# ANGOLA IN ARMS



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

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EDITORJAL

ON THE 13th OF MAY 1967, POPE PAUL VI VISITED PORTUGAL. THUS, WITH THIS "VISIT", THE POPE MANIFESTED OPENELY HIS SUPPORT TO THE FASCIST REGIME OF SALAZAR.

On the 13th of May, 1967, Pope Paul VI visited the shrine of Fátima in Portugal. At the airport when the Holy Father's plane landed he was received by the President of the Portuguese Republic, Américo Tomás and by the dictator himself, besides many other proeminent personalities of the colonial-fascist

regime and of the Church.

At Fátima, it is celebrated every year the aparition of the Virgin Mary. It was 50 years ago that three little Portuguese pastors declared that they had seen and heard the voice of the Virgin. It was therefore the 50th aniversary that was celebrated at Fátima.

It was this fact which Paul VI used as a pretext to go from Vatican to Portugal. Althought he had stated before leaving his headquarters that the visit had no political attributes, and beside the fact that he remained only a few hours in Salazar's territory, the gainful political effect which the fascist got cannot be rulled out or denied by the Pope. This trip was a guarantee of the support given to the repressive regime by the Vatican.

Not so many people would have voiced their condemnation of the Pope's trip, as it was the case, if Portugal had just and democratic régime; if the right to independence of the peoples under its colonial rule were respected by the Portuguese régime; if Portugal were not waging a criminal war against the people of the three African territories she is subjugating; if the portuguese régime respected the right for freedom of the portuguese people itself.

But Portugal has one of the most antidemocratic régime in the world today. Portugal is also the only country which stub bornly insists in maintaining, by force, her African colonies.

In Portugal, the Salazar régime supresses all the essential liberties of its own people by taking away the right of the Portuguese citizens to choose their own system of govenment, in free elections. To impose upon its people his iron rule Salazar has created one of the most severe police, PIDE, among other instruments of repression no longer used in any part of the world today. The Portuguese economy is in the hands of a very restrict number of bourgeois who export most of the benefits acquired through the system of exploitation in the colonies, in favor of the foreigh monopolists to whom their are associated.

In the colonies Salazar continues to negate the right to independence and sovereignity of the peoples. By adopting the most retrogade attitude of trying to go against the historic

laws, the faccist regime of Salazar, installed in the colonies a police apparatus of a tremendous capacity; Salazar has sent to these African territories more than 100,000 troops, mobilised the settlers to combat on the side of the colonial army and seeking to corrupt the Africans to oppose themselves to the freedom war of our people. However, all this i in vain. In Angola, The people under the leadership of the MPLA is today, more than ever before, determined and mobilised for the war for Independence. Our people is today, more than even before, fully sure that our war can only end with victory for Angola.

Behaving hopelessly the barbarian Portuguese colonialists are murdering defenseless men, women and children; burning, bombing and destroying whole villages; they are exterminating the people's cultivated lands, and killing the cattle to destroy the material subsistance base of the people.

It was this policy of cruelty and violence that the Pope, in interest of the Church of which he is the supreme representative, came to ratify during his visit to Fátima.

But this attitude of the Pope, should not astonish anybody. Nothing new was revealed to us, for we always knew the Pope as a consistence ally of Salazar, as a staunch protector of the fascists and colonialists. Throughout its history the Catholic Church has given its support to the colonialist policy of the opressive classe in Portugal and elsewere.

Although the Christian religion has inherent in itself an humanitarian and sound character, this quality has been used by the Church itself as ani nstrument for the domination of some peoples by others, of some classes by others. Thus, in the past the Catholic Church sided with the bourgeoisie and it was used as an instrument of this class; it sided and protect the colonialists; and with the wealthy against the poor.

In Angola at the begining of the period of "maritime discoveries" the first contacts of the Portuguese colonialists with our people were made by the Catholic missionaries They were the agents of the colonialists who penetrated the interior of our country "preaching the faith", to convert our people to the submission and humiliation, to forsake the attitude of resistance to the colonialist invader. They were also the ones who paved the way to the soldiers who consolidated the "conquests" by violence, who sacked, who robbed, and murdered with the blessing of the Church.

At the beginning of the armed revolt in our country and with the advancement of our struggle for liberation the Catholic Church didn't take a position in favor of the nationalists. To the contrary, the Church always sided and cllaborated with the colonialist. Church repressive apparatus. More than ever before the agents of the Church are preaching Chlistian humiliation and submission. And when this is not enough, the Church denounces the nationalists handing them to the colonialist police agents; sending them to torture chambers and to death. Many Cathalic priests took up arms and went to the battle field, side by side with the colonialists who were soldiers, against the\*nationalists who were fighting to liberate themselves from oppression.

When some African Catholic priests began to manifest themselves actively against the Portuguese colonialists: they were thrown into jail and expelled from Angola. Faced with this, the Catholic Church, abstained itself from taking a position to defend the right of these priests to express their patriotic views.

Therefore the Catholic church has not been defending justice and liberty for men. Rather it has been serving as an instrument of domination. The Church has been used as a means to perpetuate the regimes of oppression by defending the fascists and the colonialists.

Upon paying a visit to the Portugal of Salazar, Pope PaulVI has only taken off the mask — shown his true face. The face of a man and of an institution that defends — the institution and the man — the interests of the colonialists, that bless the cruel war of repression against the people and which act accordingly in order to perpetuate the domination and the oppression of man by man.

\* angolan

## before the United Nations decolonisation C.

### the lies of the so called "grae"

In Kinshasa, appearing before the Un Special Decolonisa tion Committee, Mr. Holden Robert repeated, once again, the fan tastic statements he usually makes about the struggle of our peo ple.

Supported by the authorities of Congo (Kinshasa), by the imperialist press and by part of the Congolese press, Mr.Robert took advantage of the Committee session, using it as a plataform to lauch his deceitful propaganda, with the objective of attracting the attention of the world to his moribund "government".

It is a well known fact that the so-called "g.r.a.e." in order to give the impression that it is still alive and to make believe that by the refugees stationed in villages located near the Congo-Angolan border and by those who have recently entered the Congo.

Of these refugges the young are detained in the "bases" of Kinkuzu and Kamuna and in some others conceded to the so-called "g.r.a.e." by the government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. From these "bases" have never and never will come the necessary military detachments needed to lead the struggle for the independence of our country.

The so-called "g.r.a.e." doesn't exert in Angola any patri otic activity. For this reason Holden Robert, with the assistan ce of the authorities of the DRC, seeks to control the refugees in the Congo and to lead a repressive action particularly against the militants of the MPLA.

Neverthless, Mr.Robert had the courage to affirm before the Decolonisation Committee that he is the head of an army of 30,000 men !

This ridiculous statement is an insult to the intelligence of all those who heard him and an abuse committed against the in terests of our People who is courageously waging a difficult war against the Portuguese colonial army. But for Mr.Robert, lying is not a problem and costs him very little or nothing at all; therefore, from the outset of our struggle, he hasn't been doing anything else but to lie, to the world, to himself and, most im portant of all, to our People. Holden has uttered some of the most bombastic lies, in order to be able to carry on his mission of a saboteur of our People's heroic struggle.

Mr.Robert has gone as far as entitling himself "Doctor" although nobody knows which university he has attended. (We could only understand this fact, by stretching our imagination to accept that he has done his studies at the "university of Bin za). With his "graduation" and inconscience Holden doesn't respect even those simple facts which any child could easily com prehend.

The fantastic head of the so-called "g.r.a.e." stated that his organisation has control over one fifth of the national territory :

Let us stop and analyze the facts. Angola has an area of 1,245,700 square kilometers. Therefore, one-fifth of this area would represent 249,340 square kilometers. Let us now consider the area of the districts of Angola :

DISTRICTS	AREA	POPULATION
Cabinda	7,300	58,547
Zaire	27,000	52,022
Uige	44,700	399,886
Luanda	35,800	346,746
Cuanza-Norte	32,200	263,066
Malange	105,200	425,285
Lunda	166,900	247,273
Moxico	198,800	270,000
Cuando-Cubango	192,700	113,063

In order to control one-fifth of the national territory, just in northern part of the country, it would be necessary to exert this control over the districts of Zaire, Uige, Luanda, Cuanza-Norte, Malange and Lu nda. Well, it is a simple and well -known fact that this doesn't represent the truth.

Our Movement, the MPLA, is the only organisation today struggling, with guns, in our national territory. This strug gle, is beeing waged in three fronts, in the district of Cabinda, Cuanza-Norte, Luanda, Moxico and Cuando-Cubango.

The tribal organisation of Mr.Robert, more attached to the interests of the Congo (Kinshasa) than properly to those of our People in Angola, did not exert a limited influence during 1961--1962 in those regions in Angola adjacent to the Congo. Today however, due to the anti-national policy oriented towards foreign interests pursued by the so called "grae", this then existing in fluence has totally ceased to be present, particularly with the exodus of almost the entire kikongo population who sought refuge in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where they constitute the majority of the Angolan refugees in that country.

When is then that the 30,000 soldiers of Mr.Robert control the 250,000 square kilometers of the Angolan territory? This irresponsible lie, thrown before foreigners with the objective of supplying arguments to the saboteurs of our struggle, the imperialists.

At the opening session of the Committee's meeting, a certain Head of State spoke again about the problem of unity.

Once again it was said that the Congolese territory should not be used by the nationalist organisation as their battle field. This also was one more statement which can distort the real meaning and essence of the problem. The unity is a means and not an end in itself. If we want to struggle really for the liberation of our country, we cannot consider the unity of the natio nalist forces as an element <u>sine qua non</u> for the continuation of the struggle and we should not dedicate all our energy just to reach this unity.

It is not true that the Angolan nationalist organisations are fighting eachother. In the Cabinda Front a war between the MPLA, the organisation leading the struggle against the Portugue se colonialists there and another organisation doesn't exist. In the Eastern Front, in the districts of Moxico and Cuando-Cubango there is not a war between the MPLA and the so-called "grae". In the interior of the districts of Cuanza-Norte and Luanda there are not so-called armed clashes between the Angolan organisations. All this does not exist because there is a war, a war which the MPLA, alone, is leading.

The so-called "grae" doesn't exist in Cabinda, neither in Moxico. This group has ceased to exist and ceased to have any influence in the interior of our country.

What really exists is a wave of repression directed against the MPLA militants in the territory of the Democratic Republic of Congo. It is with the conspiracy of the Congolese authorities that MPLA militants are being arrested and confined to the "bases" of the so-called "grae" where they are tortured, humiliated and often assassinated.

Furthermore the authorities of the Democratic Republic of Congo do not allow the MPLA to exert any activity in their territory. The MPLA militants are forbidden by the Congolese authorities to pass or to transport war material through the territory of the Republic.

To explain this anti-MPLA position it is alleged that the government of Congo has already recognized a "government" as if this "government" in fact represented anything to our People or to the nationalists who are ardently struggling for national independence. Turther, the Congolese authorities are intervening in our national problem, seeking to impose upon our people a tendency, thus going against the decision of the OUA which has already recommended that the fighters for liberation in Angola be given the necessary facilities to carry out this struggle.

A correct position, in our view, is that adopted by the governments of Tanzania and Zambia who, faced with the existing divergences within the nationalist movements, as for instance ZANU and ZAPU, the ANC and PAC, etc., allow these diverging organisation to carry out their activities in their territory — —to coexist.

We ask ourselves why can't the Congo (Kinshasa) admit the MPLA and the UPA in its territory. We ask ourselves also, how can the Leader of a Country who expelled the MPLA, who allows that our militants be arrested, tortured, and assassinated in the very territory of the Country of which he is the Leader, be able state that there exists a fracticide struggle between these organisation. We affirm here, in order to clear up any confu sion, that it does not exist any fracticide struggle within Angola. What in reality exist is a violent repression waved against the militants of the MPLA in Congo (Kinshasa), repression in which, unfortunately, the Congolese authorities collaborate.

How can an African leader talk about the unity when it is in the territory of his Country that are arrested, tortured and assassinated the militants of the MPLA ? In our view, the first thing to do would be to put a stop to these inhuman acts which represent a crime and a violation against the principles of the struggle for the total independence of our Continent.

We wish to make absolutly clear that the main problem of the struggle in Angola is <u>not</u>, we repeat, is <u>not</u> the unity with a telecommanded organisation. The problem is that the countries which have common borders with Angola, in particular the Congo (Kinshasa), have not yet understood the necessity to give transit permission for our war material and militants to the interrior of our country. We wish to remind here that it is our people and only our people, who will choose its own valid representatives and its own government. Nobody has the right to substite our people in his sacred right and impose upon the Angolan nation a government or an organisation.

If the authorities of the brother country of the Congo are really interested in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism they must take the first step, that of allowing the MPLA to carry out its patriotic activities in the Congo ; guarantee to the MPLA the right of transit of militants and of war material. The authorities of Congo (Kinshasa) must allow the organisations recognised by the OAU to coexist in this territory, thus eliminating any discrimination, without choosing between one or other organisation, without wishing to impose upon our people a "government".

And above all, the authorities of the brother country of the Congo MUST RELEASE ALL OUR COMRADES ARRESTED AND KEPT INCOM-MUNICADO IN JAILS FOR SAME YEARS.

The lies told by Mr.Robert and the confusionist attitude which deceive only some people will always be denounced by the MPLA. Our People who is combating, we are absolutely sure,knows perfectely well that from Cabinda to Cunene; in Cabinda, in Dembos, in Nambuangongo, in Moxico and in Cuando-Cubango; it is the MPLA who is holding the patriotic action for the National Inde pendence of our Fatherland.

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OUR GUNS, UP TO THE PRESENT MOMENT, HAVE ONLY BEEN USED TO COMBAT AGAINST THE PORTUGUESE COLONIALISTS HOWEVER, THE SUPREME INTERESTS OF OUR PEOPLE MAKE IT IMPERATIVE THAT WE COMBAT ALSO, WITH THE GUNS, AGAINST ALL THOSE WHO BETRAY OUR SACRED CAUSE OF LIBERATION."

THE STRENGTH OF THE MPLA CONSISTS OF THE SUPPORT GIVEN BY THE PEOPLE INSIDE OUR COUNTRY.

TO FIGHT FOR ANGOLA IS TO FIGHT FOR AFRICA.



As a concept of health in the second half of the XXth century it is understoad to be that set of factors which are applied in order to protect the individu from the constant aggres sions in the envisonement in which he lives and guarantes him physical aptitude for participation in production and to enjoy social wellbeing.

This concept is very distinct from that which was generally accepted ten or five decade ago. In effect, fifty to one-hundred years ago, health was considered a private and exclusive good of the individual. It was, so to say, a restricted accessory of the individual. Today, the concept of health is much wider, much more ambitious. Today, health care is conside red to be an essential component of the society. In the past, the concept of health was restricted to the individual; it was limited to the function of making available to the individual means to fight against illness. The concept was essentially cu rative. In a contemporaneous society, the concept of health ta kes the whole society, rather than the ixolated individual, into account; and it is essentially preventive, that is designed to defend the society from those agents which are likely to affect detrimentally its health.

Health is therefore the aggregate of those factors which create the necessary means for a society to be in condition to produce at its optimum and to get benefict of its labour. For this reason, the Health services can be also called Health of the Population, of Social Assistance, of the Social Wellbeing, etc., in order to pinppoint well the aim of those organisms of the society in charge of this sector of the life of the country.

Today the concept of health is more fundamentally a con cept of the health of the masses. In this case, health is desi gned at protecting those masses wherever they are living so that they may produce well fare and wealth for the society.

Today we all hear talking about collective medicine, social medicine, labour medicine; in materno-infantil prevention, anti--tuberculosis and puericultur dispensaries. Lattly it was ever established a branch of medicine which deals particularly with old age protection; old people whether they are sick or not, but who also live in the society are kept in special hc .ses for rest in quarters built by several medico-social institutions, so that those men and women who spent their past years producing welfare for the society, may, at their last years, when they are unable to participate in the production, enjoy a decent life. In conclusion, this is what is undestood by health in our days.

And in Angola ? What is the state of affairs in our country ?

Let us first of all analyse in detail the Angolan society such as it is today, in this stage in which the country is under the colonial domination and exploitation of the Portuguese.

In Angola, and we all know this — and it is against this abnormal atate of affairs that we, the nationalists, are fighting — exist a foreign minority of exploiters which imposes, by force, upon almost the totality of Angolans the performance of wealth and welfare creating duties for the exclusive enjoyment of this settler minority. In Angola, all the institutions, all the moral and judicial concepts have the same objective : that of providing the european minority with the means for maintai ning its domination and explotation over the Africans, thus not permitting the Angolans weither to organise themselves nor to usufruct of those material means, even the most elementars ones which guarantee one's health and subsistence.

The Portuguese colonial regime maintains in Angola a system which forces the 4,456,000 of Africans to work as forced la bourers, for the exclusive benefit of 350,000 Europeans ! In the chapter that concerns us most here, the health, the colo nial regime provides this minority, a clique constituted of 350,000 individuals, well-equiped medico-sanitary institutions (considering the scientific aspects of these, that is doctors, technical equipment, terapeutic arsenal), and there are particularly efficient in defending and protecting to the settles from sickness and all the traumatisms to which all the human beings are constantly exposed.

In Luanda, the capital of Angola, in 1960, they were about 135,000 settlers.

According to its specific field of activity they had avai lable the fallowing institutions (1):

a) Health Service of Angola of whose activity the whole population of the country is theoretically supposed to benefit of, but that in reality only rendes services to the Europeans minority and to the personnel of the colonialist administration. To these individuals this institution provides a reasonably good trea tment (scientificaly viewing it) considering the quality, the capacity of the staft and the technical equipment et the disposition of the patients and of the specialized personnel.

b) A Medical Dispensary, a Nursing Home, one Maternity House for

the commercial employers afiliated to the commercial and industrial Trade Union Workers of Luanda (Sindicato dos Empregados de indústria e Comercio, de Luanda).

c) A medical dispensary, laboratories for clinic analyses, X Ray, etc., one stomatology clinic for drivers and fishrmen affiliated to the Driver's Trade Union of Luanda (Sindicato dos Motoristas de Luanda) and to the Fishermen Houses in the fisheries of the southern part of the country, in Moçánedes and Benguela.

d) Medical services run by several regionalist organisations whose membership is fully composed of settlers, originated from Several of the Portuguese provinces (like the Transmontano Club, Casa do Alentejo, Casa das Beiras, etc.) organisations which are served by one or more doctors.

A part from all these health services there are also several highly specialized clinics which, of course, also serve Europeans only. Furthermore the big financial and industrial bour geoisie to whom the system does not provide "adequate" treatment facilities in Angola there is also available to them the mate: rial be means for treatment of the members of this class of exploiters in the big European and North American centres.

In 1960, the white minority in Angola, was served by 266 medical doctors, 48 midwives, half a dozen of dentists, 25 phar maceutics and six clinics (2) which is an average of one doctor for aproximatly 1,300. individuals.

To have a better picture of this situation let us compare it with that prevaling in other countries. For instance in Italy, France, Belgium, there is one doctor for 8,000 to 10,000 in dividuals. But to have an even clearer picture of this system of explotation, maintained by force by the portuguese colonia lists in Angola, we must compare this averages to that which privails amongst the majority of the Angolan population, com prised of peasants, factory workers, donestic workers, low-grade clercks of the colonial administration, etc., whom the collectively settlers call "indigenas" and who accourt for a total of 4,456,000 individuals -4,200,000 of these live in non-urban cen ters-

This vast mass of Africans is served by 45 medical doctors which accounts for an average of one doctor for 114,000 individuals, one of the lowest in the world !

This doctors must visit once or twice per annum the regions inhabited by this population, regions served by impassable or by no road at all, throughout a territory with an area 'of 1,247,000 square kiloniters.

This, needless to say, explain the fact that the Angolan

population does not benefit of a medecine which deserves even being mentioned. The 4,456,000 individuals who constitute the African population of Angola, according to the 1960 statistics, there existed the fallowing colonialist institution to serve Africans :

- Serviços de Saúde de Angola (Health Services of Angola)which from its central headquarters in Luanda, theoretically extends its medico-sanitary activities throughout the whole territory of Angola. Its administrative divisions are the <u>Delegacias</u> de <u>Saúde</u> located in the capitals of districts and the <u>Sub-Delegacias</u> and <u>Postos Sanitários</u> which are located only in the most important circumscriptions.

The Serviços de Saúde de Angola runs 15 state hospitals. The number of consultations performed per annum, according to official statistics (\*), is approximately of 975, 166 . (3)

One Maternity House, the Maternity <u>Vieira Machado</u>, which, according to the regulation of the Health Services of Angola, has one Maternity room exclusively for whites and one large sec tion for the "indigena" mothers. The "indigena" mothers give birth on the floor or on coarse grass mats.

- Santa Casa da Misericordia, in Luanda, which performs a rea - sonable number of consultations and treatments. It has one doc tor, one graduated nurse and half a dozen of assistant nurses.

- The Medical Posts run by City Councils of the cities of Luanda, Lobito, Benguela and Nova Lisboa are reserved particularly to forced labourers of the city, as well as some indigents.

The service performed by these institutions is extremaly poor, judged by the personnel they have. For the Medical Post in Luanda, the best of all, there are only one medical doctor, one chief-nurse and three assistant nurses, amongst whom there is one woman.

The "indigena" had at their disposal, in 1960, the services performed by some African organisations controlled and de rected by the colonial authorities. Amongst these we cite specially the Following : Liga Nacional Africana (LNA) in Luanda, which had one medical post with one doctor and one nurse; <u>Associaçao dos Naturais de Angola (ANANGOLA) (4) also in Luanda,</u> which had a dispensary and nursery school "Dr. Carlos Tavares" of an appreciable social value. And we finally mention also the <u>Associação Africana do Sul de Angola (AASA) in Nova L</u> boa, which has its medical post.

Apart from these semi-governamental services which serve exclusively only the African population and more particularly the so-called "assimilados" of the great urban centers, the big monopolist foreign firms which explore in loco the wealth of our country also run some rudimentary health services particularly to "assist" their workers, either farm, industrial or the forced labourers in the harbours on the roads, railway, etc..

The Medical assistance dispensed to the indigenous population in Angola, under rule of a régime who oppresses and explo res our people, is in a few words, of an extremely low quality, of a low scientific level and also of a very weak therapeutic value. The insignificant attention given by the government to the medical assistance of the Angolan population can be testi fied by the amount of monly spent for the purpose.

Angola, under the colonialist régime of Portugal, only im-ported US \$750,000 of antibiotics and US \$1,860,000 of all the other drugs when compared with an amount of US \$13,000,000 for the quantity of wine imported ! (5)

The Health and medical assistance, are only one aspect of the parazitic character of Portuguese colonialism; the relations which exist between one of the most retrogade country of Euro pe and a colony of the wealthiest of Africa.

Uplifting the scientific level of medicine in Angola and . the spread of a medico-sanitary assistance to the working class of Angola can only be brought about after the total liquidation of the colonialist system in our country.

This will be one of the fundamental tasks of the MPLA in its struggle for national independence.

- (1) Statistical Yearbook, 1962 United Nations.
- (2) Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, February 1967 United Mations (3) Anuario Estatistico de Angola, 1960
   (4) ANANGOLA was banished by the colonial authorities for subver -
- sive activities, in 1966.
- (5) Statistical Yearbook, 1962. United Nations.
  (\*) Official Statistics are usually overestimated in order to mislead the international opinion about the real situation prevailing in the country, a situation which is even worse than that pictured by the official numbers.

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE VICTORY AT

Dien Bien Phu

THE LIBERATION WAR OF THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM WAS A LONG AND PRODIGIOUS BATTLE OF DIEN BIEN PHU

Excerpts of DIEN BIEN PHU by General VO NGUYEN GIAP

The victory at DIEN BIEN PHU and more generally the victories of the Winter 1953 and that of the Spring of 1954 are the highest victories conquered by our Army and our People in their long Resistence to the imperialist aggression.

At DIEN BIEN PHU our Army annihalated the most fortified and the strongest of the enemy camps in Indochina and put out of action 16,000 of the most disciplined of the enemy troops. For the Winter 1953 and Spring 1954 campaings, considering the fronts acting in co-ordination with DIEN BIEN PHU, the number of losses of the enemy totaled 110,000 men.

The Navarre Plan ended up in a fiasco. The French and American imperialists failed in their attempt to prolong and to escalate the war to all the parts of Indochina. DIEN BIEN PHU had an immense significance. This victory added to the successes obtained in the other fronts brought about the liberation of Hanoi, the capital, and of all of the Northern part of the country. Peace was re-established.

With the Navarre Plan, the French and American imperialists expected to engage themselves in a decisive battle. And, in effect DIEN BIEN PHU was decisive. This great victory of our People and of our Army was a landmark to the sharp defeat of the imperialist aggressors.

DIEN BIEN PHU was a test of force wherein our People and his Army were opposed by the expedictionary corps of the French imperialist aggressors assisted by the United States. In this test of force we came out as the winners. DIEN BIEN PHU will be remain forever in the indomitable memory of our People who has opposed to the powerful army of an imperialist nation the strenght of his unity in the struggle, the heroism of a small people still weak and of a popular army still young. This heroism has animated our People and our Army thoughout our Resistence. Thus we may very well say that each batle we fought, regardless of its importance, was dominated by the "spirit of DIEN BIEN PHU" that our people's war for liberation was in itself a long and prodigious battle of DIEN BIEN PHU.

At DIEN BIEN PHU, our national war achieved a magnificent victory. This success which testifies to the clairvoyance and firmness of our Party in its leading role, was a prestigious success of the Marxism-Leninism in the war for the liberation of a weak and heroic nation. Our nation can be totally confident of this. Under the leadership of our Party with President Ho Chi Min at its head we have turned into reality this great historic truth: that a colonised and weak people, but united in the struggle, who is ready to defend relutantly his independance and peace, is perfectly able to win the aggressive forces of an imperialist power.

Hence DIEN BIEN PHU isn't just a victory for our People, it is also a victory for all the weak peoples who are struggling to free themselves from the yoke of the imperialists and colonialists. In this lies the profound meaning of DIEN BIEN PHU. And this day which has become a day of festivity for the whole People of Vietnam is equally a great day of joy for the peoples of the brother countries for the peoples who have just regained their independence or who are still struggling for their independence.

DIEN BIEN PHU has entered forever in the annals of the struggle for national liberation of our people and of the weak peoples of the world. History will register this fact as one o' the crucial events of the profound movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who are raising up to free themselves and to become the masters of their own countries and of their destinies.

The unity in the struggle under the leadership of our Party was the way which lead our people to the victory at DIEN BIEN PHU. This same unity will surely lead us to new and higher victories in the edification of socialism in North-Vietnam and in the struggle for -the reunification of the country by peaceful means.

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"... there is only one way to arrive at the complete ss "... there is only one way to arrive at the complete independence of our country : the generalization of the revolutionary struggle throughout the entire na tional territory..." ss

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the white minority regimes exported by their interde who are totar evolutions the westh of our countries. NEWS and FAC

the salazar-smith conspiracy

The Smth regime has been declared illegal by almost all the countr ies of the world. Although with little or no effect at all, the United Nations adopted several

resolutions condemning and calling for sanstions against the racist régime.

The fascist rulers in Portugal and South Africa, in line twith their racist policies of total disrespect for the fight to self-determination of the African people, paid a deaf ear to these resolution and continued to disregard completely any call for sanctions, even the "mandatory" ones, against the Smith "government"; the governments of the United States and of the U.K., the American; the British and other capitalist firms, reaping extremely high profits from their subsidiaries operating in Zimbabwe also paid lip service to the call for sanctions.

But the Portuguese colonialists and the South-African racists went even further. They continue to trade openly with the rebel regime. Hence Harry Reedmen, representative of the rebels in Salisbury, went to Luanda (the capital of Angola) at the head of a trade mission "permanently" established in Angola.

This is more dangerous and adventurous step taken by the Salazar régime. Therefore the MPLA, the vanguard Movement of the people of Angola, vehemently condemns this colonio-racist alliance. In solidarity with the brother people of Zimbabwe, the people of Angola, under the leadership of the MPLA, stands ready to fight against the white minority regimes supported by their imperialist allies, who are today exploiting the weath of our countries.

close links between fascist south africa and portugal ing to the New York He-

rald Tribune of the 26/4/67 an under-sea telephone and telegraph cable, linking Capetown to Lisbon, will be built by Standard Tele phones and Cables Ltd (STC).

The total cost of the project is estimated at 61.6 million dellars and will be the biggest single contract even placed on a single manufacteur. At the time of its completion, probably two years from now, the cable will carry 360 simultaneous conversations. 65% of the terminal equipment will be manufactured in SouthAfrica • by Standard Telephones and Cables Company, formed jointly by the Industrial Development Corporation of S.A. and by America Cable and Radio Corporation, an associate of Standard Telephones and Cables Ltd.

We are in the presence of one more clear manifestation of the dangerous Vorster-Salazar racist alliance. We are face to face with a clear expression of the imperialist conspiracy with the most opressive forces of the African people...

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ANGOLA, FIVE CENTURIES OF PORTUGUESE EXPLOITATION

ANGOLA, FIVE CENTURIES OF PORTUGUESE EXPLOITATION is the tittle of a book by Américo Boavida which has just been published in Portuguese and French.

The book has already been considered one of the best works written denouncing the colonialist policies in Angola. It contains the point of view of an Angolan about Angola yet it depicts objective and clearly the sistem of exploitation, maintained by the guns, by the Portuguese colonialists in collusion with their Anglo-German--American imperialist allies.

ANGOLA, FIVE CENTURIES OF PORTUGUESE EXPLOITATION is in the words of Miguel Urbano Rodrigues in his preface "a work of dismistification and an irrespondible libel against the most obscurantist of all the colonialisms". It is a must read.

brazilian intellectual condemn portuguese colonialism

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On the occasion of the emission of the book ANGOLA, FIVE CENTURIES OF PORTUGUESE EXPLOITATION, by Dr. Américo Boavida, in which the author denounces the Potuguese colonialist practices, a group of Brazilian intellectuals sent a massage to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil in which they condemned the fascist regime of Salazar and expressed, at the same time, their solidarity with our people in the just struggle against the Portuguese colonialists acting in collaboration with the NATO powers, particularly the United States and the Federal Germany. The Brazilian personalities called upon their government to "desist from its policy of supporting the fascist policy of Salazar and to substitute it by one which agrees with the national sentiment of the Brazilian nation via-a-vis the right of the people of Angola to self--determination." Further they appealed to Minister Magalhães Pinto to "take the necessary steps to make Salazar aware of the condemnation by the Brazilian people of the war of genocide imposed upon the people of Angola by fascist regime."

This appeal was signed by many distinguished personalities amongst whom several university professors, writers, parliamentaries, journalists, lawyers, actors, students and workers.

MESSAGE SENT BY THE BRASILIAN PEOPLE TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE MPLA

To Dr. Agostinho Neto, President People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola Brazzaville, Rep. of Congo

> "We met in S. Paulo for the cerimony of the emission of the book ANGOLA, FIVE CENTURIES OF PORTUGUESE EXPLOITATION, by Dr. Americo Boavida, a militant of the MPLA.

In this cerimony, presided over by His Excellency Dr. Hafid Keramane, Ambassador of the People's

Democratic Republic of Algeria, we, the undersigned, deputies, university professors, writers journalists, students, Brasilian workers, take this opportunity to reaffirm our solidarity with the people of Angola in its struggle for independence.

Assured that we interpret the sentiments of the majority of the Brasilian people, attached to the people of Angola by blood and cultural ties, we salute, through this message we are addressing to you, the heroic fighters of the MPLA engaged in an ardous struggle against colonialism, a struggle which isn't yours alone, but of the whole African people and of the whole progressive and humanitarian democratic community.

The undersigned"

africa day - tanzania ready to fight

From the moment of its institution, the AFRICA DAY, has been celebrated with dignity by the Peoples of our Continent.It is a day to show the solidarity of the already independent brother African peoples with the Peoples of our Continent and of the world still under the yoke of colonialism.

Amongst the African countries, Tanzania has always distinguished itself by the value attached and by the political, moral and material support it grants to liberation movements representing the Peoples of our Continent still fighting to free themselves from colonialism.

The political, moral and material support granted to our People in its heroic struggle for freedom by the brother People and Government of Tanzania, under the enlightened leadership of TANU and the AFRO-SHIRAZI PARTY, is a clear manifestation of the friendship and determination of Tanzania to pursue its just policy to fight for the total liberation of our Continent from the yoke of the colonialist masters.

This policy was, once again, reaffirmed by Second Vice--President KAWAWA in his adress to a large audience who gathered at the end of a march through the streets of Dar-Es-Salaam, during to cerimonies marking the AFRICA DAY.

The People of Angola, under the leadership of its vanguard Party — the MPIA, greatly thank the brother People of Tanzania for the political, moral and material assistance granted to us in the struggle against the Portuguese colonialists.

With the principles underlined by the ARUSHA DECLARATION, the MPLA and the People of Angola hope that Tanzania will pursue in its road of national reconstruction and active struggle against colonialism and imperialism in Africa and in the world at large.

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### FROM FHE COMBAT FRONT

#### EASTERN FRONT

On the 5th of MARCH, 1967, at 11:00 p.m., Portuguese troops

cowardly attacked a village in the KUTSHIHI REGION, killing an Angolan woman and wounding three others. Informed about the sauvage attacke of the colonialists troops the MPLA guerrillas prepared an ambushnear the bridge over the KUTSHIHI RIVER which the colonialists were expected to cross.

Subsequently at 2:00 p.m., two military lorries carrying Portuguese troops fell in this ambush. Using hand grenades, machine-guns, and carabines the MPLA guerrillas killed THIRTY SEVEN (37) Portuguese soldiers.

On the 8th of March, 1967, at 2:00 p.m., a Portuguese transport plane carrying troops, food and military provisions, flying between BUNDAS (Gago Coutinho) and LUKOLWE Post was shot down by the MPLA freedom fighters in the area between the KUTSHIHI and CHIKULUI Rivers. Its occupants and cargo were totally destroyed.

On the 17th of March, 1967, at 10:15 a.m., two military jeeps travelling from MUIE Post were ambushed by MPLA guerrillas. The first one managed to escape but the second one was completely destroyed and its EIGHT (8) occupants killed.

On the 16th of March, 1967 at 12:30 p.m., a guerrilla detachment of the MPLA made a surprise attack on a group of Portuguese soldiers concetrated at LUTEMBE. In this action which lasted for about 20 minutes the MPLA freedom fighters killed 47 (FORTY-SEVEN) and wounded many others Portuguese troops. Among the MPLA fighters there was one wounded.

On the 22md of March, 1967, at 11:25 p.m., three military phanes coming to bomb Angolan villages in the LUENAS region were submitted to an intensive fire by the MPLA guerrillas. One of the planes was shot down and the other two escaped.

On the 1st of april, 1967, at 2:00 p.m., two Portuguese bombers attacked the village of SAPASSA in the LUENAS region causing many casualties amongst the population and the cattle. Always vigilant to the enemy action, the MPLA guerrilla opened fire against the enemy aircraft. One of the planes was shot down while the other one escaped in panic.

On the 6th of April, 1967, at 4:00 p.m., two military lorries

and one jeep were ambushed by MPLA freedom fighters, between SETE and NINDA posts. Subjected to an intensive fire by the MPLA freedom fighters t27 (TWENTY-SEVEN) enemy soldiers were killed and many others wounded in this action. The lorries in which they were traveling were completely destroyed and the jeep escaped while their occupants fired aimlessly bazooka, machine-gun, and mortar shots which did not harm any of the MPLA ambushed freedom-fighters.

On the 22nd of March, 1967, at 4:30 p.m., a group of MPLA guerrillas ambushed one lorry and three jeeps loaded with Portuguese troops when these were travelling from the post of NINDA to GAGO COUTINHO. In this attack which took place between LWATE and MUKOYI villages, the MPLA guerrillas killed a total of 38 (THIRTY-EIGHT) and wounded 17 (SEVENTEEN) enemy soldiers There were no losses among the MPLA forces.

On the 25th of March, 1967, at 1:p.m., two lorries loaded with Portuguese soldiers travelling from KANGAMBA to MUIE Post were ambushed by MPLA freedom fighters. Falling into the fire zone of our guerrillas, the enemy lost 35 (THIRTY-FIVE) men, killed , and many others wounded.

On the 28th of March, 1967, at 1:00 p.m., fifteen Portuguese soldiers were caught by the MPLA guerrillas when they were returning from a pillage mission, stealing pigs and sheeps from Angolan villagers. Ambushed by our guerrillas, the enemy lost 13 (THIRTEEN) MEN killed, and of the remaining two, one was wounded and the other escaped.

On the 10th of April, 1967, at 2:00 p.m., one Portuguese military company travelling on eight lorries, fell into an ambush prepared by the MPLA freedom forces between CAZOMBO and LUMBALA; 75 (SEVENTY-FIVE) Portuguese soldiers were killed and many others were wounded. Amongst the enemies killed were two second-lieutenants and one sergeant.

On the 14th of April, 1967, at 5:05 p.m., our forces ambushed two lorries and two jeeps of the Portuguese army, between MONTEURO and NINDA posts. In this action the MPLA forces killed 72 SEVENTY-TWO) and wouded many others of the colonialist troops.

On the 18th of April, at 8:00 a.m., a group of 15 Portuguese soldiers and 5 traitors invaded the people's plantations in the village of KULUNGULUNGU, near SETE-MONTEIRO, killing two persons one man and one woman, and wounded two others. Informed by the people of this crime against the civiliam population, the MPLA guerrillas immediately prepared an ambush against the enemy; 9 (NINE) colonialist troops and 5(FIVE) traitors were killed and of the remaining enemy troops, four were seriously wounded. In this action the MPLA guerrillas recaptured several hand--grenades, one official's knife, one box of explosives TNT, one M.G., and considerable amount of ammunition.

ON THE 20th of APRIL, another group of portguese soldiers fell into an ambush of the MPLA freedom forces, near LAKE DILOLO. 3(THREE) Portuguese soldiers and ONE official were killed in this action; the remaining 10 escaped.

ON THE 29th of APRIL, at 1:30 P.M., our guerrillas took by surprise a damaged lorry being pushed by its occupants; using hand-grenades the MPLA guerrillas attacked the enemy killing 33(THIRTY-SEVEN) of them.

ALSO ON THE 29th of APRIL, at 9:40 A.M., four launches sailing on the LUNGUENVUNGU River, with colonialist troops on board, were attacked by the MPLA guerrillas, killing 24 (TWENTY--FOUR) enemy soldiers. Twenty minutes later, two other launches coming to rescue the others were also attacked by the freedom forces; this time 12 9TWELVE) more colonialist troops were annihalated by our guerrillas. The launches were all badly destroyed.

FINALLY ON THE 30th of APRIL? at 1:00 p.m., two MPLA guer guerrilla detachments ambushed an enemy convoy. Subjected to an intensive fire by our guerrillas the colonialists lost 25 (TWENTY-FIVE) men, killed, while42 others were seriously wounded One of the lorries was completely destroyed.

In this action our forces recaptured 3 (THREE) AMERICAN MANUFACTURED PM's - STAYER, and a considerable amount of a ammunition.

Before this operation the MPLA guerrillas recaptures the goods found in several stores ran by the Portuguese settlers in the region who, invaded by the panic caused by the intensification of the MPLA politico-military activity, had abandoned these stores and ran away to "more secure" zones.

Reproduced from docs. nrs. 13/67, 14/67, THE MPLA REPRESENTATIVE IN TANZANIA. 15/67, 16/67, 17/67 issued by the MPLA Representative presentative in Zambia - Lusaka

IN THE PERIOD FROM MARCH 5TH TO APRIL 30TH APPROXIMATELY 468 (FOUR-HUNDRED-SIXTY-EIGHT) PORTUGUESE COLONIALIST TROOPS AND SEVERAL PIDE AGENTS WERE KILLED IN THE EASTERN FRONT BY THE MPLA FIGHTERS.