

ANGOLA IN ARMS



People's Movement for the Liberation
of Angola (MPLA) P. O. Box 20793
Phone 24292 - Dar es Salaam.

EDITORIAL

ONE more 4th FEBRUARY has just elapsed. This date marking the glorious journey of the Angolan heroes who, in that FEBRUARY morning, determinately decided to take the arms to combat against Portuguese colonialism.

The people of Angola has entered its 7th year of armed struggle, the firmness to struggle tirelessly against the colonialist oppressors made the people of Angola meritorious of the support and respect from all the peoples of the world. Today the struggle that our people is waging is attentively followed and supported by all the peoples of the world who love Freedom and Liberty.

In the historical TRI-CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE held in Havana, Cuba on January of 1966, the Representatives of the peoples of the THREE CONTINENTS assembled there, unanimously decided to consecrate the 4th of FEBRUARY as the JOURNEY FOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA.

The fact that the 4th of FEBRUARY is today commemorated in all the countries of the world clearly shows that the people of Angola is not alone in its just struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

The MPLA is the force combating against Portuguese colonialism in Angola today.

Upon entering the 7th year of struggle, the MPLA, once again reaffirms its determination to continue struggling faintlessly against our enemy and to carry the struggle to all the corners of our national territory.

As the process of the development of our struggle gains momentum, the imperialist interventionist activities will also likely be increased. But we warn the imperialists that all their manoeuvres, aimed at deviating the attention of our people and of all the international forces who respect and support our just cause, from the most sacred objectives of our struggle, that all their sabotage schemes and apparatus will be completely dismantled by the revolutionary action of the MPLA. The revolutionary action of the MPLA will grow. Grow because the decisiveness of our militants to contribute with their best in the struggle for a Free Angola and a Free Continent is today manifested at higher proportions.

Therefore Angola shall be totally Free

Therefore Africa shall be totally Free and United

VICTORY OR DEATH VICTORY IS SURE

LANDMARKS FOR **O**UR **R**EADERS

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- ** IN 1966 THE NATIONALIST FORCES UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE MPLA TOOK THE INITIATIVE OF COMBAT IN THE ARMED STRUGGLE.
- ** TODAY THE MPLA COMBATS IN THREE FRONTS: THE NORTHERN FRONT, THE CABINDA FRONT, AND THE EASTERN FRONT.
- ** TODAY THE MAPLA IS THE ONLY NATIONALIST FORCE COMBATING IN ANGOLA
- ** FOR ALL THE ANGOLANS THE IMMEDIATE TASK IS: THE CONCRETE AND DIRECT PARTICIPATION IN THE ARMED STRUGGLE.
- ** WE MUST MAKE 1967 THE YEAR OF THE GENERALIZATION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE THROUGHOUT THE NATIONAL TERRITORY.
- ** TODAY MORE THAN HOPE THERE IS CERTITUDE IN THE FINAL VICTORY.
- ** WE VIGOROUSLY DEMAND FREEDOM OF ACTION FOR THE MPLA IN THE TERRITORY OF ALL THE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE COMMON BORDERS WITH ANGOLA.
- ** WE VIGOROUSLY DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ALL THE MILITANTS OF THE MPLA JAILED IN CONGO (KINSHASA) UNDER THE ORDERS OF HOLDEN ROBERT.
- ** WE URGENTLY DEMAND THE REVISION OF THE RECOGNITION OF THE SO-CALLED "g.r.a.e."
- ** FROM ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD WHO LOVE PEACE AND LIBERTY WE REQUEST WEAPONS, AMMUNITION, GENERAL WAR MATERIAL AND MEDICAMENTS FOR THE MPLA.
- ** VICTORY OR DEATH!
VICTORY IS SURE!

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WHO IS THE PRESIDENT OF THE M.P.L.A. ?

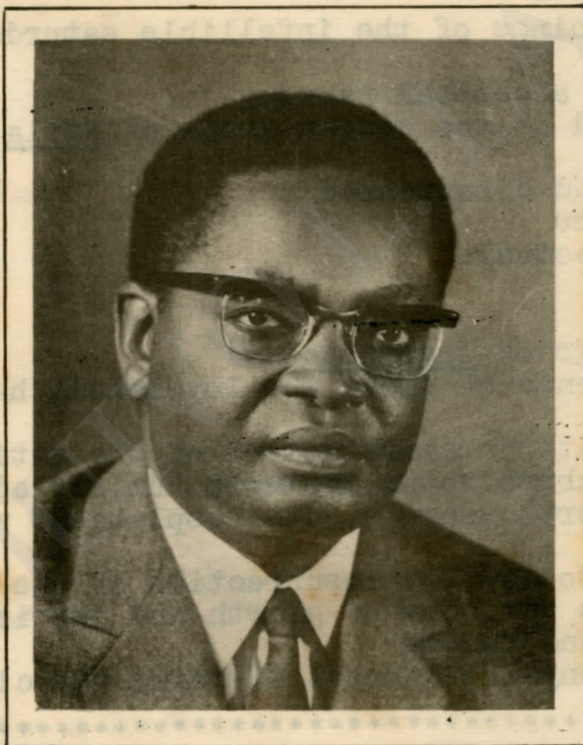
DR. ANTONIO AGOSTINHO NETO was born on the 27th of September, 1922 in ICOLO E BENGO, a region in the neighborhood of Luanda. Agostinho Neto had a childhood tempered with a hardship which he oftens reflects in his poems. His family was poor and numerous; thus it was only due to a diligent work and perseverance on his part, that he managed to conclude his secondary education.

After his secondary education, for three years, (1944 - 1947) Agostinho Neto worked for the Health Service in Luanda. During this time he was already involved in the activities of the national liberation movement, which in these days were still reduced in scope. Friends and comrades in the struggle offered to pay for his university education, thus enabling Agostinho Neto to go to the Medical School at Lisbon University (Portugal) in 1947. Already during his student's days Neto was writing and publishing revolutionary poems. As a result of his political activities, Neto was arrested for the first time in 1952,

and successively in 1954 and 1956. Eminent personalities in the literary world, such as Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Nicolas Guillen, and many others protested against his arrest. Agostinho Neto was then released.

Returning to Angola (Luanda) in 1959; at the same time that he practiced Medicine among the popular masses of Angola, Neto pursued his clandestine political activities as Honourary President of the MPLA. Suspected by PIDE (the Portuguese secret police), Neto was once again arrested, this time by the Director

of the secret police in Angola himself. The population of his homeland organized a big peaceful demonstration against Neto's arrest. The colonial army reacted savagely opening fire against the demonstrators, killing 30, and wounding 200. This tragic event is today known in the History of Angola as the ICOLO E BENGO MASSACRE. Agostinho Neto was deported, without trial, to Cape Verde Islands (a Portuguese Colony in front of Senegal). In 1962, the plan of the MPLA for the escape of Dr. Agostinho Neto was implemented. In December of that same year, Agostinho Neto was elected President of the MPLA by the FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE



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

of the Party. Today, after six years of armed struggle; Agostinho Neto is the First leader of the MPLA and the beloved leader of the people of Angola.

THE HOISTING

(POEM DEDICATED)

When I returned
the cassuarinas(1) had disappeared from the city

And also you
My friend Liceu (2)
comforting voice of the warm rhythms of the farras (3)

in the evenings of the infallible saturdays
also you
sacred and ancestral harmony
resurrected in the sacred aroma of Ngola Ritmos(4)

Also you had disappeared
and with you
the intellectuals
Liga (5)
Farolim (6)
the meetings of Ingombotas (7)
the conscience of those who lovelessly had betrayed

I arrived at the exact moment of the matinal cataclysm
when the embryo romps the ~~earth~~ humidified by rain
bringing forth young plants resplendent with colour

I arrived to see the resurrection of the seeds
the dynamic symphony of growth and joy in the people
But blood and sorrow
were an agonyzing current dividing the city

(1) - A typical shrub of Angola, especially of the Luanda region.

(2) - The name of a nationalist.

(3) - A dancing section, usually under the sound of African (Angolan) and Latin American music.

(4) - A pop musical group well known in Angola, particularly in Luanda.

(5) - An organization founded by and for Angolans. Later, in the fifties, Liga fell under the control of the colonialist authorities when younger members, more directly associated with the nationalist movement, tried to give a more political character to the organization.

OF THE **F** LAG *****

(Written by AGOSTINHO NETO in 1959)

TO ALL THE HEROES OF THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA)

When I returned
It was a chosen day
and I arrived on time

Even the smile on the children's faces had disappeared
and also you
my good freinds and brothers
Benje⁸, Joaquim⁹, Gaspar¹⁰, Ilidio¹¹, Manuel¹²
and who else?
—hundreds, thousands of you all, my friends
some disappeared forever
forever victorious in the death for life

When I returned
Something gygantic was moving underneath the earth
men in their granaries were keeping more
the sun was shining more
there was calm youth in the old people
more than hope there was certitude
more than kindness there was love

The arms of the men
the courage of the soldiers
the suspire of the poets
Everyting, all trying to raise up high enough
above the remeberence of the heroes
Ngola Kiluanji⁽¹³⁾
Queen Ginga⁽¹⁴⁾
All trying to raise up high enough
the standard of FREEDOM

(6) - An early publication by and for Angolans. It was an early vehicle of nationalist opinion.

(7) - One of the Luanda quarters, predominantly populated by Angolans.

(8,9,10,11,12) - Names of nationalists

(13) - One of the kings of Ngola, one of the kingdoms of present day Angola

(14) - A famous Queen of Ngola.

EDUCATIONINANGOLA

THE entire "educational" Portuguese colonial philosophy can be summed up in the two following premises:

1. To prevent as much as possible the advancement of the Angolans.
2. The education is "assimilative" which means that it is aimed at the "portugalization" of the Angolans.

We shall return to these two premises later in this article.

In order to analyze the problem of education in Angola, we must draw a line between two fundamentally distinct periods: one ending in 1961 (the date of the beginning of the national struggle for liberation) and the period beginning 1961 up to the present days. We must also consider two fundamentally different types of education: the nationalist and the colonialist.

1. EDUCATION UNTIL 1961

Angola is a country with one of the lowest rates of literacy in the world: 99% of the population is illiterate. However, this should not seem strange to anybody, considering that Portugal itself, the colonial power, is an underdeveloped country, with an ill

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THE EXTERNAL TRADEOFANGOLA PART II

(The following is the second in a series of three articles on the External trade of Angola).

Among the products exported by Angola the following are included: maize, fish and its sub-products, vegetable oils, sugar, manioc, and meat. These are all food products for the Angolan population, and, therefore, goods of primary necessity, given the regime of extreme malnutrition prevailing in the country.

Almost all the coffee produced in Angola is exported. This accounts for the fact that a great majority of Angolans does not even know the taste of this good.

Although a factory for the manufacture of textiles (of poor quality) was installed in Luanda--built with European capital--almost the total quantity of cotton produced in Angola is exported, at subsistence prices, to Portugal.

IMPORTS

Let us now consider the other side of the balance of trade of Angola. From 421,000 tons of goods imported into Angola in 1952 this was reduced to 339,000 in 1963.* This was so because as the value of Angolan products decreased it was necessary to lower the level of imports in order to keep a stable balance of trade and, if possible, a favourable one. We shall go back to this point later.

Angolan imports consist of consumer goods, almost exclusively. Only 14% of the total goods im-

*(Turn to the Table of Imports pag. 14)

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EDUCATION IN ANGOLA (Cont.)

literacy rate of 40% and that 30% of the settlers in Angola are, likewise, illiterate.

Of the 800,000 school age children in Angola, only 6.8% attend school.

1.1 PRIMARY EDUCATION

The entire system of primary education is contaminated by the artificial division of the Angolan population between "indigenas" constituting 99% of the Angolan population and the so-called "assimilados", accounting for the remaining 1%.

There are two kinds of education, missionary and official. Missionary education, exclusively given to the "indigenas" population was entrusted upon the Catholic missions (after the signature of an agreement between the Portuguese state and the Holy See on the 7th of May of 1940), and the Protestant missions. This is an entirely rudimentary education, limited to the teaching of religion, and Portuguese history and language. The teachings received in this kind of education are equivalent to those received in the first two years of official primary education.

In the academic year of 1957-58, 57,428 pupils attended rudimentary schools. There were 1,008 schools and 1,275 teachers, that is, one teacher for 45 pupils.

The training given to rudimentary school teachers (usually by the missions themselves) is in itself extremely elementary. The teaching methods are profoundly archaic and the manual for alphabetization dates from the XIX century. Physical punishments to the pupils are systematically used, specially the use of the sadly famous "palmatoria" (a tool made of wood used to beat on the palms of the hand). Pupils must pay for their education, working for the purpose in the missions plantations.

But the missions are also political instruments serving the interests of the exploiters. Thus, the Catholic missions are instruments of Portuguese colonialism while that the Protestant missions serve the interests of U.S. imperialism.

The official primary education given to Europeans and Angolans, the so-called "assimilados" is a precise copy of that dispenses in Portugal. There are in Angola 420 official primary education schools, 850 teachers and 25,632 pupils (most of

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EDUCATION IN ANGOLA (Cont)

them Europeans). Only in those localities where the populational nucleus of Europeans is relatively large, are established official primary schools. As is the case in Portugal, the teaching methods in these schools are contrary to all the modern rules of pedagogy.

Primary education which in almost all the countries of the world lasts for five years, here is condensed to four, which results into rendering it difficult (which coupled with the anti-pedagogic methods already used the teaching is rendered even more difficult). This fits perfectly well into the scheme and with the interests of the fascist and colonialist régime of Portugal, since it is its objective to prevent the advancement of the African population.

Elementary technical education (the teaching of rudimentary agricultural methods and trades) is practically inexistent.

1.2 SECONDARY EDUCATION

Secondary education comprises the education given in the lyceums and in the so-called technical professional schools ("industrial" and "commercial" schools). More than 80% of the students who attend these schools are Europeans.

In 1957-58 there were 32 establishments for secondary education, of which 5 were state lyceums attended by 4,705 students; 14 state technical and professional schools attended by 2,739 students. The remaining 13 were, therefore, private establishments which due to the exorbitant tuition were attended by Europeans only. It must be added that the tuition paid at the state schools was itself already very high for Angolan students, given the generally low standard of living of the African family.

The so-called technical and professional education is limited to that given in some "commercial" and "industrial" schools. In the first ones are taught preliminary notions of commercial accounting and in the last ones rudiments of Industrial Drawing and Physics.

It must be said that the teaching in these schools is purely theoretical, in the sense that the theory taught does not have any immediate practical application.

It must also be said that while education in the lyceums lasts for seven years; in the professional and technical schools only lasts five to four years.

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EDUCATION IN ANGOLA (Cont.)1.4 NATIONALIST CLANDESTINE EDUCATION

Already before 1961 the MPLA, to face the tragic situation brought about by the quasi absence of educational facilities in Angola and in order to mobilise the popular masses, had established clandestine schools.

This is a peculiar situation in the world considering that even primary schools have to operate in the clandestinity!

But despite the police repression, the nationalist schools spreaded throughout the country. This was an extremely important mass movement, which naturally coincided with the rise of the political consciousness of the Angolans in the fifties.

For the first time a nationalist education was being ministered by Angolans, to Angolans and in the interest of the Angolan people.

2. THE YEAR OF 1961 MARKS A NEW PHASE IN THE COLONIAL METHODS OF PORTUGAL

This must be kept very clear in our minds: the year of 1961 marks a new phase in the methods and not in the essence of Portuguese colonialism.

Portuguese colonialism, and could not be otherwise, keeps its well known characteristics: brutal, racist, exploiter, and always scorning at human dignity. The palpable proof of this is in the war of extermination that the colonialists are waging against the people of Angola.

But, after the launching of the armed struggle, the Portuguese colonialists were forced to make some concessions. Thus trying in vain, to stop the irreversible movement of national emancipation. To these concessions made by the Portuguese colonialists is given the name of "colonial reformism". Concretely, however they simply mean that, on paper, the distinction between "indigenas" and "assimilados" disappeared (everybody suddenly became "assimilado"), that forced labour changed its name, that new alphabetization manuals are edited, that rudimentary universities were created, and some other insignificant "reforms".

As we see, "colonial reformism" is far from being neocolonialism and the measures and policies associated with it are not even close to those adopted by the French colonialists in the fifties with the "loi cadre".

To sum up: in its essence Portuguese colonialism continues to be precisely the same. Two methods are used by the Portuguese colonialists: on one hand, the war of extermination and police terror, on the other hand, "colonial reformism". These two methods, of course, converge to the same end: to maintain the ultra-imperialist and colonialist exploitation of the people of Angola.

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EDUCATION I ANGOLA (Cont.)3. EDUCATION AFTER 1961

In 1957-58 only 1% of the budget of the colonial régime was spent in education. After 1961 the amount spent in this field increased; in 1961 4% of the budget or 0,8% of the national revenue (160.000 contos) were spent in education. It is important to keep in mind that these are official figures and that, given the present political climate, the Portuguese colonialists have to lie, and lie more shamelessly than before. ~~But this~~ ~~is a~~ ~~fact~~ that with the advent of "colonial reformism" there has been an increase in the expenditures for education.

However, here, there are two essential factors to be considered: First to spend 4% of the budget or 0,8% of the national revenue in education, particularly in an underdeveloped country with 99% of illiteracy, is totally insignificant. The fact that the Portuguese colonialists take pride of this is a clear manifestation of their obscurantist and pre-industrial mentality. But this should not surprise anybody since in Portugal itself, only 2% of the national revenue is spent in education, compared with 5,6% in Belgium.

Second the Portuguese colonialists ~~will~~ not increase the percentage of the budget spent in education, because with the military apparatus and PIDE (the Portuguese secret police) alone they spend almost half of the budget. With the development of the national war of liberation the revenue occurring to the colonialists coffers will keep decreasing gradually at the same time that the military expenditures will rise fast.

In conclusion, "colonial reformism" is seized in contradictions which soon will bring it to its final downfall.

As it has been already said, from 1961 on, a few primary schools were created, some more lyceums and technical schools, three teacher's training schools, four medium industrial and commercial schools and one rudimentary university (only the first two years of university education are ministered by this institution, the rest of the course has to be finished in Portugal).

But the characteristics of the "educational" system remain precisely the same: essentially for Europeans only, "assimilative", obscurantist, etc.

4. THE DOWNFALL OF THE "ASSIMILATION" SYSTEM

Contrary to what many people think, even in the African countries, the "assimilation" policy is not appanage of Portuguese colonialism. This same policy was systematically used by all colonial régimes; thus we have the policy of the "évolués" in the Congo and in the ex-French colonies, and the policy of priority education for the chiefs' sons in the ex-British colonies.

The imperialists had the imperative necessity to create a stratum

EDUCATION IN ANGOLA (Cont.)

of "évolués", not only to coolen the revindications of the popular masses but also to have an element which could establish a link between them and the masses.

It is not because the Portuguese colonialist pursued this policy more consequently, that follows that it was not common to all the colonies. There are economic reasons that explain this attitude of the Portuguese colonialists.

In Angola, as in all the other African countries, the "assimilation" policy was condemned to a total ruin, since were the "assimilados" themselves (the intellectuals and the national bourgeoisie as is the case in Angola) who were in position to be the first ones to elaborate a theory of independence.

Therefore the problem of the "assimilados" must be viewed in terms of social classes, it is only when this is done, that we can understand the situation. In this phase of anti-colonial struggle, all the social classes of Angola (and of all the African countries) are interested in the struggle for national liberation.

With the evolution of the anti-imperialist struggle, and furthermore with the gradual occurrence of the concrete problems of national reconstruction, a olivage among the intellectuals will also occur: on one side will be the honest intellectuals, those in favour of the full development of the Revolution, and on the other side those who will reveal themselves enemies of the Revolution. But this also is not special to Angola; this same process repeated itself in all the countries that followed the revolutionary path of Angola.

The proof that the "assimilation" policy did not constitute a brake to the Revolution is that the Portuguese colonies (where the "assimilation" process was more consequently carried out) were among the few African countries where the peoples rose up in arms to put an end to the sistem of oppression. Furthermore the three revolutionary parties of these countries MPLA in Angola, PAIGC in Guinea and Cape Verde and FRELIMO in Mozambique admit within their ranks people coming from all social classes and stracta in these countries.

But this has nothing of extraordinary, considering that there are no African parties (revolutionary or not) which exclude from their ranks the totality of the "assimilados". The big difference lies in the fact that some parties, led by the bourgeoisie "compradora" (one fraction of the "assimilados"), defend the interests of the imperialists, as the case of the UPA of Holden Robert, while other parties, as the of the MPLA, exclude from their ranks the bourgeoisie "compradora" and defend the interests of the working masses.

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EDUCATION IN ANGOLA (Cont.)

The MPLA could never be a party of "assimilados", as the propaganda emanated from the imperialist detractors tries to show. The MPLA, being the force which conducts the revolutionary action in Angola could never maintain itself leading the Revolution without the much needed support and participation of the popular masses. Only someone who does not understand anything or pretends not to understand the revolutionary process can accept that a simple stratum of intellectuals can make a Revolution without the participation of the masses.

Contrarily it is in a party rooted in foreign soil, such as the UPA, and which is not engaged in the revolutionary struggle that a handful of traitors can self-appoint itself the leading body of the party, since there is not any possibility for the popular masses to check on the self-appointed leaders.

5. THE DOWNFALL OF "COLONIAL REFORMISM"

Portuguese "colonial reformism" is a caricature of reformism. With the national liberation struggle in its full development, "colonial reformism" does not even measures up to the amplitude of the French "loi cadre" of the fifties.

Furthermore while that the "loi cadre" was implemented during a period of colonial peace, Portuguese "reformism" is being applied during a period of colonial war, thus what happens is that when the colonialists build a school they destroy one hundred defenseless villages. It follows that the colonialists do not have any possibility of misleading with their "reformism" the people of Angola.

But as we have already seen, the dynamic of the colonial war will force the revenue occurring to the exploiters' coffers to decrease at the same time that the military expenditures will increase. These two reasons coupled with the rapidly growing mobilization of the masses by the MPLA will prevent the Portuguese "colonial reformism" from reaching any important level.

Therefore, not in a too distant future, Portuguese colonialism will definitely abandon its reformist methods to concentrate all its energies in the brutal methods of extermination and police terror. But this development will generate even greater hate in the people for the colonialists; and therefore greater adherence to the ranks of the liberation movement led by the MPLA.

6. CRISIS OF THE IDEOLOGICAL INFLUENCE OF THE AMERICAN IMPERIALISM IN ANGOLA

As it was previously said, in Angola the Catholic missions are the instruments of Portuguese colonialism while that the Protestant missions are instruments of the North American imperialists.

EDUCATION IN ANGOLA (Cont.)

The 4th February 1961 is the death trumpet for Portuguese colonialism and for all its ideological influence. The people of Angola rose up in arms to regain its independence.

But after the 4th February we faced in Angola another equally important problem, that of terminating the ideological influence of the American imperialist: exerted not only directly through the Protestant missions but also indirectly through a puppet party, the UPA of Holden Robert.

But the national war of liberation evolved, and with this the only party truly anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist the MPLA asserted itself as the only force conducting the revolutionary war in Angola, so that with this development the ideological influence of the North American imperialist entered a grave crisis.

The MPLA will do all to transform this crisis into death. The people of Angola and the MPLA will definitely liquidate not only the imperialist ideological influence, but also all the economic interest of the American imperialists in Angola.

7. EDUCATION IN THE ZONES CONTROLLED BY THE MPLA

Throughout the year of 1966 the MPLA asserted itself as the sole organization conducting the armed struggle for national liberation in Angola.

In the zones under the control of the MPLA, the people are building a new Angola, free, democratic and prosper.

In the schools of the MPLA in these zones we witness the prolongation and the deepening of the clandestine schools tradition, schools which operated in the pre-war period.

Here an education aimed at the creation of an Angolan with dignity, free from exploitation, free from the prejudices and inferiority complex inculcated upon him by the colonialists.

Here the teaching is profoundly nationalist and revolutionary: the students is taught to love Angola and her people, to participate in the armed struggle against foreign domination, to participate in the production together with the people, to respect and support the revolutionary struggle of all the other peoples of the world.

New teaching methods are used, methods which render the teachings easy to assimilate, teaching that is adjusted to the understanding of the bulk of the popular masses of Angola.

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EDUCATION IN ANGOLA (Conclusion)

After independence one of the main objectives of the MPLA is the alphabetization, in a shortest possible time, of the entire population of Angola. The education, at the same time that will be linked to the practice, the revolutionary practice of production, will be profound, to facilitate the launching of the basis for a rapid cultural, scientific and technical development of Angola.

THE EXTERNAL TRADE OF ANGOLA (Cont. from page 6)PRINCIPAL PRODUCTS IMPORTEDBY ANGOLA IN 1963

* 1 Conto = 1,000 esc. = \$12 10sh

Products	Tons	Contos *	% of Total Imports
Textiles and cotton blankets	6.618	415.863	9.8
Cheap Wines (heq)	609.782	324.502	7.7
Melted Iron & Steel	38.767	274.864	6.5
Automobiles (Tot)	5.830	247.097	5.8
Light Cars	2.011	83.519	
Buses	2.640	113.452	
Lorries	1.003	41.142	
Others	.176	8.984	
Automobile Parts	1.793	125.695	3.8
Drugs	.495	84.324	2.0
Tractors	2.201	83.685	1.9
Wheat	30.269	66.690	1.6
Pneumatics	1.287	66.662	1.6
Olive Oil	3.209	64.831	1.5
Powder Milk	2.023	53.410	1.3
Glass	5.136	52.238	1.3
Motor Oils	9.619	50.646	1.2
Cod-fish	2.645	49.864	1.1
Agricult. Machin.	.897	45.946	1.0

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THE EXTERNAL TRADE OF ANGOLA (Concl of Part II)

of the total goods imported into Angola are investment goods. Textiles and wine alone account for 17.5% of the total imports; thus, ironically, these two can be considered the most important goods imported into the country. The reason for this lies in two facts: First Portuguese textiles are manufactured with Angolan cotton and Second wine plays here the same role as opium in old-days China; as an element in the colonialist plan, designed to degradate the Angolan population.

If we exclude textiles and wine, most of the consumer goods imported into Angola (such as luxurious automobiles, cod-fish, cheese, butter and beauty products) are almost exclusively used by the settlers.

It is important to remark that, after the armed struggle was launched in Angola, the settler society entered a new phase in its decisive moral decadence. The settlers know very well that their days in Angola are numbered and therefore they have considerably increased their expenditures with unproductive commodities. This, needless to say, lowers even more the already low productivity of the country. This, of course, invalidates the argument ridiculously advanced by the colonialist propaganda that Angola is advancing economically.

THE FINAL PART OF THIS ARTICLE WILL APPEAR IN THE NEXT NUMBER OF ANGOLA IN ARMS

THE IMPERIALISTS ENGAGED IN THE EXPLOITATION OF OUR PEOPLE, TOGETHER WITH THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL PLUTOCRATS MUST LEAVE ANGOLA IMMEDIATELY!

THE ECONOMIC ACCORDS IN WHICH THE PORTUGUESE COLONIALISTS ENGAGED THE COUNTRY OF ANGOLA, WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF OUR PEOPLE, CAN ONLY BE RESOLVED AFTER INDEPENDENCE.

THE MPLA, AS THE ONLY GENUINE SPOKESMAN FOR OUR PEOPLE IN ARMS; WILL DEAL ACCORDINGLY WITH THE IMPERIALIST EXPLOITERS.

THE WEALTH OF ANGOLA BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA.

N E W S A N D F A C T STHE 4th OF FEBRUARY IN DAR-ES-SALAAM :

Today in all the points of the world where there are sons and daughters of Angola, particularly in the interior of our country and in all those countries whose peoples support and respect the heroic struggle of our people, THE 4th OF FEBRUARY is a great occasion--it is the REVOLUTIONARY DAY of the people of Angola.

In Dar-es-Salaam, to mark this glorious date, the Representation of the MPLA organized a public meeting which was attended by more than 400 people, including government officials, members of the diplomatic corps and of the local and foreign Press, Representatives of several African Liberation movements, and members of the public ~~at large~~.

The ceremony took place at the Hindu Mandal in Dar-es-Salaam. Here all the people present gathered to manifest their solidarity with the people of Angola in arms, under the leadership of the MPLA.

At the appropriate time, the Representatives of brother organizations, ANC (South Africa), ZAPU (Zimbabwe), SWAPO (South-West Africa), and FRELIMO (Mozambique), took the floor expressing in their speeches the solidarity of their peoples and organizations vis-à-vis the struggle of the people of Angola, under the leadership of the MPLA.

Also present at the ceremony, was the Representative of the heroic people of Viet-nam (in Tanzania), in struggle against the American aggressors, Comrade HOANG DUC PHONG, Chargé d'Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam. Comrade Phong expressed the support of his people for the revolutionary struggle of our people, whose courage he praised.

For the people of Angola, the example of the revolutionary people of Viet-nam, who has been inflicting, day after day, continuous defeats upon the "most powerful" of the imperialists shows clearly how a nation, relatively weaker in war potential and economically, can defeat the "most powerful" imperialist nation when armed with revolutionary courage and decision.

To mark this occasion, the MPLA Representation presented a document entitled MPLA TEN YEARS OF EXISTENCE-SIX YEARS OF STRUGGLE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ANGOLA, narrating the revolutionary history of the people of Angola and of the MPLA.

THE 4th OF FEBRUARY VIEWED BY THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS

On the occasion of the 6th Anniversary of the Angolan Revolution, the solidarity of the peoples of the world was, once again, manifested. The Press, Radio, and TV in several friendly countries produced special programs to inform their peoples about the realities of the struggle of our heroic people under the revolutionary leadership of the MPLA.

On this issue of ANGOLA IN ARMS we transcribe portions of what several newspapers wrote about the 4th of February.

The MPLA takes this opportunity to affirm, once again, that all the solidarity with our revolutionary people will be reciprocated with the intensification of our combat against the oppressive Portuguese colonialists who, in collusion with the imperialists, are trying, in vain, to suppress

N E W S AND F A C T S

the just struggle of our people. We shall win in Angola. The solidarity showed today, vis-à-vis our people will help us to accomplish this objective.

"On the 4th of February of 1961 the people of Angola launched the battle cry for direct action against Portuguese oppression. Today the soil of all the Portuguese colonies is burning under the feet of the colonialist troops of Lisbon."

Under the leadership of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the most representative and most effective nationalist organization of Angola, the patriots took the initiative of combat. From self-defense they passed to the offensive. Now they have under control a great portion of the Cabinda Enclave and have extended the war to the Eastern and Southern parts of Angola."

In the French newspaper L'HUMANITE of 4/2/1967.

"The commemoration of the Sixth Anniversary of the launching of the armed struggle in Angola encourages all of us to become conscious of and should make certain Africans to reflect about the necessity to intensify and increase the assistance to those truly nationalist movements which are effectively engaged in the struggle for the Independence of their respective countries."

The Journey of 4th of February, proclaimed by different international conferences, JOURNEY FOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THEIR PARTY--THE MPLA, will be celebrated by all those peoples genuinely African in a spirit of meditation and acting solidarity."

The struggle of the people of Angola reminds us of our own struggle and we, therefore, cannot remain indifferent before it, especially because the struggle of the people of Angola is an integral part of the liberation process of our continent to which all the African peoples are attached."

In the Algerian newspaper EL DJEICH (Official organ of the Popular National Army) of February, 1967

"On the 4th of February of 1961 the people of Angola (under the leadership of the MPLA) rose in arms against the domination of the Portuguese colonialists."

The patriotic armed units (of the MPLA) are now taking the initiative in active military operations, dealing a telling blow at the Portuguese aggressors and weakening the foothold of their colonial rule."

And continues the same paper, "...the Portuguese colonialists are resorting to every conceivable scheme to suppress and strangle

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N E W S A N D F A C T S

the just struggle of the Angolan people by bringing in more than 70,000 troops and various types of modern weapons with the assistance of their NATO allies, including the United States."

And it continues, "By no means, however, have the US imperialists and the Portuguese colonialists been able to put out the flames of the Angolan people's struggle raging all over the country." Wrote the Korean paper THE PYONGYANG TIMES of February 2, 1967.

FOREIGN CAPITALIST INVESTORS FLEE ANGOLA

As a result of the intensification of the revolutionary action of the MPLA the foreign capitalist investors are now fleeing Angola en masse.

During the past month the colonial Press referred largely to this "crisis" brought about by the "flight of capitals" and the "illegal traffic" of hard foreign currency."

The Portuguese colonialists, faced with inflating war expenditures brought about by the intensification of the MPLA activities, are now forced to levy special large war taxes. Furthermore, the colonialists now cannot provide the extremely favourable investment conditions to the imperialist investors.

The climate of insecurity created around the foreign capitalists puts them under a constant threat and forces the capitalists to expatriate the large profits made by their highly exploitive enterprises.

The imperialist go to the extremes to try to expatriate their profits: their activities range from the corruption of civil servants to the creation of illegal foreign exchange networks. Today, in the black market, the foreign exchange rate is 40% above normal.

Despite the complex propaganda machine of the colonialists, aimed at persuading the foreign capitalists to remain, the exodus continues at a fast rate. When the foreign capitalists flee it certainly is not a good sign for the colonialists whose war expenditures are heavily dependent upon the tax revenue from these same companies...

PORTUGUESE TROOPS REFUSE TO FIGHT

During the past months, approximately 900 agents of the PSP (the Portuguese Public Security Police) deserted from the ranks of this police charged with the "maintenance of order" in the colonies and in Portugal.

In order to fill the vacancies the colonialists government asked for applicants for them. 35 out of the 900 required turned out to fill the dirty job vacancies. Meantime the colonialists announced that a large number of soldiers and officers abandon the Army before being sent to the colonies to fight the dirty war or better to die in the colonies under the guns of the nationalists.

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NEWS AND FACTS

During the last two years the fascist commanders of the PSP issued more than a thousand orders of arrest to deserters. On the other hand, until the month of September, 1966, PIDE (the Portuguese secret police) arrested a large number of Portuguese Army officers.

At the heart of these arrests lies the growing wave of dissatisfaction manifested by the Portuguese soldiers and officers vis-à-vis the war they are sent to wage in the colonies to defend the interests of the exploitive colonial ruling class and the imperialists.

A GREAT ANGOLAN NATIONALIST DIES

With the age of 70 died in the Instituto do Noviciado of the Society of Jesus (6 Kilometers from Braga, Portugal) MONSEIGNOR MANUEL JOAQUIM MENDES DAS NEVES. He was the Canon and vicar-general of the diocese of Luanda. Great nationalist, Canon Manuel das Neves was arrested by PIDE (the Portuguese secret police) on August of 1961 accused of having poisoned the hosts and of keeping weapons in the sacristy of the Cathedral See in Luanda. He was transferred to the Caxias Jail (in Lisbon, Portugal) and afterwards kept under surveillance in the Instituto do Noviciado due to illness. Isolated from the outside world and paralytic, Canon Manuel das Neves died in this institute on the 11th of December, 1966.

The nationalist courage he manifested will remain a source of inspiration for all the Angolan patriots who will continue the revolutionary action until the day that the colonialist system will be totally abolished in our country.

MPLA IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF TANZANIA

On the occasion of the measures taken by the government of the brother people of Tanzania, under the leadership of MWALIMU JULIUS K. NYERERE, to implement the ARUSHA DECLARATION, the MPLA sent the following message to the President of the United Republic:

"EXCELLENCY:

"The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), vanguard movement of the people of Angola does not limit itself to the struggle against Portuguese colonialism. Our struggle has as its objective to liberate the people of Angola from the exploitation of man by man."

"This is why the MPLA gives its unconditional support to the historical measures adopted, within the spirit of the ARUSHA DECLARATION, to nationalize all the foreign banks operating in Tanzania, in execution of an order emanated from TANU, from the Government of Tanzania, and from Your Excellency personally.

Please accept, Excellency, our warmest felicitations and our most sincere wishes of greater successes in the future in the struggle for the consolidation of the Independence of and for the people of Tanzania."

F R O M T H E C O M B A T F R O N TCABINDA FRONT

In the Cabinda District the action of the MPLA maquisards continues with new and heavier losses being inflicted upon the enemy. Ambushes and sabotage actions, aimed at destroying the military barracks of the enemy, have increased, particularly after the beginning of this year.

NORTHERN FRONT

With the presence of MPLA guerrillas in the regions of Dembos and Nambuagongo the Districts of Luanda and Kwanza-Norte, where our detachments are carrying out an intensive task of reorganization of the local population, the politico-military level of our militants increased considerably.

During the past month the MPLA detachments effected several sabotage missions which brought about an immediate reaction on the part of the colonialist forces who, once again, are bombing, in vain, the forest where the MPLA maquisards are operating.

The victories obtained by the MPLA guerrillas clearly show that all the attempts of the Portuguese colonialists aimed at stopping the revolutionary action of the MPLA are doomed to total failure. Today that the MPLA guerrillas have, once again, taken the initiative of combat in the three fronts, the downfall of the Portuguese colonialists is absolutely sure.

EASTERN FRONT

ON THE 1st of NOVEMBER, 1966, at 3:00 pm, at KALUNDA post, a military convoy composed of 3 (THREE) vehicles fell into an ambush prepared by the MPLA guerrillas. 35 (THIRTY FIVE) enemy soldiers were killed and the three vehicles were completely destroyed.

ON THE 22nd of NOVEMBER, 1966 in the same area at 12:00 pm, two enemy "UNIMOG" vehicles fell into an ambush of the MPLA guerrillas losing 27 (TWENTY SEVEN) soldiers.

ON THE 26th of NOVEMBER, 1966, at 9:00 am, an important military detachment was sent by the enemy to the area of KASSOMPO in a mission aimed at preventing the local Angolan population from leaving the area. Informed about the presence of the enemy and of this intentions, the guerrillas of the MPLA promptly intervened, forcing the colonialist forces to flee.

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F R O M T H E C O M B A T F R O N T

ON NOVEMBER 30, 1966, in the morning, the freedom forces of the MPLA made a big surprise attack on the barracks of KALIPANDE post, close to the Zambian border. The MPLA fighters set fire to four buildings and destroyed many others. The enemy suffered many soldiers killed and many others wounded. Others ran away through the bush.

In all of the above operations the MPLA forces did not have any losses.

On the 8th DECEMBER, at 7:30 am, one company of Portuguese soldiers traveling from LUSO to LUMBALA fell into an ambush prepared by two detachments of the MPLA. The attack was made when the enemy was stationed at CHILEMBA. The portuguese lost 83 (EIGHTY-THREE) soldiers, killed. One of the MPLA fighters was wounded.

On the 18th of DECEMBER, 1966 at 10:30 am in the NINDA region, the MPLA guerrillas attacked a portuguese patrol near the LUCE River killing 25 (TWENTY-FIVE) soldiers. No losses were registered among the MPLA forces.

On the 28th of DECEMBER, 1966, at 12:00 midday an MPLA reconnaissance group annihilated 2 (TWO) enemy barges, carrying 40 (FORTY) soldiers, on the ZAMBESI River. This action took place near the TSHILEMBA barracks.

On the SAME DATE, at 3:00 pm another MPLA group destroyed 3 (THREE) portuguese launches on the ZAMBESI River, also near TSHILEMBA. About 15 (FIFTEEN) Portuguese soldiers were killed. Corps and arms lying in the River are beyond recovery as war trophies.

TWO PLANES SHOT DOWN

On the 2nd of JANUARY, 1967, at 10:00 am one enemy reconnaissance plane and 2 (TWO) bombers tried to bomb TSHIPOPA village. Seeing this, the MPLA guerrillas immediately intervened and shot down the first plane.

Finally on the 3rd of JANUARY, 1967, at 8:00 am; 3 (THREE) other planes flew over the same village. One of them was shot down by the MPLA guerrillas just as they began bombing.

The population with stronger and stronger confidence in the MPLA guerrillas is following their instruction. Popular militias are already being formed to cooperate with the MPLA forces, especially in the task of patrolling the Angolan-Zambian border.

On the 12th of January, 1967, at 11:05 am, four portuguese military lorries travelling from BUNDAS, loaded with soldiers, with the intention

F R O M T H E C O M B A T F R O N T

of burning and destroying the villages of the people of the NINDA Post, fell into an ambush prepared by the MPLA freedom forces before they could accomplish their mission.

After the enemy had built a bridge over the SATANYA RIVER our forces attacked them, destroying 2 (TWO) of the lorries and killing 45 (FORTY-FIVE) soldiers, including an officer.

During the withdrawal of the guerrillas, they were about to be encircled by the colonialist forces and one of our guerrillas lost this gun. This was the only casualty registered by the MPLA fighters.

On the 16th of January, 1967, at 10:30 am, on the bank of the LUCE River, six military lorries travelling from BUNDAS to supply the NINDA Post were attacked by our guerrillas. In this action 3 (three) lorries were destroyed and 55 (fifty-five) portuguese soldiers killed.

One of the MPLA guerrillas was slightly wounded.

On the 18th of January, 1967, at 5:00 pm one jeep and a military lorry going from CHIUME to LUKOLWE were ambushed by the MPLA guerrillas just as the portuguese soldiers were stealing maize from the people. The jeep managed to escape, but the lorry was completely destroyed and 20 (twenty) soldiers in it were killed.

No casualties were registered on the MPLA side.

On the 23rd of January, 1967, at 10:30 am in MALAHO village, fifteen lorries going to supply the NINDA and CHIUME posts, fell into an ambush of the MPLA guerrillas. Seven (7) lorries were completely annihilated, 93 (ninety-three) soldiers killed.

There were no casualties amongst the MPLA forces.

On 1st FEBRUARY, 1967 at 11 pm, a convoy of seven military lorries loaded with portuguese troops going from LUMBALA (BUNDAS) to CHIUME post fell into an ambush of MPLA freedom forces. Surprised by the intensive fire of our guerrillas 60 (Sixty) portuguese soldiers were killed, including the captain.

The majority of the vehicles was destroyed and the remaining were damaged.

This action took place in the region of CHIUME post near KAPWI river.

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F R O M T H E C O M B A T F R O N T

There were no losses amongst the MPLA forces.

On 28th JANUARY, 1967, at 10:15 am, MPLA guerrillas ambushed four (4) military lorries loaded with portuguese soldiers. The colonialist troops were heading towards the MITETE Post. They were violently attacked by MPLA freedom forces twenty miles from this Post, on the bank of the MUSSUMA river, between MITETE village and Gago-Coutinho town.

As a result of this operation, sixty seven (67) portuguese soldiers were killed.

There was no casualties amongst MPLA freedom forces.

THUS IN THE PERIOD FROM THE 1ST OF NOVEMBER, 1966 TO THE TO 1ST OF FEBRUARY, 1967 A TOTAL OF 565 PORTUGUESE SOLDIERS WERE KILLED, INCLUDING TWO OFFICERS, SEVERAL HUNDREDS WOUNDED, 16 LORRIES DESTROYED, AND TWO PLANES SHOT DOWN

Reproduced from communiques
nrs; 2/67, 3/67, 4/67, 5/67
6/67, 7/67, issued by the
MPLA Representative in Lusaka

VICTORY OR DEATH!

VICTORY IS SURE!

"We think that in a war the strenght of the army is dependent upon several factors of which the most important are the political and the moral factors."

NGUYEN HUU THO
President of the National
Liberation Front of South
Viet-nam.



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 ORGAN OF INFORMATION OF THE
 PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (M.P.L.A.)
 Office: Corner of
 Independence Avenue & Mkwepu St.
 P. O. BOX 20793 Tel. 24292
 Dar-es-Salaam
 The United Republic of Tanzania

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