



ANGOLA in ARMS

information organ of the

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA



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THE ANGOLAN RED CROSS

The creation of the Angolan Red Cross was publicly announced in May this year at a press conference given in Algiers by our comrade Dr. Eduardo dos Santos.

Yet another instrument for our liberation struggle, the Angolan Red Cross is the outcome of twelve years of experience in the struggle for our people's right to freedom, dignity and medical care, in accordance with international conventions.

Here is the full text of the statement made to the press during the press conference.

PRESS CONFERENCE

Gentlemen,

I should like first to thank you sincerely for having responded to our invitation. What we are going to announce today marks a further step forward in the liberation of our country.

As a result of the situation created by the irreversible advance of our struggle, the National Liberation Movement exercises administrative, political and military control over one-third of our territory, inhabited by about one million Angolans.

The population directly affected by this historic process has authorised us to announce to you the creation of the Angolan Red Cross (CVA).

In accordance with the decisions of the Istanbul Conference, extending the humanitarian rights laid down in the Geneva Convention to the fighters and population of our country corresponds to the new phase in the emancipation of the peoples. We are firmly convinced that we will meet with a favourable response from the national and international Red Cross organisations, since the step we have taken reflects the present preoccupation of the world's conscience.

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Angolan Red Cross to this ideal can only strengthen the great family of Red Cross societies. The efforts made to alleviate suffering, and even to help to solve the multiple practical problems posed by the unfortunately still numerous conflicts, are well known.

We wish now to speak of the underlying reasons for the creation of the Angolan Red Cross.

As you know, armed struggle was the only road left to the Angolan people to fulfil their legitimate aspirations to independence and freedom. In the face of this will to struggle, Portuguese colonialism has been waging a colonial war against our people, aiming at actual genocide, for more than ten years.

The use by the army of occupation of weapons of mass destruction, such as napalm and chemical agents, in the areas under the control of the National Liberation Movement, is causing the civilian population terrible suffering. This is a crime against humanity which has already been condemned by the United Nations Organisation.

— Considering the UN General Assembly resolutions on the inalienable right of the Angolan people to self-determination and independence, and taking into consideration that responsibility for the war situation in our country lies solely with the Portuguese authorities, because of their systematic refusal to grant independence to our country and, thereby, to fulfil the wishes of the conscience of the world and the legitimate aspirations of our people,

— Considering that our people are daily subjected to abuses and reprisals, unjustified imprisonment and physical and mental torture, both in the combat areas and in the regions still occupied by Portuguese troops,

— Considering that, des-

pite the commitments undertaken by the Portuguese government through its adherence to the Geneva Conventions, fighters and members of the Angolan National Liberation Movement have absolutely no protection against inhuman treatment, or even physical liquidation, which is in flagrant contradiction with especially Article III of the Geneva Conventions,

— Considering further the imperative need to develop and increase the protection of our people, both on our national territory and in the border areas, and especially in the region of Angola under the control of the National Liberation Movement, where it is a question of ensuring the protection of the war wounded and prisoners of war and of permitting the younger generation to receive education in conformity with Angolan culture and with the principles of human rights, the Angolan people directly affected by the struggle have decided to constitute the Angolan Red Cross.

The CVA solemnly undertakes to respect and to publicise among its fighters the four Geneva Conventions and the principles formulated by the International Conference of Red Cross Societies. Moreover, we are in duty bound to recall that our Liberation Movement has always endeavoured to act with humanity, and numerous facts bear witness to this.

May this meeting enable us to thank all our friends and, in particular, the Algerian Red Crescent which, having come into being under similar historic conditions, is particularly fitted to give our organisation its full support.

We avail ourselves of this occasion:

1. To request of the League of National Red Cross Societies, the International Red Cross and the Red

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WAR COMMUNIQUE No. 5/72

In continuance of carrying out the MPLA's watchword to "generalise the armed struggle throughout the national territory", important events have been taking place in Angola, especially in Cunene district since the popular insurrection there in January this year, which has already been reported. The firmness of the positions and demands of the people of Cunene district have recently led the Portuguese colonialist regime to abolish some of the taxes it previously imposed and to reduce the compulsory payment to reduce the compulsory payment known as "sovereignty tax" from 380 to 75 escudos.

On the other hand, in an attempt to stop the advancing development of the politico-military activity of the MPLA on other fighting fronts, the colonialist-armed forces have once again resorted to the use of defoliants and herbicides. Since 29 March the Portuguese colonialists have intensified their bombing raids and dropped chemical agents especially in the MPLA's Fourth Politico-Military Region in CAZAGI area, along the Benguela Railway line.

This criminal genocidal act, condemned by international conventions, has been accompanied by heliported troop movements in different places along the frontier between Angola and Zambia. These had the primary objective of stopping the entry of a delegation sent by the UN Special Committee on Decolonisation, following its Lusaka Meeting with the national liberation movements of Southern Africa, which took place between 17 and 21 April 1972.

According to information received from the EASTERN FRONT, the following military operations took place between the end of February and the beginning of April:

28.2.72 -- At 4.40 p.m. 3 groups of heliported troops, with the cover of 7 (seven) ALOUETTE and PUMA helicopters, proceeding from GAGO COUTINHO, encircled a guerrilla group from the MAVINGA Section of DRI Squadron. As soon as the MPLA fighters broke the encirclement they had a direct encounter with another group of enemy troops, who suffered several losses, including a captain.

3.3.72 -- Two military

vehicles proceeding from GAGO COUTINHO and carrying enemy troops, entered a field of anti-tank mines laid by MPLA sappers near a bridge on the LUNGUEVUNGO river. The two vehicles were completely destroyed and all their occupants killed.

9.3.72 -- At 1.30 p.m., on the banks of the CHIKULUI river, a group of MPLA guerrillas of the DRI Squadron engaged in combat with a group of Portuguese colonialist troops from CHIUME post. The enemy forces suffered an unknown number of losses in the course of the battle which lasted 10 minutes. On the same day at 2 p.m. a group of MPLA fighters coming down the right bank of the CHIKULUI took by surprise a group of a so-called G.E. (Special Group) puppets, who suffered 2 (two) dead and 1 (one) wounded.

10.3.72 -- At 11.40 a.m., a group of MPLA fighters from the GDI Squadron, suspecting the presence of Portuguese and so-called GE troops at the CHIKULUI river, went out to find them.

Coming nearer they discovered that the enemy troops were preparing to leave the place and trying to cross the river. In the attack carried out there the enemy suffered heavy losses.

On our side we deeply regret the death of Comrade MAUINJE, group leader of Sector 5, Zone C.

On the same day, 3 (three) Unimogs proceeding from SESSE carrying enemy troops fell into an ambush near the MUSSUMA river. The Unimogs were totally destroyed and all the occupants killed.

11.3.72 -- A group of MPLA fighters destroyed a bridge on the XONGA river, on the road between LEWA and XAFINDA.

17.3.72 -- A group of enemy troops proceeding from SESSE, tried to make a raid with the intention of attacking some of our bases. They fell into a minefield prepared by MPLA sappers. 5 (five) enemy soldiers were killed.

On the same day, a group of colonialist troops coming from GAGO COUTINHO on a mission to discover MPLA detachments fell into another ambush. 10 (ten) enemy soldiers were killed and a further 7 (seven) wounded.

18.3.72 -- A Unimog truck carrying enemy troops on the route from NINDA to GAGO COUTINHO hit one of the anti-tank mines laid there by MPLA sappers. The truck was completely destroyed and all its occupants killed.

Also on the same day, a truck carrying enemy troops hit another minefield near the MUSSUMA river, on the road between MITETE and GAGO COUTINHO. The lorry was totally destroyed and all its occupants killed.

20.3.72 -- At 6 p.m. the MPLA squadron called MUKIMBICHI, using mortars and bazookas, completely destroyed the LINYONDE barracks, which had been presenting our detachments with certain difficulties in reaching the Fifth Politico-Military Region.

The enemy troops suffered 30 (thirty) dead and 18 (eighteen) wounded. As a reprisal for the defeat they suffered, the Portuguese colonialist troops took the chiefs of LINYONDE and FHIMBILI as prisoners to KUETE post. They had previously participated in the construction of this barracks.

The next day, 6 (five) members of the population were barbarously murdered by colonialist soldiers.

29.3.72 -- A group of enemy troops entered a field of anti-personnel mines and suffered an unknown number of losses. This made the enemy carry out patrol flights along the border.

31.3.72 -- A group of heliported Portuguese colonialist troops, proceeding from LOVUA post, coming on a patrol mission to the former NYAMUVU-ANGA area, hit an anti-personnel minefield and suffered an unknown number of losses.

1.4.72 -- At about 1 p.m., one of three military vehicles coming from KAIANDA set off an anti-tank mine and was totally destroyed. All its occupants were killed.

6.4.72 -- Another Unimog lorry carrying enemy troops from MASSIVI to KAIANDA set off another anti-tank mine. It was completely destroyed and its occupants killed.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE MPLA

INTERVIEW

Q:— Could you briefly outline the situation in Angola, particularly concerning the extent of the fighting and the areas controlled by MPLA?

A: There are many aspects. But let us take first the military activities, which are our main activities at present, because the Portuguese colonialists have obliged us to fight with arms.

In 1960 the MPLA wrote to the Portuguese Government and asked for discussions about the problems of Angola but in fact the Portuguese Government did not understand these problems. At the time they had the idea that the Angolans were not able to run the country or to run a war. The next year we began to fight. This was in the northern part of Angola. The war there developed over some years and after 1965 we were able to open our eastern front, which is now the most developed front.

Some districts are now under our control completely; Moxico district, Cuando Cubango district, and others partially so, like Lunda district, Cuanza Norte and Cabinda.

In the areas we control there are no longer Portuguese civilians but there are still enemy military positions, which we attack. Last year we made several attacks and the Portuguese lost six of these barracks. In recent weeks we have made some very heavy attacks -- in Lumbala area, where the Portuguese lost many soldiers, in Mavinga where they abandoned their barracks and we were able to capture food and ammunition. They left about 8,000 tins of food. We also attacked Linonde in Moxico district.

We attack the posts in order to liberate completely these areas that we already control.

GOOD PROGRESS

We can see some very good progress in our Fifth Region, that is the Bie district, and in the Lunda district, where the enemy uses defoliants but is unable to move on the ground. We are advancing.

The situation in the northern areas is the worst because we are unable to supply our guerrillas through Zairean territory, but the situation in the Cabinda enclave is better than it was

some years ago. People who were corrupted by the Portuguese with promises that autonomy would be given to the enclave now realise they were fooled and are defecting to M.P.L.A. We have already made some progress. We shot down a helicopter in Cabinda district in June.

Q:— Presumably the Portuguese attack you sometimes, too.

A: Yes. Where we face serious difficulties is when we are attacked by planes. We don't yet have a proper defence, so the planes are able to do what the Americans have done in Vietnam -- destroy crops with defoliants. Our cassava, for example. Since last year, we have lost many big areas where we can have no more production this year. And last month in Lunda district the Portuguese launched a very big attack against the population, mainly in this way, destroying the agricultural production.

This causes difficulties because after they use defoliants we need one year more to get some food.

Happily this problem is alleviated by the solidarity of people in every continent who are helping us. They send large quantities of food, which enables us to supply our country.

Transport was one of our biggest difficulties but the situation has now improved because we have several trucks, which regularly bring our material, equipment, food and medicine into Angola.

Q:— You mean you have trucks operating inside Angola?

A: Yes, but not very far inside. They come from Dar es Salaam to Angola but once inside they cannot go very far because on the eastern side of our country there are few roads. Even when the Portuguese controlled the area this was the situation but now the bridges are destroyed it is almost impossible to go more than a few kilometres. We will have to build some bridges to get the vehicles across the rivers. But at the moment our soldiers carry the equipment on their backs.

THIS interview between the President of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, Dr. AGOSTINHO NETO (Pictured in glasses) and staff writer IAIN CHRISTIE gives you this rare chance. It takes you beside the freedom fighters in Angola.

It is very difficult.

Q:— What are your priorities in the areas you control?

A: To increase production, to organise our people for this purpose and to organise our medical assistance and education programmes. Education is a big job because the big majority in Moxico Cuanda Cubango, Luanda and Bie cannot read or write. So after production this is what we concentrate on. Then comes medical assistance. We have five-year primary schools in Angola and now we have a secondary school in Congo Brazzaville. For university education we will use the facilities we have in different African and European countries.

Q:— How is the Portuguese psychological war coming along, the battle for "hearts and minds"?

A: Their aim is to try to change the political attitude of the people by these "psychological" methods. They try to give better employment, better social conditions, to the Angolans. They are providing opportunities for education, building more schools and roads. And the latest development is the change in the Overseas Organic Charter, the law for the colonies. Now instead of calling Mozambique and Angola provinces they call them states. But this is politically meaningless, because the colonial structure remains unchanged. It was a political manoeuvre designed to demonstrate to public opinion and the United Nations that Portugal is giving more freedom, reforming the colonial structure to give independence. But it is not true.

PUPPET STATES

One of the factors involved in the decision to change the name to "State" was pressure from the settlers. The main pressure on the Lisbon government is the patriots' war effort but there is also dissatisfaction among the settlers, who want to keep their riches in Angola. They want power for themselves

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like in Rhodesia but with some links with Portugal.

It could be that Caetano has in mind the transformation of Angola and Mozambique into States like Rhodesia. This may be his thinking but there has been no decision by the Portuguese Government yet.

The Caetano Government decided to decentralise economically in order to give the settlers in Angola and Mozambique more freedom to solve the economic and administrative problems. But only to a certain degree, not to be completely free or completely separated from Portugal.

Q:— The Portuguese have been unable to find a neocolonial solution like this in the past. Do you think they can do so now?

A: Until now it has not been possible, mainly because of the weak economic position of the Portuguese State. But they are looking for a new solution that could satisfy everyone. It isn't easy for them because neo-colonialist solutions are not acceptable to us. Now we have a well-organised movement, an organised military force. And it is not easy for the settlers, for instance, to do the same as Smith did in Zimbabwe, because although they might be able to get arms from the United States or South Africa they have the problem of human resources. There are perhaps about half a million Portuguese in Angola. They can't cope with a war over two or three years. They would tire of it and lose many of their young people. So they would have to ask for external help, maybe from South Africa, since that is the country most inclined to give men to fight. The South Africans are already there but only as pilots, experts, commandos and so on, not in big numbers of troops. If South Africa were to send troops to Angola it would, of course, be very bad for the Portuguese because the South Africans would dominate them politically and economically. So I don't think this solution is possible just now.

RACIST'S HELP

In fact that's why the Portuguese took the other option -- to change the form a little bit to give a new

juridical aspect to Angola; to give them time. But we are not disarming because of this transformation, and we will not disarm if they create a situation like Rhodesia, if South Africans come. We are already armed, politically and militarily.

Q:— The increasing tendency to give priority to putting pressure on Portugal as the potentially weakest link in the Southern Africa power structure was noticeable at the recent OAU summit at Rabat. This seems to imply acceptance of a "domino theory" — once Guinea Bissau falls, it can only be a matter of time before Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa are also liberated. Some South African freedom fighters are known to be unhappy about this theory since it does not take into account Vorster's need to protect South African capital, and border security, and thus the probability that he will intervene militarily to stop the liberation process in other countries. What are your views on the subject?

A: Our idea in MPLA is that it is not very good to separate the parts of the liberation struggle in Africa. There are several divisive tendencies in the continent -- trying to separate the liberation movements from the independent African States, for example, and trying to separate the Portuguese colonies from the other dominated countries that are not fighting with arms. This, in my view, is a weakness. The development of the struggle in Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Angola would perhaps be easier if there was struggle in Rhodesia and South Africa.

WIDER STRUGGLE

It is necessary to open different fronts in Africa, to fight in Rhodesia, South Africa, and so on, to defeat the colonialists and the racists. If not we shall always be in a weak position. I don't agree that it is necessary to liberate first one point, then to go on to another point. It is necessary to struggle everywhere using every means possible.

If the independent African countries, mainly those with resources, like Kenya and Ivory Coast, consider as their own struggle the struggle of those countries that are still dominated; if they give full support to the liberation movement, obviously this would make things easier and the enemy, attacked from different points, would face defeat

sooner.

Q:— MPLA's health service has earned itself a reputation as the pace-setter in medical work in the liberated areas of the Portuguese colonies. In this field what real differences does a peasant see when his area is liberated by MPLA?

A: In general, before, there was no health service in the villages. No doctors. We now have six doctors, which is not a lot but is probably exceptional for a liberation movement in Africa. Treatment and medicine for the people is free. Before, under the Portuguese, even if it was possible to get treatment it had to be paid for. Also it is now possible to train to be a nurse. That is free, too. We can do this through the assistance of other countries,

Q:— What scale of operations can you perform inside Angola? I mean, can you fix a broken leg or take out an appendix?

A: We can operate for things like appendicitis or hernia. But for long treatment, in the case of a broken leg, for example, it is very difficult. Then it is necessary to bring the patient outside. There are not yet the conditions for a patient to stay in bed for several weeks or months inside Angola. Our problem is the Portuguese Air Force.

Q:— What about preventive medicine?

A: We vaccinate against smallpox. Sometimes we can inoculate against polio, typhus, diphtheria and tetanus. It is not regular, however, because we don't receive the vaccine regularly. We have done 250,000 vaccinations against polio and about 100,000 against smallpox. Vaccine must be transported in special conditions, it must be kept cold, so we cannot carry out these programmes very far from the border.

Until now we have not been able to devote much attention to educating people on things like sanitation and nutrition but now we have some social assistants training abroad and when they return they will be able to help mothers and children.

Q:— Recently you met Holden Roberto, leader of the "National Front for the Liberation of Angola" in Brazzaville. Afterwards there was talk of possible unity. What has actually happened?

A: First of all let me point out that is not the first time we have proposed

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unity. Since 1960 we have made many efforts to unite, but this was the first time Holden Roberto agreed to meet us. Now we have reached agreement on the principle of unity for our country.

One of MPLA's political objectives is the achievement of unity of all our people, ending divisions. Until now we have encountered difficulties but that has now changed.

Q:— Exactly why do you want unity? Is it significant that President Mobutu allows FNLA, but not MPLA, to enter Angola from Zaire?

A: If we could use this 2,000 km border between Zaire and Angola we could take in a lot of material, particularly war material, to the First Region. We are unable to supply conveniently the people there at the moment and this causes us big difficulties.

So the geographical position is important when we discuss this proposal for union of the Angolan forces. But it is not the only thing. There is the question of the unity of our people, now and after independence. At the moment we are divided, although we are fighting the Portuguese for our independence. And political, ideological differences are less important than the fact that the enemy is in our house. We should, we must, unite to defeat the enemy.

UNITED WE STAND

We can discuss our problems. There is no difficulty for us Angolans to sit down in assemblies, in congresses, in different kinds of meetings, to discuss these problems. To avoid these discussions means maintaining our people's disorientation, disunity, and this, in our view, is not right. This is why we have made all these efforts to unite since 1960.

And we must unite in different fields. The political field is first, then there is the tribal aspect, which is important in all African countries. Then there is the problem of class differences. The richer and the poorer must unite for the same objectives. This is not sentimental. It is our political orientation, to work for the unity of our people. And we hope that the other party will understand what is more

important, that they will accept this union, this co-operation.

I think that in the near future we can have a second meeting to discuss concrete forms of co-operation. We are ready to co-operate with FNLA, and to have an understanding with the government of Zaire in order to achieve victory in our struggle.

We have not put our proposals to the other party and we have not heard any proposals from them. But obviously we have our idea about the ways in which we can co-operate. What we have agreed is the principle that there should be unity in our struggle.

Q:— Why have you not included Unita and its leader, Jonas Savimbi, in the discussions.

A: We don't consider that Savimbi is a political force inside Angola. There is a group of people who call themselves Unita. Maybe later, after our sessions with FNLA, we will say more about this.

Q:— Does MPLA have an ideology?

A: It depends on what you mean. There are schematic descriptions used to classify movements..... communist, socialist and so on. But we consider that in our movement it is not possible at this stage to have this kind of classification. For a single party it is possible but when a movement consists of people who are different politically and ideologically it is not possible to say that this is, for example, a communist movement. Not all our people are communists, or socialists. But the movement has a political orientation. We have a precise target, we fight for a specific purpose, we must organise our resources in a particular way, we must organise our political life in a particular way.

Our movement has a programme not only for the present stage but also for after independence. In the present phase we say we must unite and fight the Portuguese and all those who are co-operating with them. After independence it will be necessary to organise a popular State. By popular, I mean democratic, where the people can participate fully, with assemblies and all the other organs that allow the people to express their opinions.

About the organisation of the economy we say that the

Angolan people must have the riches of our country, we must give fair wages to avoid exploitation of the workers, and so on. This is what is normally called the socialist way. It is socialist because we don't intend to allow either Angolans or foreigners to exploit others in the country.

This is our orientation, our line. We think that ideologically we follow not necessarily the communist or Marxist line but we follow the socialist line, with justice for everyone.

Q:— Tanzania has one of the most forthright socialist programmes in Africa yet it is still subject to imperialist pillage through neo-colonialist devices which exploit the country's dependence on a cash crop economy and lack of industry. How would this be overcome in an independent Angola?

A: Economic problems are difficult for any country and the problem you mention is common in Africa. But it is necessary to co-operate with more advanced, more developed countries -- we can't organise our economy without help. We will need help first of all in the form of technicians and then we will need financial help. Developing a country after a war is very difficult. In Europe, after the Second World War, for example, massive aid from the United States was needed. It is not possible to be isolated from the world. We shall need assistance and co-operation from other countries but it must be co-operation based on equality, not on exploitation. The sovereignty of the new State must be respected. If we allow contracts which make us dependent on other countries then we shall have lost all the benefits of our struggle.

Tanzania has co-operation with most countries in the world and this is all right because Tanzania makes it a condition that co-operation or assistance must respect the policy of Tanzania. Relations can be maintained with every country but it is necessary that we are also able to maintain our independence. This is what we plan for the future and what we are doing now as a liberation movement.

Q:— What is the situation in the Cunene area in the south of the country, where there were reports of the beginning of armed struggle a few months ago? We have heard little since then

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reports of fence-cutting on the Namibian border.

A: At the time, the Portuguese sent their troops in very large numbers to the area and our compatriots and the militants did not have sufficient means -- arms, ammunition -- to organise a guerrilla struggle there. So now the situation is that some are in the bush and some are in the villages. But they are not accepting what the Portuguese administration wants from them.

The situation is comparable, more or less, with that in our First Region, where there is resistance, there are fighters armed and there are areas where the Portuguese can't go on foot. But we don't hear too much about this resistance because it is more defensive than offensive. To pass to the offensive in Cunene we need more means. This is what we have to organise.

But now this movement also exists in Benguela region. This is the region near the end of the railway. The movement is expanding now.

Q:— You don't attack the Benguela railway now because it is used by Zambia as an outlet to the sea. Do you foresee any changes in this policy once the Tanzania-Zambia railway is completed?

A: Maybe. This depends on the conditions at that time. Just now it is difficult to foresee what the situation will be. We do not attack the railway now because Zambia has many difficulties. I read in the newspaper the other day that South Africa and Rhodesia

are obliging Zambia to use the railway instead of trucks through Mozambique. This is perhaps to oblige Frelimo to stop blowing up the railways that come through Malawi. We don't attack the Benguela railway because we don't want to asphyxiate Zambia. But maybe when Zambia has another means of supply we will take a different position. But this depends on the sum of the conditions in Africa.

Q:— I think there are other economic targets in Angola. Have you managed to launch attacks on them?

A: From the beginning we have destroyed coffee plantations so that now the Portuguese are obliged to put units of soldiers in every plantation. But the most important targets -- like Cunene -- we have not yet attacked, because of supply difficulties.

Q:— There are diamond mines in Lunda district, where you operate. Are they too well guarded to attack?

A: They are well guarded and the Portuguese have perhaps their most important air force contingent in that area. But this is not why it has been quiet up till now. It is only because of problems of supply. If you look at the map you will see why. The mines are up near the Zaire border -- about 45 days walk from the Zambian border.

Q:— In a war situation democratic participation in decision-making by the ordinary people is difficult to achieve. In the Angolan context do you see this presenting a danger of the leadership becoming detached from the people?

A: I don't see this as a danger because in our

organisation it is always necessary to be in contact with the people's action committees, which control all political and administrative work under the direction of the steering committee of MPLA. This steering committee is both political and military. Its members are at the head of MPLA. They are obliged to go to their respective areas of struggle, because you can't control political activities if you are far from the people, from the militants. It is essential to be close to the people to investigate and to tackle problems. I can't make decisions about a zone, for instance, without going there to talk to the people and the cadres.

So the people do participate with the leadership in making decisions. But now we want to increase this participation and we intend to have a congress where some proposals will be discussed in connection with the formation of regional assemblies of the areas we control.

In the military organisation we have permanent contact with the soldiers. For instance, when an attack is being planned, the leaders of the detachment organise everything, make reconnaissance. Then, hours before the attack, they discuss with all the soldiers the problems and the tactics that will be used. After the attack they meet again and discuss any aspects which went wrong.

The soldiers can criticise the commander and he can criticise them. Of course during an action if the commander gives an order there can be no discussion.

So the danger of militants becoming detached from the struggle is not so great.

THE ANGOLAN RED CROSS

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Cross, Crescent, Lion and Sun organisations the moral and material assistance most likely to enable our society to carry out its humanitarian work.

2. To appeal to the conscience of the world on the subject of the serious problems of survival that our people are having to face to regain their dignity and sovereignty.

Algiers, May 1972.

War Communique No. 7/72

(Second Politico-Military Region)

10/7/72 -- A combined patrol of our Movement's guerrillas and pioneers was operating in Alto Maiombe (Cabinda) with a view to paralysing the economic installations on the banks of the Lombe river owned by a timber dealer by the name of Forte Faria. Our militants destroyed two tractors and a heavy truck and seized two mechanical saws and other equipment.

8/8/72 -- A detachment of our armed forces on an offensive reconnaissance

mission intercepted a motorised enemy column which was proceeding to the enemy barracks at Ximbete (Cabinda). The column, which was commanded by a 2nd lieutenant and a sergeant, was annihilated. We captured arms, grenades, ammunition and articles of personal use. Among the enemy dead was a sergeant by the name of Silverio de Jesus, who was born at Porto Alegre on 29/8/49 and joined the army on 6/7/70 under registration No. 10642570.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Report to UN Human Rights Commission

Mr. Chairman,
Distinguished delegates,
Gentlemen,

The delegation of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) is glad to be able to attend this meeting.

On behalf of our militants, on behalf of our people, we should like to welcome you and to express the wish that your work will be crowned with success.

We are fully convinced that your move will help to hasten the liberation of our country. This shows the extent to which our people place their confidence in the action of the UN and its associated agencies in furthering Freedom, Peace, Justice and Progress.

Mr. Chairman,

Mankind is now going through a stupendous revolution. The gains of science and technology have helped to change the face of the world. The development of the human and social sciences has given man his true dimension.

Under these conditions, the liberation movement of the peoples arises as an unescapable fact and as the concrete expression of the most legitimate aspirations of human beings in every historical era.

Portuguese colonialism constitutes a crime against humanity in that it prejudices fundamental human rights. Despite all the condemnations of international bodies and of the peoples of the whole world, it is continuing to defie the world conscience.

Having instituted a system of unbridled exploitation and organised violence, Portuguese colonialism is violating the rights of Angolans, both as a nation and as individuals.

And in order to perpetuate this retrograde system which is being jeopardised by the heroic resistance of the Angolan people, it has launched a barbarous war of aggression which is endangering world peace.

Moreover, this dirty colonial war is merely a continuation of centuries-old aggression which, historically, has been marked by such horrors as the slave trade, genocide and subjugation.

Angola is being subjected to one of the most brutal

forms of economic exploitation, characterised by the shameless plunder of its natural resources, and the profits of this, which are enjoyed by foreign oligarchies, are in fact used against its own people.

And certain cases of economic exploitation -- i.e. the Kunene river basin scheme -- which one might be led to believe could be of some benefit to the African population, actually have the effect of destroying the ecological balance (since there is no research into their ultimate consequences) and of disrupting the economy of the part of the population affected.

Plunder is only made possible by the subjugation and degradation of the Angolan people. Even today, more than half (57%) of all Angolan wage-earners are forced labourers, especially in the primary sector, where the appalling figure of 89 per cent is registered. This forced labour does not differ in any respect from the old slavery.

The secret report of Dr. Afonso Mendes, the colonialist director of the so-called "Angola Institute of Labour, Social Insurance and Social Action", which is attached as an appendix, is quite clear when it states that: "So long as the employer has recourse to the professional recruiter and to the 'contratado' to meet his manpower needs, no appreciable progress can be expected in improving working conditions or, more especially, in the field of employer-worker relations."

Particularly atrocious kinds of forced labour are the compulsory recruitment of women and children for road construction and maintenance, and unpaid labour as a form of punishment meted out on fallacious pretexts.

Even outside forced labour, the Angolan worker is the victim of wage discrimination. Let us see what Dr. Afonso Mendes has to say on this. "The average monthly wage of rural and similar workers, always of African ethnic origin, is 600 escudos (22 dollars), whereas that of the non-rural worker, essentially of European origin, is six times higher."

The rural exodus is a feature of colonial regimes. In Angola, where it has vastly increased owing to the war, it throws into the

most object poverty thousands upon thousands of Angolans who also have to face competition from wave after wave of newly-arrived settlers.

The social consequences of this are well known: begging, prostitution, gangsterism, alcoholism and many other scourges.

This whole situation is further aggravated by racism, which is not only manifested in work, as we have already seen, but also in all other sectors of social life.

Because it is an invariable by-product of colonialism, racial discrimination is, in a way, an omnipresent phenomenon. The Reverend Father Waldo Garcia, whose report is attached as an appendix, states at a certain point: "We would therefore say without fear that there are two churches in Angola, the black and the white, the Portuguese and the African, and this division starts with the congregation, because in Angola, as in South Africa, there are separate churches for whites and blacks. There are parishes reserved exclusively for whites, while blacks go to what are known as missions."

Let us quote Dr. Afonso Mendes again. "Certain overriding powers of a number of officials, the paternalist tradition of the native status system and the distrust for the black man which predominates among a large number of Europeans lie at the root of the imposition of special measures for individuals of African origin which people of white ethnic origin do not comply with." He goes on to say: "This very bad example set by officials is followed by employers who, in the event of any negligence or irregularity on the part of workers, have no hesitation in resorting to physical punishment."

And what can be said of the medical care and schooling facilities for workers in a country where such a situation prevails? Where for each new school that is built, ten villages are bombed?

The political counterpart of this socio-economic situation is equally frightful. Portuguese colonialism had divided our people into two

(Continued on Page 8)

Report to UN Human Rights Commission

(Continued from Page 7)

categories -- "natives" and "assimilados" -- emphasising that the latter enjoyed all the rights of Portuguese citizens. With the launching of the war, they thought fit to change the form of things by abolishing the 'native status' system. But leaving aside all appearances, the actual fact is that the Angolan enjoys none of the fundamental human rights.

Moreover, even in Portugal itself the fascist régime shows absolutely no concern for the constitutional rights of Portuguese citizens.

Angolans do not have the right to freedom of expression or association. The creation of political parties, trade unions and African cultural organisations is forbidden.

Angolans are subject to the effects of systematic propaganda which violates their personality, alienates their national dignity and imposes on them the often decadent values of a so-called "Christian and western civilisation".

Angolans are prey to the bestial behaviour of the PIDE/DGS political police, in the form of house searches, arbitrary detention, brain-washing, torture and murder.

We can again quote the priest Waldo Garcia in this connection. "He told me how the torturers hung up Africans head downwards, cut open their stomachs with razor blades, poured alcohol into their entrails and set fire to them."

Mr. Chairman,

With the war, an escalation of horror is taking place in Angola. With the strategic objective of maintaining these savage forms of exploitation and white rule in this part of Southern Africa, Portuguese colonialism has set up an enormous war machine with the complicity and support of racist South Africa and Rhodesia and also of certain western powers.

Together with traditional practices of torture, the methods of mass repression and extermination are becoming more perfected and technical. That is to say, the operational activity of the Portuguese army is now characterised by a 'scorched earth' policy, by the intensive bombing of the peaceful population and by the use of napalm and other

chemical and toxic agents, especially herbicides and arboricides, thereby exterminating the population and destroying nature.

Angola has become a vast prison. We do not refer only to the numerous concentration camps, Bie, Peu-Peu (Huila), S. Nicolau and Baia dos Tigres (Mocamedes), Forte Rocadas (Kunene) or Menonge (Kuando-Kubango), where the methods which are used purely and simply recall those used during the darkest days of Nazism. People who have escaped from them have given horrifying accounts in which summary executions are interspersed with people being incinerated alive in crematorium ovens. What is more, the peasant population of our country is being penned up in strategic hamlets, where the people are exposed to famine, disease, inactivity, cruelty and the strictest control of the military, political and administrative authorities. The towns themselves are surrounded by barbed wire enclosures and the African population lives in a state of permanent terror, unable to move without safe-conducts.

Posts at all levels of the administration are being gradually filled by military men. Eleven of the sixteen district governors are members of the armed forces. Angola is living under a state of emergency. According to a UN document (A/AC. 109/L. 766) of 21 March 1972:

"In 1971, there were indications of increasing concern among government authorities in regard to the internal security of the Territory. As already mentioned, several districts were placed under a special security regime. Legislation, originally introduced as an emergency measure in 1961 (Diploma Legislativo Ministerial No. 20, 8 May) empowers the Overseas Minister, with the approval of the Minister for Defence, to appoint a member of the armed forces as district governor. An assistant to the military district governor is appointed by the Governor-General from the civil service. Under this legislation, the following security measures apply: (a) all movements of persons and vehicles are subject to the authorisation of the district governor; (b) "dan-

gerous" or suspected individuals may be detained without warrant or charges; (c) all persons authorised to carry arms immediately form part of the volunteer corps (OPVDC) and become subject to its orders and regulations; (d) all public meetings have to be authorised; (e) all forms of correspondence, notices and public information are subject to prior censorship; and (f) all public service personnel become subject to military discipline."

In order to palliate the shortage of military effectives, largely a result of the massive desertion of young Portuguese, the colonialist high command is now resorting to the compulsory conscription of Angolans, thus creating thoroughly alienated puppet troops in order to make Angolans fight Angolans.

The entire population of our country is subjected to the systematic bombardment of a so-called 'psycho-social' propaganda campaign aimed at destroying the Angolan national and individual personality.

In their attempt to halt the liberation movement, the colonialists are attacking well known Angolan personalities, like the Reverend Father Pinto de Andrade, Honorary President of the MPLA, Ilidio Machado, the writer Luan-dino Vieira, the poet Antonio Jacinto and many others.

It is precisely with the aim of alerting world opinion about these violations of human rights that the Angolan Red Cross has been created, and the text of the event which marked its founding is attached as an appendix.

Mr. Chairman,
Distinguished delegates,
Gentlemen,

Portuguese colonialism is violating the most fundamental rights of Angolans, both as a nation and as individuals.

From the statements of the witnesses we shall present to you, you will be able to realise the immensity of the crimes committed by the colonialists.

Our people, under the banner of the MPLA, are prepared to carry on their fight until total liberation.

And we are sure that we will have the international community at our side. May this meeting work to achieve this!

APPOINTMENTS TO
THE SECRETARY
GENERAL OF
THE ROMANIAN
COMMUNIST
PARTY



Dr. Agostinho Neto,
President of the People's
movement for the
liberation of Angola.

On Thursday afternoon, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party, has met Dr. Agostinho Neto, President of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, who is paying a friendly visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania, on the invitation of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. There was also present Comrade Stefan Andrei, Secretary to the CC of the RCP.

During the talks they approached problems of mutual interest concerning the relations between the RCP and MPLA.

It was restated the common decision to actively militate in the future for the triumph of the cause of unity of all social forces who are fighting against imperialistic policy of domination and aggression, against the colonialism and any kind of forms of neocolonialism, against the racial discrimination, imperceptible right of each nation to decide independently its destinies, to step fully independently on the path of social economic progress. Both parties have noticed with satisfaction the ascendent evolution of the friendly collaboration and militant solidarity between ARCP and MPLA and have expressed communely desires to extend and diversify them in the future according to the fundamental interest of their peoples of the cause of the unity and cohesion of all anti-imperialist front.

The meeting proceeded in an atmosphere of full and reciprocal understanding of warm friendship.

"Romania Libera" 14/7/72.

URGENT APPEAL

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

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

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

-- cacodylic acid

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

APPEAL

In carrying out its education programmes, the MPLA has already been able to count on the active solidarity of a number of individuals and institutions. However, the magnitude and complexity of the tasks to be fulfilled force us to appeal for further manifestations of solidarity, especially in meeting the following needs:

- 1 The construction of a school complex, including five blocks (hostel, primary school, secondary school, secretariat and kitchen), with an approximate total number of 50 rooms.
- 2 Equipment for physics, chemistry, zoology, botany and minerology laboratories, including wall maps.
- 3 Four Land Rovers (or their equivalent), one of them a van.
- 4 Typewriters with a minimum 50 cm carriage and a keyboard adapted for typing in Portuguese.
- 5 Duplicating machines of the Gestetner type, and accessories.
- 6 Equipment for a hostel: sheets, camp beds, blankets, towels, cutlery, plates, mugs, cooking pots, kettles, tents and rucksacks for 500 persons.
- 7 School material: exercise books, pencils, ball point

ANGOLA IN ARMS (English edition)

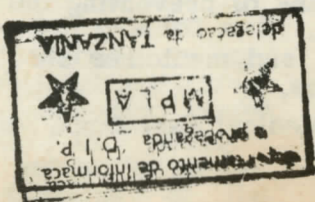
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pens, erasers, coloured pencils, satchels, drawing cases, rulers, set-squares, protractors, and compasses for use on blackboards.

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

for children (milk, wheat flour, oil and tinned food).

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

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

Other consignments can also be sent to:

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

BALLAD FOR THE GUERRILLAS

Comrades, we shall weave garlands of forest flowers
and send them to the fighting regions

We shall weave songs in praise of our guerrillas
from the wind's murmur and the rustle of green leaves

We shall weave Certainty over your graves
in the victorious march of the Angolan people

-- This torrential river errupting
over the dikes of NATO power

Advancing, conquering swamps and savannas
mountains and forests, bearing within it heroism!

Building along the way
love, decision and freedom!

We shall not mourn the loss of friends
though the soul struggles in rhythms of bitterness

And eyes, bathed with oceans of pain,
but restraining the floods of tears, marching and advancing!

Marching and winning, comrades!
and building peace in the liberated areas.

But for those who have fallen on the way
for the heroes who go in the vanguard

We shall weave garlands of forest flowers
messages of love in the song of the cyprus trees

Songs in praise of our guerrillas
in the wind's murmur and the rustle of green leaves!

Eugenia Neto 4/3/72

TO :