatible with the oratorical slowness of eloquent speaches or with time bureaucratically intervening between intention and decision, between decision and implementation.

War is something immediate. Its needs are immediate and practical. Therefore, immedite action is required.

We therefore repeat our appeal for immediate action from the Non-Aligned Countries. Our main needs are funds, arms and transport facilities.

We think it appropriate at this Conference of Non-Aligned Countries to recall the wish expressed by the eminent Heads of State and Government that one should not confine oneself to resolutions. We expect from Your Excellencies concrete solidarity to the extent of the actual posibilities of each country

We are of the opinion, Your Excellencies, that the time has come to go beyond pious condemnations and recommendations.

We hail the conference's decision to receive in this hall and here the delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. The PGR of South Vietnam is the true, real and total expression of the people of South Vietnam and that its voice should be heard here, in full, is for us all both a requirement and an honour.
We hail the Cambodian Government led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, which is the Government of the Cambodian people and which adheres to the principles and political positions in defence of which we are assembled here.

We hail the people of Palestine and we would like to see their organisations represented here, in the same place as ourselves.

As regards the African national liberation movements which are acting consistently for our liberation, which control part of our territories and which have popular support in each of our countries, they are entitled to recognition of their legal personality in the community of nations.

This is the meaning of the recommendations of the Rome Conference in Solidarity with the struggle led by FRELIMO in Mozambique, the MPLA in Angola and the PAIGC in Guinea Bissau, recognised by 177 delegations from 64 countries as the true representatives of the peoples they are leading in their armed struggle for independence and national reconstruction.

By receiviging the leaders of the liberation movements of the three countries to express to them the Catholic Church's support for the peoples still suffering colonial domination and racial oppression, his Holiness Pope Paul VI made the conclution of the Rome Conference more universal.

The recognition of the authentic liberation movements by each of the Non-Aligned Countries as the true and legitimate representatives of their peoples, with all the consequences that this implies, notably that of being listened to on affairs which concerned their own countries, would then be a simple act of justice.

This attitude could then be taken to the United Nations where, as at this Conference, the illegality of the Portuguese presence in our countries should be declared and the Security Council forced to implement to the letter articles 41 and 42 of the UN Charter. Since the colonialist and fascist Portuguese regime is persisting in its refusal to comply with the General Assembly's decisions, it be should expelled from all UN bodies and specialised agencies. Such measures should also be taken against the racist minority regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia.

We also think that the liberation movements which are leading the struggle in each country should be present in the UN's specialised agencies. The vast areas under the control of liberation movements should enjoy a status which would permit it bilateral contact with independent countries and cooperation with them, in the same way as exists for the developing countries of our continent. Indeed, the Portuguese colonies are today countries occupied by foreigners where there is alredy a new national authority.

We should like also to propose to Your Excellencies, in connection with commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the founding of the UN and of the 10th anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, that a special session of the General Assembly be devoted to the national liberation movements, in order that their legitimate representatives may address the representatives of all peoples in the wordl. And the UN, which has already recognised our right to independence, should now be able to grant us material aid, setting up the appropriate body.

Furthermore, we consider that this Conference of Non-Aligned Countries - because they the concerned about the fate of our

peoples - could also envisage taking a positive stand against feel imperalist powers which are giving massive aid to the colonialist regimes of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia, like the United States of America, Federal Germany, Britain, France, Belgium, Italy , Japan and many others.

The Non-Aligned Countries must make these countries feel that it is thanks to their complicity that colonial domination is being maintained in Southern Africa and persuade them completely to change their attitude, already unanimously condemnede by wordl opinio.

We should, therefore, like to suggest that this conference of Non- Aligned Countries support and accept on its own account the decision taken by the OUA to send delegations to countries which are giving their support to the colonialist and racist regimes of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia, in order to dissuade them from collaborating in the slaughter of our people.

Mr. Chairman,
Your Imperial Majesty,
Your Excellencies.

On behalf of the African Liberation Movements, of which I have the honour to be the spokesman at this Conference I express our heartiest thanks.
Thank you Mr. Chairman!

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Stock.13/4/71

MPLA

MOVIMENTO POPULAR DE LIBERTACAO DE ANGOLA

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA

S T A T E M E N T

UNABLE TO STOP THE ARMED STRUGGLE, PORTUGAL PRETEND TO HAVE NATO BASES IN ITS COLONIES IN ORDER TO INTERVENE AGAINST THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS.

The development of armed struggle of the peoples under the domination of Portuguese colonialism, has imposed the colonial-fascist government to review its strategy.

This review of strategy has become particulary sensible after the coming to power of Mr. Marcello Caetano substituting Mr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, as Prime Minister.

Mr. Caetano government experiences every day more pressing, the necessity of enganging more decidedly the western powers already engaged in the exploitation of the Angolan, Mozambique and Guinean riches. This involvement required by Mr. Caetano must only be manifested in open solidarity which the western government expressed with fascist Portugal at the UN, but also with regard to the repression which Portugal practises against the peoples of the colonies.

It is well known that South Africa troops are fighting side by side with the Portuguese army in Angola and Mozambique. But, it is evident that this assistance is not efficacious. The armed struggle is developing with an accelerated speed in Angola as well as in Mozambique.

The territories of Guinea, Cap Vert and Angola have been offered to the NATO in order to establish military bases, and the Portuguese government are not in the first place trying to ensure the control of the entire Atlantic Ocean by the western powers, but above all to engage NATO more profoundly, and consequently a direct engagement in military operations against the armed forces of the MPLA in Angola the FRELIMO in Mozambique and the PAIGC in Guinea and Cap Vert which every day inflict terrible defeats creating disorder and demoralisation in the bosom of the Portuguese barack-rooms.

Further-more, the fact that Brazil has reaffirmed its refusal to participate in an agreement of the South Atlantic Pact proposed by Portugal, has created an obvious situation of isolation which Portugal tries to fulfil with the instalation of NATO bases in the African territories military occupied by Portugal.

The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, MPLA, legitimate defensor and representative of the interests of the entire Angolan People, declare solemnly the illegality of this "offer" made by General Horacio de Sá Viana Rebelo, the Portuguese Minister for Defence.

The Angolan People has no other desire than to live peacefully in its liberated country and the installation of other foreign military bases in Angola will be considered an act of aggression against it.

The People of Angola, through it's national organisation, the MPLA, declares that it will be never accept the installation of other foreign ba-

ses in it's territory, and that it will fight resolutely against this new method of aggression by the colonialist and fascist Portugal.

The MPLA calls upon the attention of all the peoples of the world to demonstrate against this open aggression which Portugal has the intention of having commited against the peoples of the Portuguese colonies and in particular the attention of the peoples and the democratic forces belonging to the aggressive and bellicose NATO.

THE STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE MPLA

D.I.P.
Lusaka, 13 th october 1970

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MPLA

MOVIMENTO POPULAR DE LIBERTAÇÃO DE ANGOLA

People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola

S T A T E M E N T

According to news reported by some international sources, it has been confirmed that an explosion took place on the 21st September in the headquarter of Congo-Kinshasa's Delegation at the United Nations in New York.

According to the same information this event was mainly a reaction against the attitude of the government of Congo-Kinshasa that since 1961 has prevented supplies from crossing its territory to the north military fronts of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola(MPLA).

Replying to this news the MPLA declares the following:

-Our Organisation has often submitted, either to the OUA or to friendly countries, the solution of the problem of freedom of transit for our militants through the Congolese territory.

-The MPLA has never used such kind of methods to solve its problems and specially when it concerns the misunderstanding with independent African countries.

-Recently, the eighth Summit of African Heads of State recognise again that the MPLA is the only force which really successfully leads the struggle against Portuguese colonialism in Angola.
Our last victories in the political and military fields, the proofs of which are evident, give rise to embarassement every time the fascist government of Portugal which are forced to look at new means in order to maintain the colonial rule, the opression and the exploitation of the Angolan People. In this way, some contacts have been made with some african governments in the sense to neutralise the liberation struggle of our people led by MPLA.

-On the other hand, they try to find the way to discredit the MPLA before the international opinion, which fact is a clear demonstration of the power of our implantation as a decisive factor in the Angolan context. However, the Director Committee of the MPLA maintain and are convinced that the problem of transit ot its militants through the Congolese territory will be solved between our revolutionary Organisation and the government of Congo-Kinshasa through the OUA, in the common interest of our peoples.

-The manoevres of the imperialists and their lackeys can not change the MPLA's just struggle, nor obstruct the final victory of

the Angolan People and of all Africa.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

THE DIRECTOR COMMITTEE OF THE MPLA

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MPLA

MOVIMENTO POPULAR DE LIBERTAÇÃO DE ANGOLA
People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola

STATEMENT CONCERNING THE NATO MINISTERIAL COUNCIL

On the coming June 3rd and 4th, the meeting of the NATO ministerial council will take place in Lisbon.

Besides all considerations which can be given concerning such a meeting, it should immediately be asked: why in Lisbon?
It is obvious that Portugal has a necessity of new "oxygen balloons" after having suffered the following latest defeats:

-The invasion failure against Guiné-Conakry (Nov. 1970)
-The Angoche sabotage (April 1971)
-Destruction of several military caserns in eastern Angola by MPLA's forces, just to mention some of most known setbacks.

And where should such "oxygen balloons" come from? Nowhere else than from the "rich brothers" of NATO.

It should be tiresome and superfluous to mention once again, the NATO's involvement in the wars that Portugal wages against the Angolan, Mozambican and Guinean-Bissau peoples. For Mr. Caetano's Portugal, this "assistance", is however, far from enough. It is essential to her, a greater involvement on the part of her NATO's associates. With this intention in mind, on September 1970, General Sá Viana Rebello, Portuguese Army and Defense Minister (ex-Angola's General Governor), suggested that the NATO's members should install military bases in Angola and Cabo Verde Islands, as a first step towards the formation of a "Treaty of Southern Atlantic" of which Portugal, South Africa, Australia, New-Zealand, Argentina and others, would become members. This new "Southern Atlantic Alliance" would certainly receive a warm blessing from Mr. Heath's Great Britain who has well expressed his defence viewpoint on Southern Africa. The USA wouldn't, too, miss with its approval.
In summary: this alliance would nothing else be than an enlargement of NATO.
Portugal will certainly not let from taking up this idea again, as it serves her purpose of finding one more vast and effective "cover" for the genocide wars which she is carrying on in her colonies.
Another problem which will surely be at the NATO's ministers attention, it is the relationship between South Africa and the African countries, due to the "ouvertures" proposed by President Houphouet Boigny, later supported by other African states.
In the minds of people concerned with the Southern Africa situation, the equation "Pact of Atlantic" plus "dialogue with Pretoria" will only result in the annihilation of the struggle carried on by the peoples of this area of Africa, i.e., the continuation of the African masses subjugation by the racist minorities.
The PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA, worthy and only representative of the legitime aspirations of the Angolan people, expresses once more, to the Pact of Atlantic members countries their horrible responsibility in aiding the criminal action of the Portu-

guese regime.
On the other hand, the MPLA rejects any kind of compromise with the Southern Africa "white bastion ", because it is conscious that the armed struggle is the highest expression of the African peoples sacrifices consented to reconquer the common freedom. The people of Angola, subjugated to the colonialist exploitation, will not beg for freedom. It is ready to fight and win as the ten years of armed struggle has so far shown; and from today on, it will know how to differentiate its friends from the enemies.

THE VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

THE DIRECTOR COMMITTEE OF MPLA.

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Stockholm, 22/10/1971

declaration

The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, today celebrates the gloricus date of the beginning of the armed struggle in our country, initiated by the heroic militants of the MPLA.

This 10th anniversary assumes a great importance, as it implicates for our patriotic and revolutionary forces, the affirmation of the possibility to continue the struggle for national independence until victory over Portuguese colonialism.

With tenacity and intelligence, the guerilla war developed on several fronts; the revolutionary attitude of our people was accentuated and eluciated. The expansion and depth of our struggle is not measured only by the extension of the military fronts and controlled areas. But also principally by the character of the struggle, the deeply-rooted revolutionary ideals in the spirit of our militants.

Today we can be certain that our people are regarding the MPLA as the irreplaceable vanguard of our struggle. The Portuguese colonialists, desperate because of the existence of the struggle in three of their colonies, in Angola, in Guinea and in Mozambique, are trying to save their position, repressing in a barbaric manner the people of the respective African countries by realizing a shameful and intence campaign of mental intoxication, using all means in their power to try to cheat our people.

Apart from the growing amount of tecnical means for their war-machine, apart from the increasing rise of budget, the Portuguese colonialists also try to allure, to buy and to corrupt the population, employing a socalled psycho-social campaign.

However, there is no doubt that our enemy, the Portuguese colonialists, was obliged to make concessions of political character to the Angolan people. These concessions are demagogical. They can never attain the principal objects of our struggle. They are merely a sign in the day-break emerging through the colonialist night.

The augmentation of social conditions for some Angolans, the growing number of schools and hospitals, the benefits that lately have been appearing for the Angolans, including social facilities, are victories which our people obtained through the armed struggle.

The recent proposition made by the primer minister of the Portuguese government, Marcelo Caetano, is yet another victory for our people, and shows clearly how the colonialists are feeling the weight of the war.

These victories, however, are not sufficient to integrally satisfy our people's right to independence. The Angolan people do not accept charity from the colonialist oppressor.

We are not fighting to obtain the benevolence and favours of

the Portuguese government which exploits our country, oppresses our people and which is hated by all patriots. We are fighting for a right. The right to be free. The right to govern ourselves, the right to present ourselves to the world with our own political and social personality. The right to be respected as a people, that during past centuries contributed to the progress of the humanity.

The proposition of autonomy for the colonies and consequently the autonomy for Angola, contain the usual equivocations, the usual demagogics of the Portuguese government...

The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, in the occasion of this 10th anniversary of the beginning of the armed struggle, affirms yet another time that it will not cede to the demagogic tactics of Mr. Caetano. The result of this struggle can only be complete independence.

Our struggle will continue, beyond all manoeuvres.

Structured to continue the struggle until our people is completely free, until the complete independence becomes a factor which our population will be able to freely enjoy, we shall continue our struggle.

Side by side with the Portuguese colonialists, their allied, imperialists and racists of all colours assembles to allow each one of them to try out their political tactics inside our country in order to perserve the interests constructed upon the shoulders of our people. Thus it is that these imperialists are at all cost trying to crest splits within the Angolan people, in order to present us to the world divided and consequently inefficient.

The puppets are appearing here and there, some of them short-lived, others with major persistence and all of them supported by the formidable propaganda machinery that the imperialists dispose of and know so well how to work. However, the mercenary character of these groups, make them fall into close tribalism and infected preconceptions of all kinds, and therefore do not even permit the confidence of the Angolans themselves, who they pretend to defend.

The MPLA is confident of the power of its political orientation, and of the correctness of its final objects. Victory is certain.

Certain of the experience acquired during these ten years of struggle and the enlargement of its combat fronts, our Movement has also enlarged its bases of political and material support in the world.

The ennemy cannot forget the MPLA, it is in fact the Portuguese colonialists who dedicate it a major attention. It's sufficient to listen to their programs of propaganda in the radio. It is

enough to hear the recommendations they are making to the population still imprisioned in areas under their control. Their attention, their fear is always manifested towards the MPLA.

If there were no other elements of proof, this alone is sufficient to assure us that we are inflicting severe blows on the enemy. It gives us the certainty that we are really and truly following an anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist orientation.

As soon as they run short of arguments and force, the colonialists call our movement a communist movement, in order to include us in the ideological conflict that today is dividing the world. In order to attract the sympathy of the capitalist countrie's governments.

Therefore, yet another time we affirm, our Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola is not a communist movement. It never pretended to be. The MPLA is a large movement, embracing militants of all ideologicall currents, all religions, all social classes in order to reach this to any People sacred right: the right to dispose of ourselves and of our country.

With this false propaganda, the enemy merely pretends to perpetuate his domination of our country, but we are not letting ourselves be cheated.

The struggle is growing harder and harder and is putting to the test the enemy's resistance. Today the guerilla war does not limit itself to ambushing columns or destroying bridges. Today the barracks are finding themselves under the fire of our artillery.

As time advances, the units of our armed forces acquire a better spirit, a better technique, a major combatting capacity. And if some time ago, the Portuguese soldier could find refuge in his barracks, today none of them are able to rest peacefully, as at any moment shells may fall in their heads.

Our movement is absolutely convinced that the generalization of the struggle is inevitable and that this is the sure way to urge the desired political solution of our problem.

We are certain that the militants of our movement, following the glorious traditions of our people in struggle, are, in every part of our country, celebrating this glorious date, with the firm determination to make every day a 4th of February, showing the barbaric and archaic Portuguese colonialists that the entire Angolan people is ready to conquer its independence, whatever will be the price we have to pay.

The MPLA will never accept administrative autonomy!

The MPLA will continue the struggle until complete independence!

ONE PEOPLE!

ONE NATION!

THE GENERALIZED STRUGGLE!

GUERRILLAS TO THE ATTACK!

DOWN WITH COLONIALISM!

DOWN WITH RACISM!

DOWN WITH TRIBALISM!

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

The Steering Committee of the

M P L A

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PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA

D E C L A R A T I O N

THE IVORY COAST AND THE ANTI-AFRICAN CO-OPERATION

The news spread by the different radio stations, cynically applauded by South-Africa, reveal that Houphouet Boigny, President of the Ivory Coast, intends to convene a summit conference of the African countries to persuade them to establish relations between these countries and the governments of the rascist Republic of South-Africa and of Portugal for the purpose of discussing questions which concern the politics of these nations in Africa. According to the same source of information, a delegation from the Ivory Coast is to be sent on a tour to the capitals of Africa to present its views in detail. The same source also states that South-Africa and Portugal have shown great interest in this matter.

With the unilateral initiative of Senegal, another African nation again act as a mouthe-piece, condemned by the liberation movements of the continent and particularly by those of Portuguese colonies. MPLA considers its duty to give the following declaration:

The struggle for the liberation of Angola is a task which is well-defined, unavoidable and noble for the people of Angola, for the independence and for the liberation of our continent from under the foreign yoke.

Our struggle would not be one justified by the cause of all African peoples and especially for the people of Angola, if it had to accept divergences, compromises and interferences which would deprive it of all authentic revolutionary significance, necessary for the safety of the real interests that we are fighting for: total independence of our country.

On the other hand the MPLA observes the strange and sudden interest of President Houphouet Boigny in the cause of national liberation, because his attitude has always been purely passive.

Thus the MPLA, vanguard of the people of Angola in arms, categorically rejects and denounces all the manoeuvres which aim at a compromise or strive to turn the heroic effort of the Angolese towards goals foreign to it.

The MPLA, the only spokes-man of the people of Angola and the only force in Angola to fight against the colonialism of the Portuguese, is the only autentic speaker in discussions dealing with Angola and its future.

The initiative of President Boigny, if it comes true, must be regarded as total despise of the will of the struggling African nations, whose war is the greatest expression of the sacrifices done by the peoples of this continent for the freedom of us all.

The Victory is Certain

The Sterring Committee of M.P.L.A.

Reproduced by the Representation of the MPLA in Sweden

Stockholm, April 4th, 1971

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MPLA

PEOPLE ' S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERTATION OF ANGOLA

D E C L A R A T I O N

After the disaster suffered by the Portuguese army as a consequence of the attack of M.P.L.A. guerrillas on the Karipande barracks, the colonialist authorities tried to blame their defeat upon a supposed action by the Zambian frontier guards assisting the M.P.L.A. fighters. At the same time they organised demonstrations of settlers with the aim of pillaging the Zambia marchandise being transported by the Benguela Railway and they instigated the settlers' demand for the permanent suspension of traffic on this international route.
In the face of these acts of vandalism and transgression of international law, the M.P.L.A. hereby makes public and clarifies the following:

1. The ransacking of Zambia merchandise by the Portuguese colonialists is a reprisal of the fascists for the victorious attack by M.P.L.A. on the Karipande barracks;

2. The thefts and acts of vandalism and destruction of goods belonging the Republic of Zambia is the exclusive work of the Portuguese colonialists carried out in the big urban centres Huambo (Nova Lisboa), Bié (Silva Porto), Dilolo (Teixeira de Sousa), and and Caala at the instigation of PIDE and the Portuguese army;

3. The Benguela Railway crosses a great part of the territory of Angola under the military and political control of th M.P.L.A. and is therefore, perfectly within the power of our military operations to paralyse it completely;

4. However M.P.L.A. following the principles of African solidarity has permitted the continuance of traffic on the Benguela Railway because we understand that the Republic of Zambia at this moment needs to use this mean of transport for imports and exports essential to its economy. This fact, furthermore, has been the subject of reiterated public declarations on the part of our organisation;

5. In the event of the Portuguese colonialists putting into practice their threat to permanently cut the Benguela railway, M.P.L.A. will feel freed of any moral compunctions and, in the interests of the national liberation struggle of our country, we will

proceed with sabotage and attacks against the railway and its installations.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN.

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

LUSAKA, 31 March 1970

mpla

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GUINEA IN THE FACE OF IMPERIALIST ATTACK

The leaders of the Portuguese fascist regime, not satisfied with the crimes of every order committed against the Angolan people as well as against the Mozanbican and Guinean Peoples have decided to extend their atrocities to a country that while living in peace has been giving aid to their brothers who figth to regain their independence.

Thus on November the 22nd last year, Portuguese mercenaries with the backing of international imperialism, attacked the city of Conakry in order to establish a reactionary government there to enable then to stop the support that the government of Sekou Touré has been giving to our brothers of PAIGC.

These three hundred bandits aining to create disorder by inplanting human exploitation, robbery and vice, were armed by the Portuguese colonialists and were acting under direction of the criminal António Sebastiao Ribeiro Spinola governor of Guinea Bissau, who was removed from his post some days afterwards, by the Portuguese fascist government.

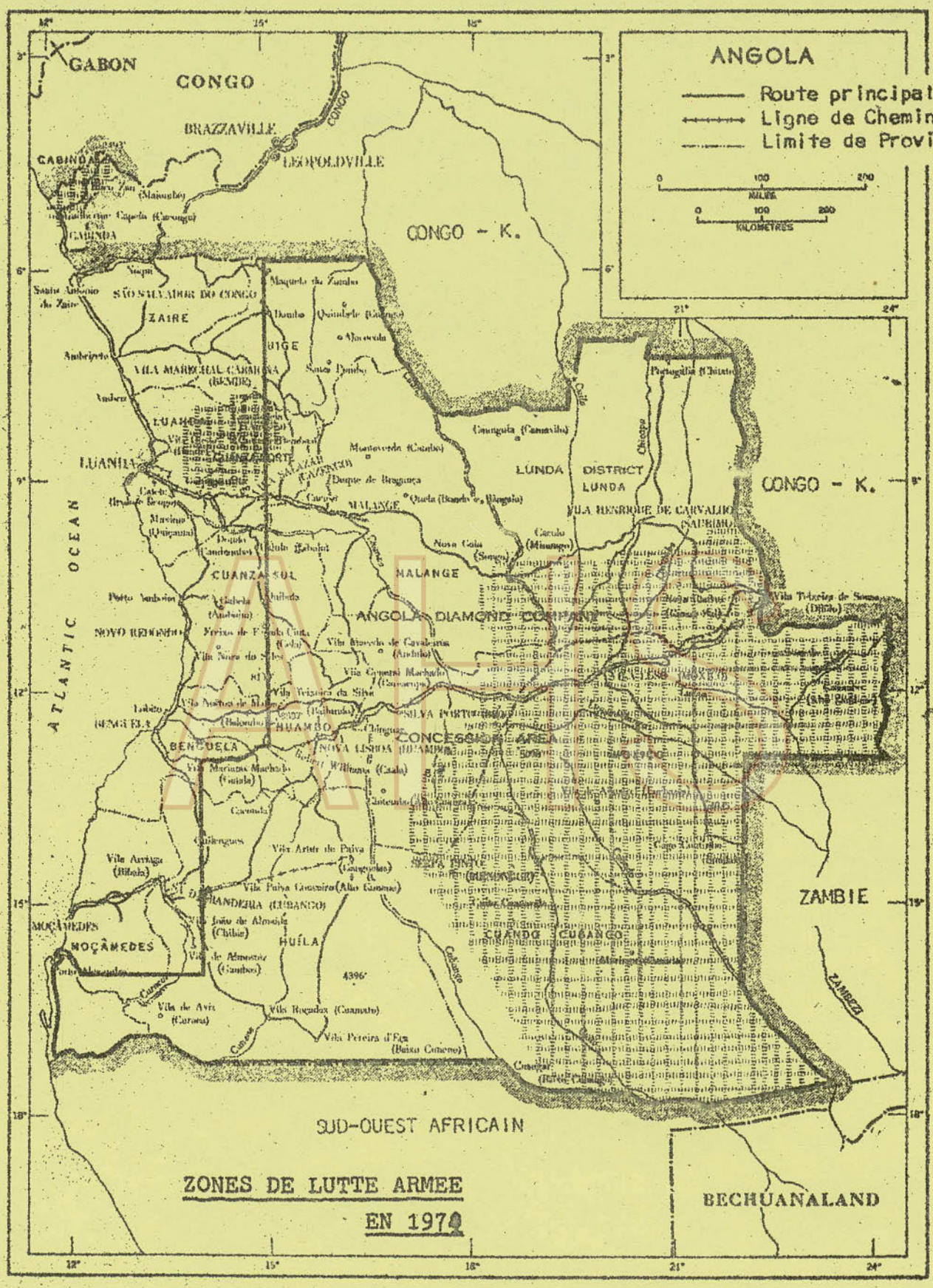
Citiziens of Guinea have heroically lost their lives in defense of their Fatherland. Their death has not been in vain as the people and the armed forces of the Republic of Guinea as well as the militants of PAIGC, have reacted pronptly to the attack and have punished the aggressors as they deserved.

We appeal to the Portuguese democratic forces to unify their actions with those of the Africans revolutionary forces so that the Portuguese people do not collaborate in the horrible crimes being committed by the Spinola hangmen, of Portuguese colonialism and world imperialism.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN

THE STEERING COMITTEE OF THE M.P.L.A.

Stockholm, 8.2.71.


ANGOLA
Route principale
Ligne de Chemin de Fer
Limite de Province
MILES
KILOMETRES
GABON
CONGO
BRAZZAVILLE
LEOPOLDVILLE
CONGO - K.
CABINDA
SÃO SALVADOR DO CONGO
ZAIRE
UIGE
VILA MARECHAL CARMONA (BENGE)
LUANDA
LUANHA
LUANIHA
MALANGE
LUNDA DISTRICT
LUNDA
VILA HENRIQUE DE CARVALHO (SAURIMO)
CONGO - K.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
CUANZA SUL
NOVO REDONDO
ANGOLA DIAMONDS COMPANY
SERTÃO MOXICO
BENGUELA
HUAMBO
NOVA LISBOA
CONCESSIONS AREA
MOÇAMEDES
HUÍLA
BANDEIRA (LUBANGO)
CUANDO CUBANGO
ZAMBIE
ZAMBEZI
SUD-OUEST AFRICAIN
BECHUANALAND
ZONES DE LUTTE ARMEE
EN 1970

MPLA

DECLARATION BY MPLA ON THE OAU'S WITHDRAWAL OF RECOGNITION OF "GRAE"

The Organisation of African Unity has just taken a decision which we cannot consider other than historical; the 8th Summit Conference of African Heads of State has withdrawn recognition of so-called Angolan Revolutionary Goverment in Exile (GRAE), thereby refusing to admit this puppet organisation into the club.

This resolution which gives credit to the OAU is not only a just reparation for a diplorable mistake, but it is also a compliment paid to the MPLA militants in their armed struggle for national liberation. The resolution rewards the unceasing steps that our organisation has never stopped to undertake to prove that only MPLA represents the aspirations of the Angolan people towards national independence.

Let us recall briefly the principal stages which have led to the actual situation:

1. - On the 5th April 1962, 2 political formations with tribal characteristics - the UPA and the PDA - met nine days earlier under a convention called FNLA (Liberation Front of Angola) and announced the formation of a would be government in exile of the Angolan Republic.

2. - The Director Committee of MPLA immediately addressed a memorandum to Heads of State on 15th April of the same year to warn them against the dangers involved in the recognition of this "government".
The content of the memorandum affirms in its conclusion:-

> "It is certain that the formation of a so-called provisional government of the Angolan Republic will sanctify the old factors which divide the Angolan people and introduce and maintain new elements of division. It is also a betrayal of the aspirations of the Angolan people who are sacrificing themselves in order to liberate the country from foreign domination. The personal character and the freedom of Africa is also belittled by this intrinsic transfer towards foreign interests by the so-called provisional government of the Angolan Republic".

3. - The Organisation of African Unity was however formed in May 1963 and it considers that the liberation struggle should be carried out by a unified movement or, in the absence of such, by a common front made up of all the movements fighting in same territory.

4. - The Congo-Kinshasa government, during the first session of the Committee of African Liberation at Dar es Salaam, through it's Secretary of Foreign Affairs, despotically took advantage of the creation of FNLA and announced the de jure recognition of an Angolan Government on 29th June 1963. But this time the word "revolutionary" is added and still "in exile". Thus the word GRAE...

5. - The 2nd OAU Summit Conference of Heads of State which met in Cairo in July 1964 recommended the recognition of "GRAE" and demanded this puppet organisation, as well as MPLA, to bury their differences and form a united common front of action. Moreover the reso-

lution asked the Liberation Committee with the help of representatives of Congo-Brazzaville,Ghana and the United Arab Republic to use every possible method to persuade "GRAE" and MPLA to finally assure the constitution of a united front of all nationalist elements in their independence struggle.
Since then,MPLA has never wavered in its campaign to explain the unjust character of this recommendation by the OAU.
MPLA has nevertheless opened up a politico-military field of action with all the numerous obstacles in the country,for the unity of nationalist forces in Angola.
At the end of the last meeting of the "Commitee of Three" held in Cairo from 10th-15th October 1966,the two movements signed an agreement which called for the:

a. - the immediate discontinuance of all forms of hostile propaganda against each other under the supervision of a constitution of the OAU;
b. - the immediate release of prisoners held by one or the other of the two movements;
c. - the establishment of a military comission of inquiry at the OAU to reappraise the situation in Angola and draw up recommendations for assistance requested in order to intensify the common armed struggle and to render it more efficient;
d. - immediately following the conclusions of the work of the Commission of Inquiry a joint committee of MPLA and "GRAE" would be formed to study ways of cooperation between the two movements, both in military and political departments.

It would be fastidious and unnecessary to list all the unilateral violations of the agreement carried out by "GRAE" which in any case was not ratified because of "GRAE". This puppet organisation has always been substantially an obstacle in the liberation struggle of the Angolan people.
MPLA,faithful to its political line of action,has enlarged and consolidated military operations in Cabinda,in the North Western and South Eastern parts of the country while at the same time respecting the reconciliatory action drawn up by the Committee of the 5 member states (Congo-Brazzaville,Congo-Kinshasa,Ghana and Zambia) at the OAU Summit Conference held in Kinshasa in September 1967.

6. - The meeting of the Committee of Five on Angola which met in Addis Ababa from 22nd-27th June 1960 adopted a resolution requesting the Heads of State Conference and the governments "to withdraw recognition of the Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile,in so far as it was a measure to favour a reconciliation". The Committe of Five arrived at this conclusion because of the fact that "the recognition of the statute of a government in exile accorded to the FNLA had incited this movement to sit on its laurels and considerably weaken its combative ardour". The Committee also "esteemed that the withdrawl of such recognition was capable to encouraging a reconciliation between the two movements (MPLA and GRAE)".

7. - Finally, the 5th Summit Conference of the OAU which met in Algiers - one of the most well-knwon capitals of the African revolution - decided to reconsider the statut of FNLA as the Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile.
A fundamental reality which was the control and steen of the liberated areas in Angola,under the sole direction of MPLA,opened the eyes of the military commission of the OAU who made a journey through an area in the Third Military Region in March 1969.
In the conclusion of its report,the Commission confirmed unanimously that MPLA was the only effective fighting force in Angola.

As we have just seen, all this long process has led to the historic decision taken by the 8th Summit Conference of the OAU.

A victory of this size, if it was possible thanks to the tenacity of MPLA militants and the determination of its leaders, constitutes at the same time a victory to those African governments which have been generous in aiding MPLA, particulary Congo-Brazzaville, Zambia and Tanzania. President Kaunda, who was elected Chairman of the OAU at the 7th Summit Conference, is also an artificer of our triumph.

It is true that the Democratic Republic of the Congo continues to recognise the defunct "GRAE". This is a normal attribute of its independence. But we think that the Democratic Republic of Congo would gain by trying to conform to the resolution passed by the OAU. A slight change of attitude, which is up to now a hostile one to MPLA, which receives no support from Congo-Kinshasa, would be a very important contribution in achieving the liquidation of the colonial presence in Angola. We are ready to begin a dialogue on this point with the Congolese authorities.

The dynamism of our national liberation struggle has forced the fascist Portuguese government, in collaboration with Vorster's racist government, to reinforce their military and strategic arrangements to carry out the colonial genocidal war in Angola. It is therefore of utmost importance that African countries, together with all progressive forces in the world, increase their aid in every way to the only avant-garde movement (MPLA) which guarantees the aspirations of the Angolan people towards national independence.

Sure of its victory in the eyes of the OAU and conscious of the historical responsability which is incumbent on it, MPLA pays its respects to the Chairman of the OAU, His Excellency Moktar Ould Daddah, and all African people fighting for the complete liberation of our continent.

THE DIRECTOR COMMITTEE OF MPLA

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MOVIMENTO POPULAR DE LIBERTAÇÃO DE ANGOLA

MPLA

People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola

S T A T E M E N T

The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola-M.P.L.A.-following attentively the speeches about the possible saling of weapons of the United Kingdom to racist Republic of South Africa, couldn't remain indifferent in front of a problem which concerns directly all Southern Africa and in an ample perspective, all Africa and all peoples loving peace and freedom.

The enslaving economical interests of the big British trusts are one of the support for the survival of the Portuguese colonial fascist regim. These interests, seeing that the continuity of the robbery of our countries are in dangerbbecause of the victorious actions of the M.P.L.A. and FRELIMO decided to engage directely the conservative government to continue such a criminal situation.

After the installation of the illegal government Ian Smith in Zimbabwe, the British-South African alliance intends to launch new assaults on our continent, which aiming, in first place, at the countries under portuguese colonial domination and the independant Republics of Zambia and Tanzania.

Consequently, M.P.L.A., the only force fighters against portuguese colonialism in Angola, declares that the decision of the British conservative government is a strong support to the South-Africa direct intervention in liberation of our country. If this becomes true, Great-Britain assumes the serious responsability of putting in danger the security of the independant countries of Southern Africa and of participating in the massacre of the population of Angola and Mozambique.

Ten years of armed struggle against the fascist Portuguese colonialism and its imperialist masters, is the guarantee that we are decided to fight against every kind of alliance, armed or not, which is violating the rights of our people.

M.P.L.A., supporting the determined action of the African peoples and governements who rises against the british interventionist, and at the same time continuing its victorious war for the total independance of Angola, calls all the anti-racist and anti-imperialists peoples in order to demonstrate against the criminal projects of the neo-colonialism and conservative English government.
Mr. Heath and his attempts of revenge, already condamned by the african opinion, will drive his island to a bigger and bigger isolation in the shameful loss of prestige in which she is irretrievable drowning.

DIP.
Lusaka, 19/I/71

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MPLA

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOT THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA

FRENCH ARMS FOR PORTUGAL

FRANCE's attitude towards Africa is clear and can fool no one.
Owing to the process of decolonisation it embarked upon in part of Africa ten years ago and to its somewhat independent stand on foreing policy - i.e. Vietnam and the Middle East - France has succeeded in hoodwinking certain African countries. Its policy of "cooperation", which has to a certain extent balanced budgets in its former colonies which always show a deficit, has done the rest.
But now that the stakes have shifted to the southern part of our continent, the mask has fallen.
Yet even in 1961, when the Angolan people had to take up arms to put an end to decrepit, brutal and backward colonialism, France consistently abstained in international organisations. Southern Africa was far too important economically for it to accept a genuinely revolutionary situation there.
South Africa meant gold and the investor's paradise, while Portugal presented very important advantages for the creation of the French strike force and for its space programme, at the same time as being an inexhaustible source of cheap labour.
Portugal's possessions also offered vital advantages:

-The archipelago of the Azores could serve French ambitions in the field of space research;
- a further inexhaustible source of cheap labour;
- a potential market for investors and, above all, an outlet for its production of war material.

Playing the game of the carrot and the stick, the French government made itself the dear friend of certain African countries while at the same time arming the last colonial power - Portugal.

Indeed, Portugal has received the following, on extremely favourable terms of payment:

- Daphne submarines
- fast escort vessels
- NORATLAS freight planes adapted for tactical bombing
- Alouette II and III helicopters
- SA 330 PUMA helicopters, all equipped with 20mm. cannon and air to ground rockets
- electronic radar observation equipment, bomb release mechanisms for aircraft, etc.
- PANHARD D automatic machine-guns etc.

In 1969, Portugal was the third biggest buyer of French aircraft. All these arms sold by France are of course used for the genocide of our people.

This French position towards the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies is fully evident in all international bodies and it also shows itself in the hostile attitude taken towards our nationals in transit through France. Moreover, since the trip to Paris of Rui Patricio (Portuguese minister of foreign affairs), the French police have been asking nationals of the Portuguese colonies to produce documents which prove they have done compulsory military service.
The only Angolans and Portuguese that the French want are those who have taken part in the genocide of our people.

DIP
Lusaka, 17 March 1971

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MPLA

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA

D E C L A R A T I O N

CHEMICALS ARE USED AGAINST OUR PEOPLE AND VEGETATION

In Eastern Angola the Portuguese colonialists are dropping chemicals from the air, which burn ours crops and our forests and poison our people and cattle.

In this way the people of Angola are the victims of a new form of the Portuguese colonialism, victims of a terrible crime comitted by the colonialists. The chemicals seriously damage both people and vegetation.

In Vietnam the Americans are using this despicable method by means of which they damage both people and nature, in order to perserve their imperialist exploitation and oppression of others peoples.

The effects of these chemicals were examined at a scientists'meeting arranged by the Faculté d'Orsay on Vietnam, dealing with the chemical war conducted by the USA. As President sat Professor Lederer and it was attended by the scientists Tam, Mousseau and Briante, and the professors Minkowsky and Kahn.

Vo Hai Tuan, expert on chemicals, presented a report on the poisons used by the USA.

According to this specialist the Americans are using a special sort of herbicide. The products identified up to now are "2 and 4 D", "2, 4 and 5 T", peclorone compounds, cacodylic acids and some fenol compounds of the type DNOC, arsenites and arsenates.

According to the same report the symptoms on human beings are difficult breething, fatigue, migraine, fever thirst, vomiting and colic. Old people, children and pregnant women are first attained. Some poisons cause muscle paralysis and loss of sense in skin and hands. Case have been found were fall of hairs, sore throat, pains in the chest and ribs as well as inflammation in the alimentary canal have been observed.

The chemicals have already had some effects on the climate of Vietnam. In areas where the vegetation has been spoiled summers are warmer and winters colder than before. No forests protect from typhoons and storms.

As can be seen the effects of the chemicals used for destruction of the trees and

crops and destroy and poison our people and cattle.

MPLA appeals to all the peoples of the world to manifest against this open agression, and especially it appeals to the members of the agressive and belligerent NATO, to the democratic forces in NATO countries.

THE VICTORY IS CERTAIN

THE STERRING COMMITTEE OF MPLA

Lusaka, October 13 th, 1970.

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"ANGOLA GUERILLA WINS" - VILLAGERS IMPLORE: GIVE US ARMS
By Basil Davidson
(From the "Dagens Nyhater", August 17,1970)

At 7:51 on June 19 we heard the fifth mine blast. The guerillas had buried the minēs on the road from Gago Coutinho to Ninda,Chiume and Monteiro. "That one" said Paganini,the guerilla chief in this area,said "that one must have been the one at the Mukyi Bridge south of the Luato river,twenty kilos! I gave them 60 in total".

The bridge was located slightly over 30 kilometers east of the place where we were. That fifth mine was supposed to explōde several days before when the Portugueses convoy was passing. Why it didn't we learned a week later when we ran into members of the sabotage team who were responsible for the action.The Portuguese had passed that way but the detonation device had not worked. The saboteurs had to go back to fix it.

We walked on the past one of Moxico's many wide "canals" of grassland. At 11:58 a.m. we heard the expected retalitation bombings by Portuguese aircraft that hit the forest on both sides of the road. Paganini shook his head and said: "Our villagers are pressing us, they want more activity. I say to them: Think of retaliations! But they answer: Don't worry about them,we are prepared..."

It may sound like a propagandist's statement.But from what I saw and heard during my weeks in Angola this summer, his words reflected the naked truth. Villagers,fleeing the Portuguese under the guerilla's protections,husbands or brothers - demanded time and again that Paganini give them arms for them to defend their "Kimbos" (provisional villages) while the guerillas left them to fight the Portuguese.

In this tenth year of a war the people of Angola certainly did not wish themselves,there is a widespread conviction that it is not to use to hope for peaceful negotiations leading to anything; many guerillas I spoke with shared this opinion,whether they were officers or regular soldiers. Living with people,it's easy to understand why. From the Portuguese nothing else comes but greater cruelty and indifference for the suffering.

"Capitulate".Portuguese leaflets spread by airplanes urged them. But these people don't even dream of giving up.

To a white visitor among these guerillas,it appears as long--torm interests. They are ruining both Portugal and Angola in their efforts to crusch a national mouvement which happens to be clearly non-racist both in thought and attitude.

The Angolans are certainly not fighting the Portuguese because they are white.I asked the chairman of a civilian "action committee" if he was not surprised to meet a white visitor."No" he answered."We know that our guerillas have many forein friends.You must be one of them."

Portugal's implacability might have some logic if the Portuguese were about to win the war.My own conclusions are that the Portuguese are about to lose it and that they can no longer ho

pe to stop the onmarch of the guerrillas. Many Portuguese seem to have arrived at the same conclusions, judging from my observations of the low attack capacity of many of their troops.

In a situation so remote and confused by contradictory information, it is suiteble to give an introduction: Angola is large than Italy, France, West and East Germany put together. After several weeks in Angola, one can merely see a small portion of this huge land. In the beginning I was convinced that most guerilla fightings were going on in eastern Angola, which is why I decided to go to central Moxico.

But from the points of view of economy and population eastern Angola is the least important of all regions. Thus, for the guerilla to grow really strong it will have to establish bases inside eastern Angola and from there go on to expand the war westward into the comparatively rich districts of Bié and Malange, and then further westward to the areas by the Atlantic coast.

Since the only guerilla worth its name is forbidden to use Congo-Kinshasa's border, everything suggested that Moxico was the most important area for an investigation, primarily the central part of this endless region.

I asked the MPLA to be allowed to go to a place in the outskirts of Muié, a small garnison town 160 kms from the Zambian border. The guerilla leaders offered me several alternatives: If I could spend three months with them, they would take me to the Bié district or across the Benguela railroad into the Lundadi district and easternmost Malange. But I hade only six weeks' time and, what was more, if I could go in a circle to Muié I would have the opportunity to investigate the military positions in central Moxico from two points of view that are important for a serious judgement:

1) The size of guerilla installations in a strategic key aread.

2) The guerilla's capacity to guarantee safe passage for maintenance transports to the Cuanza district by the Atlantic coast.

As I was ready to start my journey, Agostinho Neto, the president of MPLA, and other guerilla leaders gave me what they called an "ideal plan" and added carefully that perhaps it would be less ideal than planned. They were always frank with me. I'll never be able to write so much of what they said to me.

While Neto went east towards Zambia and on to Europe. Paganini and I continued our journey westward accompanied by another leading guerilla officer, a physician and our escort. In due time, we arrived at the outskirts of Muié, a garnison town equipped in the typical fashion behind an external defense line of barbed steel wire, 11 watch towers and three flashlights (if I counted right).

We stopped for a while in the forests by the Shekelui, a north tributary of the Cuando river. Some sporadic fightings were going on all around, sometimes we could hear them but we were never in any immediate danger.

There and back I walked slightly over 450 kms in three weeks, plus two weeks which I spent resting and talking with MPLA leaders, soldiers and supporters. All the statements Neto and his

colleagues had made previously turned out to be true.

For exemple, they claimed the MPLA was a "people's mouvement" supported by all ethic groups. That is undeniably true as far as Moxico is concerned. Since the MPLA opened this "eastern front" in 1965-66, the organization has been re-made. Originally, in the early Sixties, it had supporters among the Kimbundus and the "assimilados", the mulattoes in the western cities.

Here in Moxico, more than nine-tenths of the guerillas are Mbundas (not to be confused with the Mbundus who like farther west), Luchazes and Nengus. And I am wholly convinced that the guerillas are right when they statethat their primary supporters in the Luanda district are to be found amongst the Chokwés and the Lundas. A small minority comes from other areas: Paganini, for instance, is a Mbundu from the Bié district.

The guerillas live under hard conditions. There is a desesperate shortage of all important necessities, not least medecines, clothings and blankets. (In the biting cold during the dry season, I had trouble going to sleep even with such luxury as two blankets.)

Besides, also the villagers in the forests need these things and it is very urgent that they should get very soon. Many have escaped from the camps where the Portuguese tried to lock them up and they are determined not to go back there. Thousands have escaped to Zambia. Others cling to their villages and work in thier fields as much as they can. Some do not know what is best for them to do. Some elders asked me: "Should we go to Zambia? How are we to live there?".

It is a tragic situation in many aspects. But there is not doubt about the close togetherness between the people and the guerilla. I found evidence of these every day I lived with them.

This fact that a conspicuous foreign visitor can wander withhout difficulty across such a wide circle as to Muié and back, pass through various guerilla units and stay with the villagers in the forests is in itself an evidence, a striking evidence of how the guerillas have established themselves in eastern Angola. The guerillas has access to the strategic initiatives at long range and their forces offer safe passage for maintance transports bound for the West.

With more than 60.000 men from Portugal, the Portuguese have tried to stop these guerilla transports, to shut the "Agostinho Neto Path" across Moxico and to prevent the guerillas from establishing themselves in Bié and Malange. But the Portuguese have apparently failed, despite increased use of commando patrols transported by helicopters, most of which were bought in France.

The guerillas have huge problem before themselves: to reorganize themselves militarily, to transport necessities over enormous, perenially growing distances, to build up a popular suport in the central and western districts.

But everything is going onwards despite it all. Slowly but surely the guerillas are "marching towards the Atlantic". According to another information confirmed by the correctness of the most statements I could check, this summer they have passed the Cuanza river and are pushing deep into the "colonial heart

land" of the Portuguese.

-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo-

Basil Davidson, British writer and journalist, is one of the world's leading Africa experts and was written a long series of books about African culture, history and politics. He visited Angola for the frist time in 1954 and was one of the first men to draw the attention of international opinion into oppression in this Portuguese colony. In 1967, he took a trip to the PAIGC-controlled area of Guinea-Bissau, Portugal's smallest colony in Africa, and in July 1968 he took part in FRELIMO's party congress in northern Mozambique.

During World War 2, Basil Davidson was British liaison officer with Tito's partisan foress in Yugoslavia and guerilla forces in Italy."

MPLA ARTILLERY IN ACTION

WHO IS LEADING THE STRUGGLE IN ANGOLA?

(Translated from the "Södra Africa" information bulletin nº 10-1970)

In most countries under colonial and racial oppression in Southern Africa several groups have been formed, groups that claim to be leading the struggle of liberation. For Mozambique there are at least a dozen exiled organisations which declare that they represent the people of Mozambique. In Angola there seems to be almost four dozens of organisations which all are a result of the development of nationalism or of manipulations by Portugal to prevent the emrgence of a united nationalist movement. Most of these groups never reached further than forming bourgeois coteries bound to a certain tribe, a certain language or a certain religion.

Three of the Angolan organisations have shown such a strength or have had such an intensive propaganda, howhever, that they have become known far outside Africa. These organisations are MPLA, FNLA (UPA/GRAE) and UNITA. Through contacts with different Swedish groups the respective opinions of these movements have reached people in Sweden. If one follows the Swedish debate only, one easily gets the impression that the Angolan liberation movement is divided, narrow-minded and incapable of carrying out an effective struggle.

A DUTY TO TAKE A STAND

"Södra Afrika" has not bound itself earlier for any specific organisation in Angola (see for example nº 2/64, 7-8/66 and 2-3/68 of the bulletin). However, it has gradually become impossible to keep some kind of "neutral" position. We think it is our duty to try to find out the political line of the different organisations, the ability to mobilize the masses and how the armed struggle is lead. Contrary to liberal and other "non-political" observers, we think it is our duty to take a clear position in favour of a movement, which has a program and an activity in line with our own judgements. The article about FRELIMO in "Södra Afrika" nº 9 is an effort to evaluate the liberation movement in Mozambique. We think that no other movement than FRELIMO deserves our support and that FRELIMO should be supported although we are sceptical to certain factors. In the case of Angola it is easier to make up one's mind.

The space does not allow a more detailed presentation of all the necessary considerations when evaluating different liberation movements. We only want to mention some major point which are important for our stand-point. The most important criterias are:

1. The programme of the movement, its ideological line as it is expressed in the analysis of the situation of the movement; its writings about the history of the country; its view on the social structure of the population; the strategy of the struggle and finally the kind of economical and political system the movement wants to build.

2. The ability of the movement to mobilize the people and lead the struggle according to its ideology. The ideology is also revealed in the ability of the movement to distinguish between antagonistic and

non-antagonistic contradictions among the people.

3. How the movement is organizing the liberated areas, e.g. to which extent the people controls the military and administrative organs; the integration between political and military leadership; the content and extent of education, etc.

WHAT IS DONE IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN WHAT IS SAID

There are liberation movements which have very summarized front programs (PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau and FNL in Vietnam for example) but which still are known to lead popular anti-imperialist struggles and which build democratic, collective societies that will prevent the development of capitalism and neo-colonialism. On the other hand there are movements which call themselves Marxist-Leninist, but which still can not mobilize its own people and thus find themselves confined to intellectual isolation. We think it is necessary to study what different organisations publish about themselves and what their leaders say, but to be able to evaluate their political line we must study what they do first of all. As we tried to show in the article about FRELIMO in our last issue, the ideology of a movement is developed dialectically along with the struggle. This means that a movement which in the beginning has no clear ideology will develop one successively. Therefore it is correct to support a movement without a clearly stated ideology if we know that the social and economic development goes in the right direction. This does not mean that one can accept the Liberal view that all groups or movements than in some way fight the enemy, should be supported on equal terms.

In the Swedish Africa groups we have observed and studied the situation in Angola for a long time. We have gathered material about the liberation struggle and had contacts and meetings with representatives from different Angolan organisations. Some members have visited the offices of the organisation in Cairo, Dar-es-Salaam and Lusaka and met journalists, who have reported from liberated areas in Angola. We have studied Portuguese war communiqués as well as those from the liberation movements, and we have compared them.

It is not possible here to describe the growth of Angolan nationalism in detail. Neither can we publish all the documents which show the position of the various organisations in various questions. We can only refer to our sources and make a summary of our considerations.

MPLA-A REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST ORGANISATION

The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, MPLA, was formed in 1956 by a group of educated Africans in Luanda, who had realized that the peaceful way to independence was impossible. Among the founders were Agostinho Neto, Amilcar Cabral (who at that time worked in Angola) and Mario de Andrade. The intention was to make MPLA a political party that should join other anti-colonial groups in a broad front against Portuguese colonialism. As in other African countries it was among the small group of educated Africans that nationalism developed first. It was only this group that had the capability of nationalist thinking because they had broken with their tribal life. Because of their education they were also the only ones that could articulate anti-colonial sentiments and organize a revolutionary movement. From the very beginning MPLA was forced to work underground since all anti-colonial organisations were suppressed by the Portuguese colonial regime.

Certain observers (Professor John Marcum and the Swede Olle Wästberg,for example) maintain that MPLA,because it was formed by intellectuals,represented the petty bourgeois stratum consisting of mulattoes and so called assimilados in the cities.This kind of thinking reveals nothing but political ignorance of these observers.To establish what interests a political movement represents it is necessary to study its ideology and pratical policy.All truly revolutionary movements have been formed by revolutionary thinking intellectuals , who thereby have come to represent the oppressed masses.MPLA was not formed to protect the bourgeois interests of the Mbundu tribe. On the contrary,it wanted to become a revolutionary nationalist movement.That is clearly shown in MPLA documents.No other Angolan organisation had such an orientation.

HOLDEN ROBERTO-A TRIBAL LEADER IN EXILE

Among the large number of African groups that regarded themselves as anti-colonial was the People's Union for Nothern Angola,UPNA , which was formed by some members of the Bakongo tribe in Leopoldville in 1954 with Barros Necaca and his nephew Holden Roberto as leaders.Holden Roberto spent his childhood at the British Baptist mission in Sao Salvador in Northern Angola,but has been in Congo the rest of his life.According to Marcum (see reference list) UPNA was formed in close collaboration with the American Committee on Africa,ACOA,which was used by USA for its "anti-colonial" offensive in Africa.UPNA did not want to be an Angolan liberation movement. This is shown by the fact that Roberto in 1957 wrote to UN requesting that the Kingdom of Congo (in Northern Angola) should be restored.From this we can draw several conclusions:

-Roberto's movement was regionally bound,or rather tribal,as it was to comprise only one tribe:Bakongo.

-Roberto's movement was formed outside Angola by politicians who had lived a long time in exile;people who had lost contact with their native country and who had established themselves in petty trade and bureaucracy in a foreign country.

-Roberto's movement was from the beginning connected with US interests through ACOA and its director George Hauser.

-Roberto's movement was monarchist,i.e.it aimed at preserving the system of chiefs instead of destroying it.

-Roberto's movement was reformist,i.e. it aimed at achieving independence by negotiations or international preassures.

The fact that Roberto's movement later dropped the "N" and merged with the insignificant group PDA does not mean that the movement has lost its regional character.Marcum,who otherwise favours Roberto's movement,indicates that UPA abandoned its tribal and monarchist outward propaganda to improve its international prestige.

Another aspect of Roberto's movement are the religious features, which gave UPA a Messianist character as Roberto's protestantism was mixed with traditional Bakongo magic.In fact it turned into pure mysticism and Roberto was presented as a black Jesus who would save the people from the evil of the Portuguese.Roberto evoke or permitted the development of racial sentiments against whites and mulattoes disregarding if they were pro-colonialists,nationalists or revolutionaries.These sentiments were often expressed in the form

of anti-intellectualism since even educated Africans (assimilados) were suspected and persecuted by UPA. Consequently we can add:

-Roberto's movement had a strong brand of mysticism, which prevented a development towards an anti-colonial ideology.

-Consciously or because of the lack of a political program Roberto's movement allowed the development of racism directed against whites and mulattoes, and

-an anti-intellectualism which stood in sharp contrast to the advanced revolutionary program of MPLA.

THE SPONTANEOUS REVOLT IN 1961

We do not want to deny that Roberto's movement has had support from the people in Northern Angola. By using tribalism, mysticism, racism and anti-intellectualism it was in fact easy to get short-term successes among an oppressed and illiterate population lacking a serious political leadership. But it was impossible to mobilize the population for a protracted war of liberation by these means.

Several sources state that the popular revolt, which broke out 15th of March 1961 among the workers of the cotton and coffea plantations in Northern Angola, essentially was a spontaneous revolt which was not planned by any organisation. The attack on the prison in Luanda by MPLA the 4th of February the same year - an event which sparked off the armed struggle - could have released the revolt, but the population was not armed or organised, for what reason it became victim of mass slaughter when the Portuguese repression came. Because of the UPA propaganda the revolt was also directed against relatively innocent Portuguese, mulattoes and assimilados. When MPLA sent people to organize and protect the population, UPA turned against them and attacked MPLA. By spreading the superstitious idea that believing in Roberto as a black Jesus would make people safe for the Portuguese bullets, Roberto became guilty of mass murdering his own people. These events make it impossible to consider Roberto's movement as an innocent petty bourgeois exile group. On the contrary it must be seen as a counter-revolutionary organisation which has seriously damaged the liberation struggle of the Angolan people.

Nevertheless Roberto became known as a leader of the liberation movement in Angola. One reason for this was his good contacts with American organisations (he was in USA when the revolt broke out) and his relations with president Bourgiba of Tunisia, Kwamw Nkumah in Ghana and other African leaders who in 1963 formed the Organisation of African Unity, OUA. In Leopoldville Roberto proclaimed his "government-in-exile", GRAE, in which he became president. He said that independence would soon be manifested by hoisting the flag and singing the national anthem in Luanda. Through American pressures OUA recognized both Roberto's newly formed National Front for the Liberation of Angola, FNLA and the GRAE. The members of Roberto's movement received military and other training in Tunisia, Algeria and India, later also in Israel.

MPLA WANTS A UNITED FRONT

Already before the revolt in 1961 MPLA had contacted UPA for discussion about forming a united front against Portuguese colonialism. These proposals were rejected by Roberto. After the revolt MPLA again tried to form a national liberation front together with FNLA.

Several African statesmen of independent Africa put pressure on Roberto to join MPLA,but they did not succeed.Even Marcum,who often writes very negatively or misleading about MPLA,admits that it was always Roberto who rejected co-operation with MPLA.One reason was that the leaders of MPLA were intellectuals and Communists.Statments from people who have defected from Roberto's organisation confirm this.Matumona,vice president of PDA (which in 1962 merged with UPA), said in Courrier d'Afrique the 5th of February 1962:"UPA,the party of Roberto Holden,is subject to American preassure.As a matter of fact it has been observed that almost all material and financial assistance to UPA comes from USA,or more exactly,from the American Committee on Africa.This financial assistance...is given on condition that UPA does not unite with MPLA or any other front organisation where MPLA is a member."

The revolt in March 1961 and the succeeding events made MPLA intensify its organisational work in the country-side.MPLA members joined the guerillas,who had fled unarmed into the forests away from the Portuguese reprisals.Transport of arms from the Congo was the most urgent task.Considering Roberto's demonstrated refusal to co--operate with MPLA and the conditions attached to the US assistance to UPA,we think it is impossible to dismiss the contradictions between these movements by the phrase:"it is not one's fault that two quarrel".We are inclined to put more confidence in MPLA's accusation that the UPA detachments shot down MPLA units in Northern Angola.This,of course,harrassed the work of MPLA.In 1963 USA and Roberto made the government of Congo-Kinshasa expel MPLA from the Congo.MPLA maintains that a large amount of arms was confiscated and that at least 100 MPLA militants were put into prison.The refusal of Congo-Kinshasa to talk about these events confirm these accusations.

The result of all these rebuffs was that MPLA had a crisis.Many members left the movement because of the set-backs.It is a proof of MPLA's ideological strength and revolutionary leadership that the crisis meeting in Brazzaville in 1964 decided to continue the struggle with the small remaining group of militants and without more than a dozen weapons.

MPLA opened its second front in Cabinda which could be reached from Congo-Brazzaville.It is interesting to note that one of Roberto's "ministers",Alexander Taty,left GRAE about the same time to work for the independence of Cabinda from the rest of Angola in the organisation MLEC,i.e. another regionalist movement.One task was to fight MPLA.For this Taty won appreciation by the Portuguese and was rewarded by a high post in the colonial army.At the moment he is a colonel,the highest rank a black man has ever reached.

FNLA TRIBALIST AND RACIALIST ALSO IN 1970

Perhaps someone says that these sins of UPNA/UPA/FNLA/GRAE were made a long time ago and that the movement has developed in progressive direction since then.We do not want to deny that also Roberto's movement has been touched by the dialectics of development , but we think that the starting points were so miserable that really significant changes would be necessary to make FNLA a seriously aiming liberation movement.Some of our accusations concern outright crimes which can not be expiated by simple gestures.As the leadership on the whole is the same as earlier,we find it difficult to believe that Roberto's movement has changed its racialist,tribalist, religious etc character.Neither have we seen any statements from

FNLA supporting such an idea.

On the contrary, we have seen statments confirming that FNLA still has an unclear, racialist and reformist line. In a document from the 15th of March 1970, which has been distributed by the official representative of GRAE in Scandinavia, Matteus Neto, there are not only a most confusing attack on something called "intellectuals of the international progressive revolution"; there is also an attempt to describe the origin of mulattoes and so called assimilados, which is most remarkable. The mulattoes are said to be the result of "a concubinage between the white man, representing fascism, colonialism and imperialism, and the native woman". The "assimilados" are described as selected Africans which have been put to suppress the natives. In the FNLA "class analysis" both these groups together with the Portuguese, are classified as the "class of exploiters", while the black, non-educated Angolans are classified as natives, who are exploited.
To talk about "the white man" as an unambiguous concept refering to all white men, reveals that FNLA does not discriminate between different classes in Portugal, for example. Thus the exploited Portuguese landless peasant is considered as Fascist as the Portuguese landlord or businessman. To count the Mulattoes and assimilados indiscriminately to the "class of exploiters" clearly shows the racist character of FNLA. The fact that certain white journalists have been welcomed to FNLA does not change this.

A scientific analysis of the position of the petty bourgeoisie in the colonial situation can be found in the brilliant speech by Amilcar Cabral at the first Tricontinental conference in Havanna (see Cabral: Revolution in Guinea, Stage 1, London 1969). From this analysis it is clear that large parts of the petty bourgeois stratum in the Portuguese colonies are nationalist and anti-colonialist, but that they, to achieve their aims, have to commit suicide as a class. Both MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC agree with this analysis.

FNLA writes, howhever, that MPLA represents the non-natives (mulattoes and assimilados) while FNLA represents the natives. The same argument is put forward by UNITA in the propaganda against MPLA (see for example a pamphlet from the meeting of the central committee meeting in 1968). The racist argument is, of course, not useful in the external propaganda, but is obviously used for internal consumption. Angolan students can tell that the antipathy of FNLA and UNITA towards mulattoes still is the most important objection to MPLA.

WHAT DOES UNITA REPRESENT?

When Zambia became independant in 1965 MPLA could start working on a new front in Eastern Angola, the one that was going to be the most succesful. Again a rival organisation directed against MPLA, entered the scene. At a meeting in Cairo, Roberto's "minister of foreign affairs", Jonas Savimbi, left FNLA/GRAE. He dissociated himself officialy from the US stake in Roberto's movment and said that he intended to join MPLA. Savimbi arrived at the MPLA headquarters in Brazzaville hoping (according to MPLA) to get a high position in MPLA. This, however, was against the rules of MPLA. When MPLA offered him to become an ordinary member of the movement, Savimbi refused and went directly to Lusaka where he soon formed the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA. After less than a year UNITA reported that a group with military training had attacked the Benguela railroad.

We find it remarkable that UNITA started an armed confrontation less than a year after its foundation. All previous experience from guerilla warfare shows that patient work of preparation is necessary befo

re armed actions can start.We suspect that UNITA first and foremost wanted international attention by a drastic action and that the work among the people therefore was neglected.
However,the result of the sabotage against the Benguela railroad was not what UNITA has expected.As Zambia is using yhe railroad for transportation of copper and forbides the liberation movements to sabotage it,UNITA was thrown out from Zambia by president Kaunda.According to the propaganda of UNITA Savimbi went to his home district in central Angola to lead the struggle from there,but several reports say he has been in Cairo and elsewhere since then.According to an article by Basil Davidson in a Swedish newspaper(Dagens Nyheter)Savimbi has been recognized in Central Lusaka this year.Furthermore,Davidson says that Savimbi has allied himself with the opposition party ANC in Zambia,a party which is openly tribalist and advocates close co-operation with Ian Smith's Rhodesia.
MPLA claims that Savimbi's movement-as Taty's in Cabinda and Roberto's along the border to Congo-is essentially directed against MPLA and that UNITA therefore is a counter-revolucionary group in the same way as FNLA and MLEC.We have received reports about clashes between UNITA and MPLA units,but we have no other sources than those from the movements themselves.Our confidence in the UNITA information is seriously distorted,however.

WHO IS LYING MOST?

One of the reasons for this lack of confidence is UNITA's shameless claims about liberated areas.According to the pamphlet from the 1968 central committee meeting,which UNITA has spread all over the world, UNITA operated in the whole Eastern half of Angola only two years after starting the armed struggle.UNITA claims to control 1,5 million people.According to a map in the Belgian left magazine Clarté,UNITA controls half Angola having operations in Huila,Cuanza Sul,Cuanza Norte and the Luanda district in Western Angola.According to the Times of Zambia(see below)UNITA controls half the countryside in Angola. These claims are so fantastic that we find it hard to believe in them. In the central committee pamphlet of 1968 UNITA quotes Portuguese sources to prove its existance as a liberation movement:Diario de Noticias August 7 th and 13th.If Portuguese reports have any value as proofs,they show that UNITA exists,but hardly that UNITA has liberated areas or even that it is a threat to Portugal.One of the reports on the contrary shows MPLA successes,when saying that MPLA is taking over UPA(and UNITA?)positions.The information about UNITA's armed actions is from 1967.Since then no evidence has been supplied about UNITA activity inside Angola.
MPLA has put together Portuguese war communiqués and reports from the colonial war in Angola in a booklet(available in English)which clearly shows that MPLA is seen as the most dangerous enemy in Angola by the Portuguese.MPLA has also presented a comparison between the Portuguese and the MPLA communiqués concerning the number of killed Portuguese soldiers.As to the first zone of MPLA(north of Luanda) which FNLA claims to control,we would like to refer to the reports of Fernando Farinha in Noticia 18/11-67,13/4-68 and 21/2-70,and to Eduardo Baio's article from 6/7-68.In these Portuguese articles MPLA operations in Cuanza Norte are mentioned and also that UPA/GRAE is fighting MPLA.
We also want to refer to the fact that South African press since 1967 has written about the success of the Angolan guerilla,and especially about MPLA.In 1968,for example,the journalist Al Venter of South African News/Check wrote about the successes for the guerilla after a visit to Angola with Portuguese detachments:

"In Angola only one group has been succesful-MPLA.By operating in a way similar to Mondlane's FRELIMO,MPLA has been able to establish itself in Northern and Western Angola"(News/Check 12/4-68."Western" is probably a misprint,since Al Venter elsewhere writes about the actions of MPLA in the Eastern part of Angola).

"A sector in the Eastern half of the country is almost as large as

bers of SWAPO.

One of the members in the Africa groups,Dick Urban Vestbro,was in Zambia at the time when Valentine's articles were published.To examine the information about UNITA,Vestbro contacted Valentine and asked for more information about UNITA.Valentine said that he did not have any more information than what was written in his articles;a strange statement if he really had visited such a large part of the country.When Vestbro asked if Valentine could arrange contacts with representatives from UNITA,Valentine said he could not do this,since UNITA was not recognized in Zambia,but through Mr. Cunningham at the American Embassy it would perhaps be possible to get such contacts.

Vestbro had met Mr Cunningham earlier at the Liberation Centre (where all the liberation movements have their offices) together with a representative from the conservative negroe organisation NAACP.At an MPLA press conference the same man introduced himself to Vestbro as a man "in charge of political matters of the American Embassy".According to "Who is Who in CIA" ,Dr James S. Cunningham was born on the 25th of April 1911,served as a lieutenant in the US Army 1942-46,is employed in State Department since 1951 and has worked for CIA in different Latin American countries before he came to Zambia.Other information from diplomatic sources in Lusaka confirm that the members of UNITA are frequent guests at the American Embassy especially at parties for "freedom fighters".This alone does not prove that UNITA is paid by CIA,but obviously the claimed Marxist-Leninist ideology of UNITA does not prevent the members from mixing with CIA agents.

With the above background the Africa groups consider MPLA to be the only movement in Angola which fulfils the proposed criterias,thereby deserving our support.We also regard it as our duty to reject the propaganda spread by the representatives of FNLA and UNITA together with their Swedish supporters.

OLLE WÄSTBERG TRIES TO CONFUSE THE SWEDISH PUBLIC OPINION

Since the vice-president of the Liberal Youth Organisation (FPU), Olle Wästberg,visited FNLA in the summer of 1969 he has written articles on Angola in almost every Liberal paper in Sweden.He has put forward the thesis that there are two radical liberation movements with popular support in Angola:MPLA and FNLA.We know that Roberto's organisation is a tribal refugee movement in exile with neo-colonial ambitions for Angola;a reformist organisation without a strategy for the Liberation struggle and without any strong activity inside Angola,especially during the last few years.Thus the writings of Wästberg only serve the purpose of misleading the public.By insisting that FNLA is equal to MPLA he gives an impression of division in the national liberation movement,thus weakening the Swedish support for the liberation struggle in Angola.

We understand that Liberals do not object to the confused ideology of Roberto or to imperialist and neo-colonial support to FNLA(from USA,Israel,India,Congo-Kinshasa and Tunisia).But we want to put in question some of the statments by Wästberg about his own visit to the FNLA guerillas.For instance,we wonder how Wästberg knew what places he visited as he only marched through forests and bushes without fixed points od orientation.According to his own declaration Wästberg orientated himself by the changing dialects of the civil population,but this is a very vague indication.The photos shown by Wästberg almost entirely lack civil population despite the

Rhodesia.The other area,called Comsec D(by the Portuguese,our note), begins less than 45 miles North of Luanda,the capital.Sector D has been the focus of the most intensive guerilla war that Southern Africa has seen so far."(News/Check 12/7-68).
UNITA is not mencioned at all in these articles.MPLA is instead mentioned as the leading "terrorist organisation" in Angola.Al Venter also writes that Roberto's movement has not only killed white people but also black.

MPLA REPORTS RELIABLE

In the Africa groups we have also studied what journalists have written about their visits to the guerilla.Of those who have visited areas controlled by MPLA we can mention the following:

Daniel Limukonda,Zambia Mail 8/3-68
Tommy Chibaye,The Standard (Tanzania) 13/12-68
Don Barnett,Ramparts April 1969;together with Roy Harvey articles in the Guardian 27/4,4/5,11/5 and 19/10 1968.
Stefano di Stefani and Augusta Conchiglia,film and pictures;article by Carlo Gregoretti in Espresso 2/3-69.
Winter Lemba,Times of Zambia February 1970.
Basil Davidson,Dagens Nyheter 19 and 20/8 1970.

We have studied these reports and found them reliable.Besides this we have had lengthy discussions about the situation in the liberated areas with several of the reporters (Barnett,Stefani,Conchiglia and Davidson).Our conclusion is that MPLA effectively leads the struggle against Portuguese colonialism and that MPLA builds a democratic social structure in the liberated areas.MPLA represents an ideology aiming at a socialist society without capitalist or other forms of exploitation.

We have also studied reports from persons who have written about FNLA and UNITA.These reports do not witness about large scale social reconstruction compared to that of MPLA.Instead the reports give an impression of exaggerations and of foundlessness.The Swiss journalist Pierre Pascal Rossi,author of the book "Pour une Guerre Oubliée",who visited FNLA in 1968 says that he travelled 1000 kilometres during one month's march.This is possible but not very likely.Olle Wästberg,a Swede who visited FNLA in 1969,says he marched 1500 kilometres in about the same time.This is almost impossible , according to persons who are familiar with such terrain as that of Notherh Angola.As for the FNLA armed forces Rossi says they comprise 10000 men;Wästberg says 10000-20000 and Fritz Sitte(Schweizericher Allgemeine Zeitung 6 and 13 of June 1970) says 30000 armed men.This means that the number of soldiers has increased 300 percent in 2 years.Sitte states further that UPA/GRAE controls an area comprising 2.1 million people,i.e. almost half the population of Angola.We consider these statements as evoidence of the grotesque FNLA propaganda.

UNITA FRIENDLY WITH CIA

The trumph cards of UNITA are some articles in Times of Zambia 11 and 12/9 1969,which were written by the journalist Steve Valentine. In these articles it is stated that UNITA-the "Cinderella" of the liberation movements,has 3000 armed men who control "almost half Angola except for the cities".Valentine says he marched 800 kilometres in three weeks,which is almost impossible.The intention was to meet Jonas Savimbi,but they did not find him.Information about schools,clinics,village militia,people's shops and others showing UNITA's achievments in its liberated areas,is lacking or mentioned in a vague way only.The articles are illustrated by a series of photos showing guerilla soldiers posing with their weapons.The number of soldiers is not more than 25 on any photo.Only one picture shows civilians.Some of the soldiers have been identified as men-

fact that some of those areas Wästberg claim to have visited are very densely populated.The "schools" shown consist of trees under which the pupils sit on the ground,writing with pieces of coal on large leaves.The existance of medical facilities are supposed to be shown from people being transported on strechers.These are all very vague signs of liberated areas.

We know that it is quite possible to penetrate Northern Angola without meeting either Portuguese or civil population.But we also know that it is fully possible to act guerilla warfare in Southern Congo. A French film producer has revealed that he made a "documentary film" about the FNLA guerilla at the Kinkuzu camp in Congo;a film awarded a price when shown in Europe.

The great danger with Roberto's movement is what Davidson calles "mountain topism" (from the Chinese revolution).This means that certain armed forces keep away from the struggle until victory is near.Then they come out from their hidings,involve themselves in the struggle and declare themselves as representatives of the people in order to be able to negotiate with the enemy,thus satisfying the interest of imperialism.We are convinced that the US government is aware of the rapidly approaching break-down of Portugal and that an Angolan government headed by MPLA would not serve the interests of USA.Therefore USA has to support FNLA for future needs.The fact that Roberto is "bitter" about the US policy,as Wästberg says,does not prove that FNLA is not an instrument of US imperialism.Even the murderers of the Saigon clique have made bitter attacks on USA without loosing their position as puppets.

"GNISTAN" MISINFORMED ABOUT UNITA

In number 3 1970 of "Gnistan" (organ of the KFML,"Marxist-Leninist") a short article on Angola was published.It was based on information from Peking Review(13/2-70).This is seen from the fact that "Gnistan" kept the Peking Review misspelling of Azores ("Azodes") and from the fact that "Gnistan" kept the false information that the US military base is situated in Central Angola instead of central Atlantic Ocean.Besides this "Gnistan" is taking another position than Peking Review.In the original text it says that UNITA is one instance of the liberation movement in Angola,but "Gnistan" writes that UNITA "is leading the struggle".

Members of the Africa groups pointed out these mistakes to representatives of KFML and for the editors of "Gnistan".We offered "Gnistan" to study our material on Angola.This offer was not used,however.Instead "Gnistan" maintained in No 4 1970 that UNITA follows a correct Marxist-Leninist line while confessing that they do not know anything about the political line of MPLA.

No 8 1970 of "Gnistan" contains another article on Angola.The main point in the article is to show the existance of two lines in the liberation struggle:one consisting of educated elites forming governments-in-exile working outside its own country (the line of the bourgeoisie and revisionists) and the other line being that the leadership relies entirely on the masses (the Marxist-Leninist proletarian revolutionary solution).MPLA is accused of being lead by assimilados;the main argument against MPLA produced by FNLA and UNITA.The Rome conference is also attacked by quoting a UNITA communiqué.

"Gnistan" is seriously mistaken when making UNITA represent the mass line in the Angolan liberation struggle.It is not enough to show

that Savimbi has said that "a liberation struggle which is lacking the support of the masses will not succeed". In Africa there are many exiled groups who, for opportunist reasons, claim to follow the mass line and the thoughts of Mao-Tse-tung. "Gnistan" seems to mean that MPLA is followinf a "bourgeois and revisionist line", but everything indicates that MPLA is the only movement that has laid the base for a protracted people's war for the liberation of Angola.

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Reports from liberated areas, see the text.
Material from MPLA can be obtained from MPLA representative Antonio Neto, Körsbärsvägen 1-7, room 466, 114 23 Stockholm.

SPEACH HELD BY ANTONIO NETO,REPRESENTATIVE OF MPLA,AT A SOLIDARITY MEETING THE 26th APRIL 1971 ARRANGED BY THE MPLA REPRESENTATION IN SWEDEN AND STOCKHOLMS AFRIKAGRUPP.

Dear friends,dear comrades.

We have gathered to this meeting in order to make an analysis of the situation in Angola.We thank you for attending,because it shows the attention and the solidarity you give the MPLA.We are especially happy to have among us here today representatives from the Press, who have been invited to this information meeting.

It is a great pleasure for us to wellcome and to present Mikko Lohikoskin and Börje Mattsson,two finnish students and journalists, who recently spent some time in our country,invited by MPLA.They had the possibility to cross miles and miles of our liberated areas.We would be very interested to hear about this experience,made possible only by our policy and our popular struggle,and thanks to our wish to let all those who seriously seek information on the spot to come and find out about a people,a revolution,a state,the juridical legitimation of which is based on the struggle and the victory over the portuguese colonialism and the liberation of our country from the shame of humanity that is the portuguese colonialism.

The struggle in Guinea-Bissau is developping in the same way,along the same principles,and the vanguard of our peoples,the PAIGC, the FRELIMO and the MPLA is making possible the complete breakdown of the portuguese agression.

By conquering and erlarging the liberated areas,the only historically possible solution is a take-over of the power.The total independence of our country can only be won by the peoples armed struggle because we are fighting for a right,for the right to be free,to govern ourselves.This right to total independence cannot be subjected to negotiations or concessions,it is indisputable.

Our only response to the aggressions from Lisbon and certain imperialists can be nothing but strengthening our struggle on all levels.

Which is the current situation in Angola?Which are the current contradictions within the moribund portuguese colonialism in Angola? How do we look upon the concrete realization of the international support for our people?Which are the prospects for Angola today after 10 years of armed struggle for national liberation?

1.The current situation in Angola: MPLA as the irreplacable vanguard of the armed angolese people.

The present situation,when the portuguese colonial authorities themselves admit that their army no longer can win this peoples war led by MPLA since the 4th of Febr. 1961,is a new one,and we must investigate it now.

The struggle for national liberation is developping all over the territory,that is in ten out of the sexteen administrative districts of Angola.This is our peoples response to the slogan about spreading the

armed struggle to all parts of the national territory,and this has led to the liberation of a third of the territory.

After the first political-military region in the north was opened , the second one followed in 1964,in the district of Cabinda,and then the third political-military region was opened in 1966 and it consists of the districts of Moxico and Cuando-Cubango.The President of MPLA,Dr Agostinho Neto,in the first assembly of the third region which was held in Aug. 1968 noted:"All the regions will be developped this year,so that there should no longer be a number of combat fronts, but only one enveloping the enemy in an encirclement which will paralyze him and render him inoffensive.This will be the prelude to the final show which will culminate in the seizure of political power by our people."

From this point of view,the fourth political-military region in Lunda and Malanje,north of the Benguela railway that drains the copper-districts in Zambia and Congo-Kinshasa,is only partially under our controle.During our progress towards the rich cotton and diamond districts,the armed forces of MPLA are fighting important battles not only against the colonial forces but also against the ex-gendarmes from Katanga,SouthAfrican commandos and all sorts of mercenaries.This system of "mercenairizing" is ment to secure the continued exploitation of raw material by the imperialists.

The fifth political-military region,comprised by the districts of Bié and Huambo is situated in the heart of the country,and it is of the greatest demographic and economic importance.Because of that the portuguese have established a strategical barrier through this tableland region.But our forces are attacking in this region since 1970, and we have shot down aeroplanes in that area,namely in Katota. The enemy is retreasing in front of our advancing guerilla units,and this is all because of the political conscience that exists among our people.

President Neto declares:"This struggle also has a front that consists of creating a new ideology among people and a political-military education - only in that way can we guarantee for ourselves a future that means a really free life."

But the war is not only going on in the rural areas.The mobilization of the people in towns is progressing.In the action committees in the towns,the MPLA commandos,even in Luanda,the capital of Angola,do actions like sabotages at petrol installations,weapon stores,a plan was hi-jacked on its way from Luanda to Congo-Brazzaville,and they also give support to the guerilla operating in the first region some 200 Km from the capital.

In the zones controled by us a peoples power is developping.A militia for self-defence has been formed.Health centers,schools and peoples shops are established for the first time in history in this part of the country.The colonialism has here kept the people in ignorance and misery,without schools,and with an illiteracy of more than 98%,completely without any medical assistance,and there,in these areas,the guerilla open up the door to knowledge and technique.Doctors,nurses, teachers and political commissaries are here starting a socio-cultural development within the scope of our program for national reconstruction.More than 10 Centers for Revolutionary Education are functioning in the 5 regions within the east front.

One part of Angola is already withdrawn from the exploitation of colonialism, popular institutions like UNTA, the Trade Union, JMPLA, the Youth organisation and OMA, the womens organisation have been formed, as well as larger military units. The base for an Angolan state exists inside Angola, where the portuguese army cannot any longer exercise its "normal" functions.

2. The contradictions within the portuguese system, and their criminal actions.

Of the three colonies in war, Angola is the one where they have concentrated the largest armed forces, about 160.000 men, but the military service is already 4 years compulsory, longer than in any other country in the world, and the fascist Caetano clique has now gone far enough to draft women and mercenaries paid by the mining companies, and they have formed an organisation for civil defence of Angola, a volontary fascist organisation.
With help from NATO the portuguese officers can oppress our people. During the next 5 years more than 4 mil. US dollars will be spent on the construction of new prisons, concentration camps have been built in Silva Porto and Mocanedes. In the district of Lundd a jail is beeing built that will take 500 prisoners. The portuguese are spending more than 50% of its national budget on the war, two South African military bases have been built in Angola. Incapable to stop the war, the fascist portuguese government is throwing itself into a situation with no exits. That is why they ally with the monopol capitalists who freely penetrate Portugal and Angola, and that is why they ask apply for NATO military bases in Angola. The portuguese government also have a psychological war plan, they drown certain news agencies and television companies with fascist military propaganda, like for example the last program a week ago in the Swedish TV.

Moreover, the Portuguese government has since May 1970 decided to use chemical arms, toxic gases, defoliants and herbicides in the liberated areas of Angola. The goal of this escalation is clear - by chemical warfare they committ genocide on our population, and at the same time they destroy the cultivations in our liberated areas. It is only in Vietnam and Angola that the international war criminals, the American imperialists and the fascist colonialist Portugal, use these weapons which the human conscience condemns, and which is also strongly condemned by international Justice, as for example in the Geneve convention.
Why do Portugal use chemical products? Why are they in Portugal making up plans for authonomy doomed to failure in advance? Why does Portugal condemn the patriotic militans of MPLA while at the same time they want to represent the "Western Civilization"?- It is because they have already lost the war, because their case is an injuste one and they are making concessions to the NATO, EFTA and the common market.
But the international opinion among humanitarian organisations, among the socialist countries, and among all democratic and progressive forces means an important support to our people struggle, and we hope that in the future we will have a still larger support of that kind. Let us notify with satisfaction the decision from the Swedish government to give direct help to MPLA, the only authentic representative for the Angolan people.

It is MPLA that allways has been the genuine national movement inside Angola, the only one made responsable for the war, and MPLA is the only movement directly facing the ennemy and its NATO allies. It is therfore a falacy to talk about "divisions among Angolan national forces", whild resorting to american secret service which outside the country set up neocolonialists, utilizing tribalistic and racistic arguements.

This is a cadaver policy, to resuscitate of which is pleasing certain people. We give our total support to the revolutionary forces in Indochina, led by PRR, FUNK and Pathet Laos, and this will kill the war plans of the american imperialists.

Before terminating I would like to thank you for your moral support and the genuine solidarity you have shown by taking part in the meeting - a concrete proof of appreciation of the armed struggle for national liberation led by MPLA, the only legitimate representative for the people of Angola.
Because, the angolan people, today more than ever, needs your solidarity and help to be able to demonstrate and combat the genocide that is now going on in the liberated areas of our country, which is becoming a victim for the chemical warfare used by the portuguese in their dirty colonial war, since a year ago.
In this situation that implies life or death for hundreds of children, women and old people - the first ones to succomb - in this situation we are sure that you will take a definite stand and condemn this barbarian colonial war led by the portuguese colonialists and that you will increase your moral and material support to MPLA.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN

The REPRESENTATION of the MPLA in SWEDEN.

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Wreckage of a USA plane shot down by our armed forces

MPLA

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA

Special Communique No. 7/71

TEN YEARS have already passed since the Angolan people decided to solve their national problems in a determined way, so as to ensure in the years to come full political and military control for a new and prosperous Angola, an Angola where Angolans feel absolutely free and take part in all national activities.
It had become necessary to embark upon a gigantic task of high responsability, and action was unleashed on 4 February 1961, in Luanda, with lightning activities in well determined places.
Our action, the certainty of our results and our firm belief in victory made the MPLA into a vanguard organisation, the only one capable of leading the almost daily military operations we have to carry out, thereby guaranteeing at least minimum security for a population under constant threat from the Portuguese colonial forces stationed in Angola.
It is within this context that on 16 February 1971, the MPLA's fighting forces again attacked the Caripande post, a barracks of considerable strategic importance. At 5.10 a.m. that day, 185 mortar shells and 25 cannon shells demolished Caripande.
Three ammunition stores were hit and a dormitory was destroyed, as was an approximately 15-metre wall which served as protection for one of the units. The radio installations were totally destroyed and also a tractor parked in the middle of the barracks. The enemy suffered heavy loss of life.
The MPLA guerrillas concluded the operation at 5.35. Twenty-five minutes later 2 aircraft carried away the dead and wounded.
The following day, wishing to intimidate the population, 8 enemy aircraft patrolled the banks of the Zambezi.
Yet another MPLA victory arousing the enthusiasm of the population and resulting from our guerrillas' determination to carry out ever more operations to ensure our people's complete victory and make Angola a free and prosperous country.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN

mpla

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MPLA

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA

THIRD REGION
(Provinces of Moxico and Cuando-Cubango)

ANOTHER BIG VICTORY FOR THE GUERILLA OF THE M.P.L.A.

In the new phase of the armed struggle,in which the MPLA fighters are better armed and better equipped,several barracks of the Portuguese colonial army,have been attacked.

This tactic completely demoralises the enemy troops and disturbs the enemy high command,who sees their plans destroyed.

After an encirclement offensive of the barrack of SETE (also called MONTEIRO) in the MOXICO Province by our forces,portuguese colonial soldiers during the week September the 13th to the 20th,were forced to withdraw.

The enemy were forced to abandon the barrack of SETE after the attacks by the MPLA forces.

Our armed guerillas continued to patrol,no permitting the enemy an attempt to recapture the destroyed barrack.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

THE STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE MPLA

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Stockholm 3.9.71

MPLA

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA

MOVIMENTO POPULAR DE LIBERTAÇAO DE ANGOLA

WAR COMMUNIQUE N° 23 /71

IIIrd REGION

(Northern Sub-Region)

When the enemy gets informations about the existence of a group of men in a zone of our large front of struggle,he mobilizes such a big number of forces that only the dread which dominate him can explain it.
So,in one of the sectors of our zone A,in the left marge of the river KASSAI,Portuguese colonialists,in order to capture and assassinate some elements of our population,have come offen in 5 helicopters and with a large number of heliocarried troops,to committ their crimes.

Informed about the abusive and criminal presence of Portuguese terrorists,a group of MPLA guerrillas has been immediately ordered to the place.There,in four successive fights,it gave a hard punishment to the enemy.The last of the fights was so violent that Caetano terrorists lost 5 men and 6 were hurt.
The equipment and ammunitions left by the colonialists in the terrain were dramatic proofs of their hurried escape.

This fight,which took place on the 5th April 1971, increased substantialy the number of Portuguese war invalids,who later on are sent, to West Germany with unachivable promises of social recovery.

The population of Lunege barracks area,who so bravely has faced the raids of the enemy,suffered once more from the demonstration of the inpotente rage of Portuguese colonialism. After the 5th April fight, in a common act of revenge,which caracterizes perfectly our enemy, 3 angolans were assassinated in cold blood of being informers of MPLA guerrillas,the liberators of the Angolan people.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN

THE DIRECTOR COMMITTE OF MPLA.

DIP 18.6.71
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MPLA

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA

MOVIMENTO POPULAR DE LIBERTAÇAO DE ANGOLA

WAR COMMUNIQUE Nº 25/71

IIIrd REGION

(Districts of Moxico and Cuando-Cubango)

On June and July 15th respectively, after three years of pernanent encirclement and constant punishment, the Portuguese colonialist army evacuated the barracks of Lwatanba (municipality of Luso, capitaltown of the Moxico district), and the barracks of Karipande (in the municipality of Kazonbo) which they were no longer able to defend.

At 3 p.m. of July 15th the Portuguese flag ceased to fly over Karipande giving a forecast what will happen in the very near future in every part of Angola under Portuguese rule.

No doubt, this was a greate victory of the Angolean people and the MPLA, which has a particular and significant neaning: it was in Karipande that, on 14th April 68, our Commander HOJI IA HENDA, BELOVED SON OF THE ANGOLEAN PEOPLE AND HEROIC COMMANDER OF MPLA, lost his life in the fight.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN

THE DIRECTOR COMMITTEE OF MPLA

MOVIMENTO POPULAR DE LIBERTAÇÃO DE ANGOLA MPLA

DIP 21.7.71

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Stockholn 6/11/71

MPLA

MOVIMENTO POPULAR DE LIBERTACAO DE ANGOLA

WAR COMMUNIQUE Nº 29/71

IIIrd REGION

(Districts of Moxico and Cuando-Cubango)

On the last 25th June,MPLA fighters punished with intensive fire of mortars the colonialist soldiers based in Muié barracks.

The attack,with a duration of 20 minutes,left behind an unknown number of casualities in the enemy.Unable of replying to our violent attack,the colonialists aided by a support group coming from Serpa Pinto,made criminal reprisals over the populations kept under prison in the strategic hamlet around the barracks.Another coward crime,just prooving the rotteness,the defeat,the powerlessness of the vestige of the portuguese colonialism in Angola.

On the same days,MPLA sappers blew up the bridge on the river Kubangui,Northwest of Cangombe,separating these barracks of the Kangamba ones.

As a prelude of the withdrawal without glory of the foreign troops out from our country,they left Karipande,Lumbala-East,Luatamba and other barracks where they have been entrenched unsecure and incredulous.MPLA will take out of the ruins the criminal colonialists who doesn't follow quickly the example of theirs accomplices of Karipande.

THE VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

THE DIRECTOR COMMITTEE OF MPLA

Lusaka,12.8.71
/MS

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MOVIMENTO POPULAR DE LIBERTACAO DE ANGOLA MPLA

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA

REPORT ON MILITARY ACTIVITIES DURING THE FIRST HALF OF 1971

This report refers exclusively to the 3rd,4th and 5th politico-military regions,i.e. the Districts of LUNDA and MALANGE,BIÉ,CUANDO-CUBANGO and CUNENE:

Bases attacked.....12
Bases completely destroyed..... 2
Bases abandoned by the enemy..... 2
Number of deaths caused to the enemy.....335
Wounded enemy.....243
Ambushes.....21
Anti-car mines exploded by the enemy.....40
Helicopters shot down..... 2
Vehicles destroyed.....12
Boats sunk..... 2
Prisoners of war(traitors in the enemy's service).....11
People freed from Portuguese concentration camps.....655
Material recovered.....3.300 assorted rounds of ammunition
.bombs of 350 kgs..... 5
.pistols..... 6
.carabines..... 9
.various equipment and tinned food
Bridges destroyed..... 3
Head of cattle recovered.....76

More than 39 actions were taken during which the enemy suffered heavy losses without much control.

During this period the enemy made heavy bombardments on cultivated areas using defoliants and herbicides.They bombed their own base at Kalunda and blamed the Republic of Zambia for this act.In this criminal act the Portuguese colonialists lost 50 of their people.

Again during the same period MPLA was sorry to lose 14 militants 5 of whom were killed accidentally by arms and 1 was drowned.

Three of the victims were pioneers who the enemy killed in his fury of assassination. Some of the captured arms were immediately used by our guerrillas against the enemy.

During the period covered from January to July 1971, MPLA acquired new regions, extended the armed struggle to new fronts, won the confidence of many Angolans who want the liberation of our country and added some prestige to MPLA in the interior parts of the country and abroad.

In certain regions the war has reached a superior level and the certainty of victory has become more clearly defined.

MPLA advances, MPLA wins, MPLA liberates Angola!

Immigrant Angolans, Angolans in the colonial army, Angolans in the zones which have not yet been touched by guerilla warfare, join MPLA !

More unified, more numerous, we will be one !

We will become stronger, we will liberate Angola quicker !

VICTORY IS CERTAIN !

D.I.P. 10/6/71

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news FROM .... africa

Cairo:010..... Comrade Agostinho NETO, president of MPLA, has been in Cairo to meet some of those responsible for the Arab Socialist Union and members of the presidency of the EGYPT republic (July) Brazzaville:011.....Comrade Agostinho NETO,has met officialy president Marien NGOUABI, in Brazzaville, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CONGO. (July) Lusaka:012.....Stud nts of Colege for Rural Development in Zambia have offered, financial aid,school materials and clothes to the MPLA.

Lusaka:013.....President Agostinho NETO was received in the State House of Lusaka by president KAUNDA and PrimeMinister of Sweden Olof PALME.President Kaunda once again reaffirmed the complete support of Zambia for MPLA in its fight against the Portuguese colonialism.When received by the Prime Minister of Sweden,president Agostinho NETO informed him of the new development in our fight for national liberation.The Prime Minister of Sweden stated that Sweden should increase the help to the MPLA.He also expressed his support of the fight of our people under the leadership of the MPLA(September 25)

.... asia

Peking,Pyongyang,Hanoi:014.....A delegation of the MPLA led by comrade Agostinho NETO, and with the participation of Lúcio LARA,member of the Political and Military Co-ordination Committee and the Director Committee of the MPLA,António Alberto NETO,representative of the MPLA in Scandinavian and Nordic countries,Ananias ESCORCIO, zone commander in the 1 st Poltical and Military Region of the MPLA, José ANTÓNIO, zone commander in the 3 rd Political and Military Region of the MPLA, have made a visit to People's Republic of CHINA Democratic People's Republic of KOREA and to the Democratic Republic of VIETNAM.The delegation from MPLA have been received by comrades Chou-En-LAI,Prime Minister of State Council of P.R.C.,Kim Il SUN general secretary of the central Committee of the workers' party of Korea, and head of State and premier of the cabinet of D.P.K. and Prime Minister Phan Van DONG, in respectively Peking,Pyongyang and Hanoi.During the visit in Pyongyang the delegation have met prince Norodom Shianouk, president of FUNK and head of state of Cambodia.In Hanoi the delegation have met the representatives of Provisional and Revolutionnary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam,and the representatives of the Patriotic Front of Laos. The trip has made it possible to strengthen the bonds of solidarity that unite the Angolan people under the leadership of the MPLA,

with the other peoples in Asia which fight against imperialism. (August-September)

Tokio:015....A delegation from the MPLA led by comrade Ambroise LUKOKI,representative of the MPLA in the republic of EGYPT,SYRIA, and IRAK, with comrade Carlos PESTANA, militant of the MPLA,have taken part in Japan of commemorations on the anniversary of atomic bombing over Hiroshima and Nagasaki(August 71)

.... europe

Oslo:016.....Comrade António Alberto Neto, representative of the MPLA, in the Scandinavian and nordic countries,has been officialy received by the Norwegian Secretary of foreign affairs,Mr Thoravald STOTENBERG with whom he had a fruitful discussion concerning the norwegian position in the Nato meeting in Lisbon,and the direct, humanitarian support from the norwegian government to the MPLA! In Oslo during his stay there he also met the press,the radio and TV, as well as democratic and progressive organisations and political parties and several members of the Norwegian Parliament.(May 27)

Budapest:017.....A delegation from the MPLA, with the participation of comrade Manuel JORGE and comrade KHAMALATA, representatives of the the MPLA in Rome and Lusaka, have attended the General Conference of the World Council of Peace in Budapest.(May)

Berlin:017.....Comrade Manuel Jorge has attended the VII th Congress of the Socialist Unified Party of Germany (S.E.D.), in GERMANY DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.(June)

Lisbon:018....The colonial-fascist power reveal.On the date of the third anniversary of his arrival to the power,Marcello Caetano,premier minister of fascist colonial regime of Portugal has declared finally that he"couldn't hide the existence of obstacles.I cann't hide to the country that we have big difficulties to overcome,that we will go on having them for a large time and that it's possible that they will grown in number and gravity."(27.9.71) cf:Diário de Notícias

Figueira da Foz:019.....Portuguese people increase its armed actions against colonial war.At least four vessels were destroyed in a fire at shipyards at the portuguese harbour of Figueira da Foz in the first week of september.The fire has been attributed to ARA(Armed Revolutionnary Action) and is a serie of operations that include the destruction of 17 aircraft at the TANCOS airbase in march and explosion that cut Lisbon's communications with the rest of the world for nine hours on the eve of the NATO conference held in Lisbon last june. (October) Lisbon:020.....According to news reported by some international sources, a second explosion took place in the agressive Nato's

headquarter in Caparica near Lisbon.These explosion carried out by A.R.A.(Armed Revolutionary Action) is a serie of sabotage operations that include in the 27 th october the destruction of NATO's building in Ocirás, two days before its inauguration,the airbase of Tancos,the four vessels at least in the harbour of Figueira da Foz, and an explosion that cut Lisbon's communication etc...Those actions counting as victories of the Portuguese People shows cleary the strong opposition either to the fascist regime or to criminal colonial war against the Peoples of Angola,Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.(November 6)

Kungvälv:021...Comrade António Alberto Neto,have attended a seminar organised by S.U.L.(National Council of Swedish Youth) and CENYC (Council of European National Youth Committees) at the Nordiska Folkningen Akademi.The subject of the seminar was the"Evaluation of developing aid".The seminar recommended all Youth Organisations to support the liberation movements MPLA,FRELIMO and PAIGC, and organise "prick actions" against portuguese colonial power,like boycott against angolan coffee,and portuguese exportations to E.C.C. and EFTA, and asking the "establishment" to stop sending weapons to Portugal(Nato countries) and to give direct material and financial support to those liberations movements as well as for Southern Africa Liberation Movements(ANC and SWAPO).(October-November)

Copenhague:022....Comrade António Neto ,have received a letter from the Danish minister of foreign Affairs Mr K.B. ANDERSEN, that assured that the Danish government is prepared to increase its financial assistance to MPLA.During the stay in Copenhague,António Neto,met several journalists,and gave interview in the radio and TV, and had fruitful contacts with the organisators of the AFRICA 71.This campaign is organisaded in all Danemark,to inform that Danish people about the development of new situation in Angola and in other colonies.A collection of money has been organised for reconstruction program in the liberated areas of the MPLA.(November)

Geneva:023....The World Council of Churches in its financial aid program for 1971 decided to give to MPLA a grant of 25.000 $ US dollar.PAIGC(African Independance Party of Guinea and Cape Verde Island) and the Mozambique Institut of FRELIMO received also a grant of 25.000 and 20.000 $ US dollars respectively.

angola 024...After effective attacks by the armed forces of the MPLA,the portuguese colonialists have been obliged to abandon

some barracks in our liberated areas. After intense fire from mortars and cannons the barracks of Karipande, Lumbala, Macondo and Luvei have been captured. Nothing is left to the colonialists but an inglorious retreat, an image of what will hapen to all foreign troops still remaining on our national soil. (Department of Information and Propaganda of the MPLA-August)

angola 025.....SAM (Medical Assistance Service) informs:

Number of patients examined, from January till March 1971:

III rd Political Military Region

Region (North)	11.792
Region (South)	18.534
TOTAL IIIrd Region	30.326

IV th Political Military Region

Total	3.958

V th Political Military Region

Total	752
TOTAL	35.036

Note: We haven't yet the reports from the Ist and IInd Political and Military Regions

NURSES SCHOOL	Pupils	Desisted	Failures	Successes
III rd Region	29	5	1	23
IV th Region	12	1	-	10 (a)
Total	41	6	1	33

(a) One pupil has been killed in the struggle

EASTERN FRONT; All members of the Director Committee of the MPLA had attended for a plenarium. All the representatives of the MPLA in ALGERIA, EGYPT, TANZANIA, ZAMBIA, CONGO-BRAZZAVILLE, ITALY, and SWEDEN had also attended to a Conference organised by the Department of foreign relations of the MPLA. This conference elected comrade António Alberto Neto, representative in Scandinavian and Nordic countries chairman of the Conference.

"We do not mourn our dead people. We learn from their heroism, from their bravery, so that we can advance as much as possible, as fast as possible, and thus make their heroism useful for our people. Let us continue our action."

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

M.P.L.A.'s GUERILLAS TRAINING

SUPPORT TO THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE IN angola

support mpla
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