



ANGOLA in ARMS

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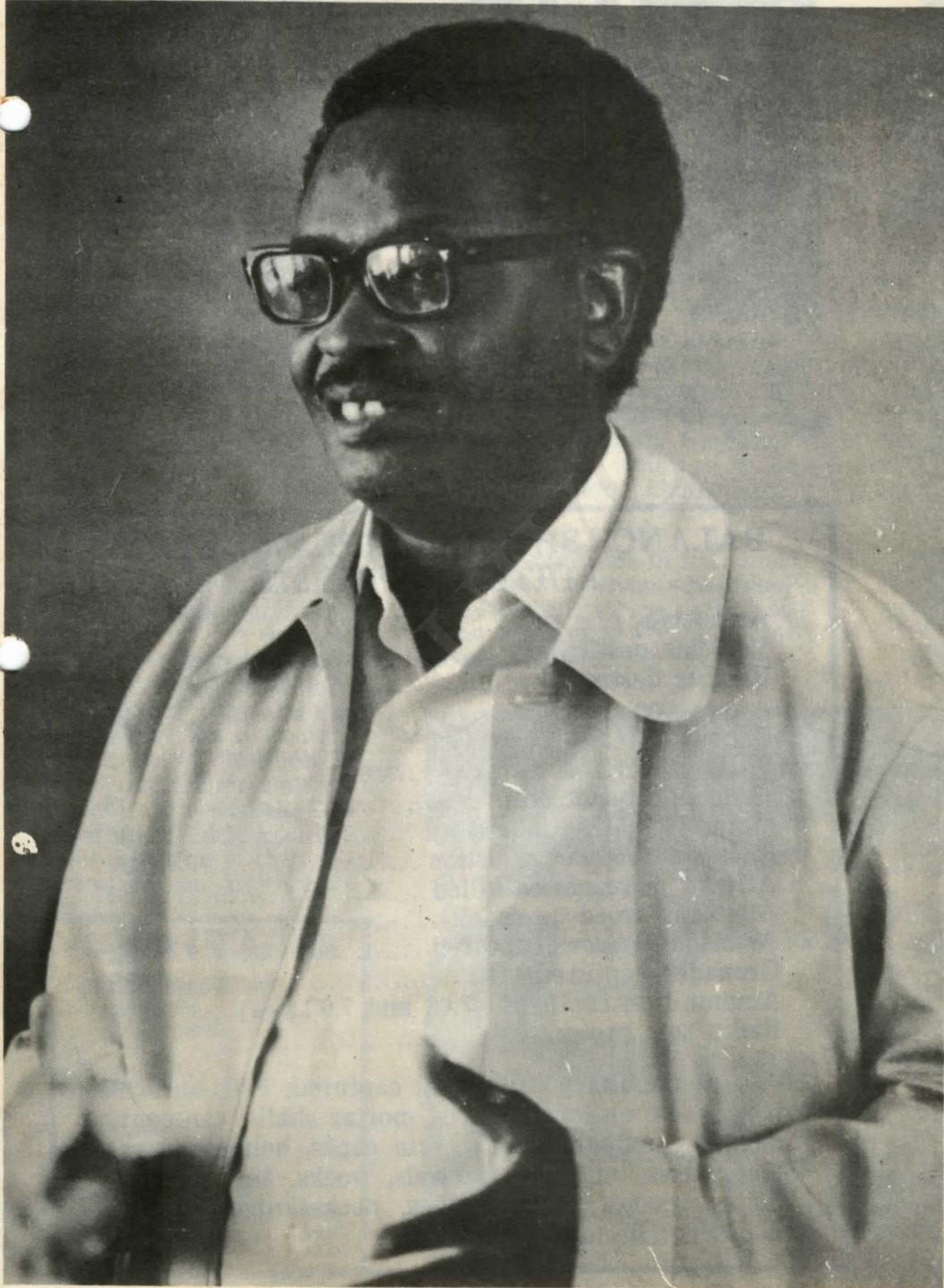
PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA



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Vol. 2



"Fortunately, for those who fight on the side of justice and against tyranny, for those who desire freedom, armed action is not only a sacrifice, it is above all a FORCE. It is not only a whirlpool; it is not only the irrigation of our battle-field with the blood of the best sons of our people; it is also a SCHOOL. It is a means by which the people continue this struggle in the FUTURE!"

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

4th FEBRUARY

A historical date

On 4 February 1973 the Angolan people in arms will be commemorating the twelfth anniversary of the start of their armed struggle for national liberation. In the course of these twelve years of consistent struggle against the Portuguese colonialist and fascist regime, the MPLA militants have not only been able to carry on the passive and armed resistance that their forebears launched against the foreign presence and foreign rule in Angola, but they have also honoured the memory and ideals of all those who have fallen on the battlefield so that the Angolan people might live in dignity, freedom and independence.

During this relentless armed struggle, glorious pages in history have been written in the blood of MPLA militants, pages which show the spirit of self-sacrifice, the determination, the courage and the heroism of the Angolan people. The Angolan people's armed struggle will doubtless be a protracted struggle. But it is clear to all that the MPLA fighters are determined not to lay down their arms until Final Victory, until their rights and their legitimate aspirations are universally recognised, like those of any other people.

Glory to our Heroes!
The MPLA will win!
The Angolan People will
-be Free!

Victory is Certain!



BALANCE SHEET OF MPLA MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN 1972

Ambushes	108
Vehicles destroyed	43
Bridges destroyed	12
Attacks on barracks	27
Barracks totally destroyed	5
Boats sunk	7
Helicopters shot down	5
Mines set off by the enemy	96
Enemy troops put of action	837
African mercenaries killed ...	64
Angolans freed	387
Assorted weapons captured	352
Grenades captured	185
Ammunition captured (7.62 and 7.92 mm) ...	4834
Radio sets captured	9

Assorted military equipment captured: FAL and G3 magazines, uniforms, boots, mortar shells, canteens, daggers, individual tents, rain capes, helmets, caps, belts, axes, machetes, towels, socks, tinned food, plates, spoons, forks, knives, pocketknives, books, blankets, (In large quantities).

A cardinal year in politics and diplomatic fields

A look back at the year which has just ended will show that it has been a cardinal year for the Angolan people and their revolutionary Vanguard, the MPLA.

A cardinal year because the political and diplomatic steps taken by our Movement have been crowned with brilliant victories.

The 27th meeting of the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution affirming that the liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea and Cape Verde are the authentic representatives of the true aspirations of the peoples of these territories. Pending their achievement of independence, the General Assembly has recommended to all States, specialised agencies and other concerned United Nations organs to see to it, when dealing with matters related to these territories, that they are represented by the liberation movements in question in the appropriate manner and in consultation with the Organisation of African Unity.

The adoption of this resolution by an overwhel-

ming majority constitutes a great victory for the African national liberation movements.

At the 16th meeting of its General Conference, UNESCO, referring to this resolution, adopted a resolution associating the representatives of the African liberation movements with its activities and with the sessions of its General Conference.

The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) has invited representatives of the liberation movements to attend its next Regional Conference, which is to be held in Addis Ababa next March.

However, one of the most noteworthy events has been the uniting of the forces of the MPLA and FNLA, which took place during the Kin-

shasa talks on 11, 12 and 13 December 1972.

The creation of a Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola, a Political Council of Angola and a Unified Military Command has brought hopes of freedom to our people and is a great victory for the Angolan people and for all the forces of progress.

Now that one of the goals for which our people and their Vanguard have always fought has been achieved, our duty is to close our ranks and to establish national concord and understanding, so as to present a solid united front to the Portuguese colonialist usurpers

Division rarely means strength. That is why we have buried it.

United we will win!

ANGOLA IN ARMS

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Demonstration outside London Foreign Office.

COMMUNIQUE

Owing to the counter-offensive launched by the MPLA fighters in 1971, the Portuguese colonialist and fascist forces were unable to put into effect the big offensive planned for this year's dry season.

Hammered, ambushed and attacked in their own barracks, the enemy armed forces reverted to purely defensive positions, spending long periods confined to their barracks, which offered them grater promise of safety from surprise attacks by MPLA squadrons.

Given these circumstances, in 1972 the enemy decided on heavier concentrations of armed forces, the more extensive use of helicoptered troops, and therefore of helicopters and planes, ever more intensive bombing raids and, above all, the massive use of chemical agents (herbicides and defoliants), in an attempt to counter the defeats suffered the previous year.

Hence the big offensive carried out in 1972, starting in April, which focused particularly on the MPLA's Fourth Politico-Military Region and part of the Third Region, and which was intended to achieve the following prime objectives:

To prevent the probable visit to the areas under MPLA control of a UN Special Committee on Decolonisation delegation, on the occasion of the Committee's meeting in Lusaka;

To prevent at all costs the steady development of MPLA politico-military operations and the gradual consolidation of the controlled and liberated areas;

To locate as many MPLA bases as possible and try to destroy them, also hoping to be able to count on the help of agents specially trained to infiltrate



the MPLA, as proved by the large number of agents discovered and by documents seized by the MPLA fighting forces;

To cause extensive destruction, using chemical agents, to the areas cultivated by the population under MPLA control, in order to annihilate the people by means of hunger and poisoning and to demoralise them, thereby preventing them from giving consistent and steadfast support to the MPLA's armed forces;

To stop supplies for the most advanced fronts, particularly the Fifth Politico-Military Region, situated in central Angola, which has given the Portuguese colonialist authorities such cause for concern;

At the same time, the so-called psycho-social campaign daily churned out in radio programmes was used to support the intended aims, seeking to win over the Angolan people with promises of material and financial rewards, to demobilise them so that they give themselves up to colonialist authorities, to make them reveal the positions and movements of the MPLA's fighting forces, and to put a stop

to the people's participation in the national liberation struggle.

However, despite the difficulties caused by the general offensive in 1972, and above all by the criminal destruction of cultivated areas, owing to their spirit of self-sacrifice, their determination and their courage, in addition to many smaller operations, the MPLA's fighting forces operating in the Fourth Politico-Military Region succeeded in carrying out 26 large-scale operations between the end of May and late September, which took place on 29 May 13, 17, 29 and 30 June, 15, 17, 18, 24, 25 and 31 July, 5, 20, 21, 23 and 25 August, and 2, 3, 12 and 23 September.

In the course of these 26 operations, the Portuguese colonialist armed forces suffered 173 killed and many wounded. The MPLA's fighting forces suffered 7 killed and 12 wounded. A large quantity of military equipment was captured by the valiant MPLA fighters, particularly weapons (G3s), hand grenades and ammunition (7.62 and 7.92 mm).



The OAU commission of reconciliation.



Dr. Agostinho Neto (MPLA) and Mr. Holden Ruberto signing the agreement.

M.P.L.A. - F.N.L.A. AGREEMENT

Considering

- (a) that our people are one, and our organisations have the same objectives,
- (b) the grave necessity to wage a more effective revolutionary armed struggle, for the attainment of that objective.

(c) the current phase of the mass resistance of our people to the settler machinery of oppression.

Determined to give effect to the Brazzaville declaration of 8th June 1972 and the decision of the 9th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government (AHG/80/XI held at Rabat in June, 1972.)

We, the leadership of M.P.L.A. and F.N.L.A. hereby agree as follows:

SUPREME COUNCIL FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (S.E.L.A.)

1. A Council shall be created to be known as "The Supreme Council for the Liberation of Angola" whose duties shall be to co-ordinate at a high level the policies of both the U.M.C. and the P.C.A.

2. The membership of the S.C.L.A. shall consist of: Chairman to be provided by F.N.L.A. Vice-Chairman to be provided by M.P.L.A. all the members of the U.M.C. all the members of the P.C.A.

4. The S.C.L.A. will also give directions of a general nature on the question of dealings with the outside world.

5. The decisions of S.C.L.A. shall be by simple majority vote and that the Chairman shall have no casting vote unless this is agreed to specifically by the Chairmen

of both the U.M.C. and the P.C.A.

6. Before a decision is taken, the Chairman must ensure that both movements are equally represented. Should some members of one movement be absent, then the leader of such a Movement will have the right of such a Movement will have the right to nominate any of the members of his Movement to fill their places.

7. The Vice-Chairman of the S.C.L.A. shall also perform the duties of the Secretary to the Council.

8. The S.C.L.A. may reverse the decisions of the U.M.C. or the P.C.A. if such a decision for reversal is adopted by two third (2/3) majority.

UNIFIED MILITARY COMMAND — U.M.C.

M.P.L.A. Vice-Chairman to be provided by F.N.L.A. Six Military Officers selected by

1. That a Unified Military Command be created.

2. The areas of joint action of the U.M.C. shall be among other things: Recruitment and Training; Logistics and Supply; Operations; Military Intelligence and Information.

3. The Unified Military Command shall consist of: Chairman to be provided by M.P.L.A. Vice-Chairman to be provided by F.N.L.A. Six Military Officers selected by M.P.L.A. Six Military officers selected by F.N.L.A.

4. The U.M.C. shall: be responsible for planning and conducting the liberation war in

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AGREEMENT

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all its military aspects: take decisions by simple majority vote.

5. The U.M.C. shall work out as soon as possible programmes for familiarisation, recruitment, training deployment, assessment of means of the struggle and joint operations.

POLITICAL COUNCIL OF ANGOLA — P.C.A.

1. That a Political Council of Angola be created.

2. The P.C.A. shall be responsible for among other things: propaganda, mobilization and diplomatic activities; welfare of the civilian population, administration of the liberated areas.

3. The P.C.A. shall consist of: Chairman to be provided by F.N.L.A. Vice-Chairman to be provided by M.P.L.A. Six members to be provided by F.N.L.A. Six members to be provided by M.P.L.A.

4. Decisions of the P.C.A. shall be taken by simple majority vote.

The P.C.A. shall also work out a programme of political integration.

The seat of the S.C.L.A., U.M.C. and P.C.A. shall be situated in the Republic of Zaire.

M.P.L.A. and F.N.L.A. have agreed on: The establishment of an atmosphere of peace and fraternity among their forces.

The immediate cessation of all acts of hostility or attacks in the press, the radio and other mass media.

The fact that from now onwards, in order to gradually achieve unity, their Press Releases and all propaganda work shall give emphasis on the newly created bodies S.C.L.A., U.M.C. and P.C.A. so as to make them known to the people of Angola.

The implementation of this agreement.

COMMISSION OF ARBITRATION

1. That a Commission of Arbitration composed of representatives of the People's Republic of the Congo, the United Republic of Tanzania, the Republic of Zambia and the Republic of Zaire be established under the auspices of the O.A.U.

2. The Commission shall see to it that commitments undertaken are respected, and shall arbitrate on any possible differences that may from time to time arise.



Interview with M.P.L.A. militant

By Elisabeth Hedbers and Hillevi Nilsson, who visited Angola (published in 'Komentar', Stockholm).—

IT WAS ALWAYS DIFFICULT TO GET ENOUGH TO EAT

Samusumina, peasant and Political Commissar

I grew up on the outskirts of Lumbale and, like my parents, I was a peasant. My brother who went to school in Zambia taught me to read and write. I have four brothers and a sister, all of them older than me. When the war started here in 1966, three of my brothers fled to Zambia. The other two stayed in the village to look after my mother.

Life under the 'tugas' (Portuguese colonialists) was hard. It was we Africans who were forced to build the railway, we who did forced labour, we who had to do all the work. From time to time we were summoned by the Portuguese 'chefe de posto' to pay taxes. Then they also checked on all the children, because at a certain age we were compelled to pay taxes.

How was it possible to find enough money to pay these taxes? We made rope, we hunted and fished, and we sold goods cheaply to Portuguese buyers in order to have enough money for the taxes at the end of the year. To save ourselves, we also sold maize and potatoes. All this was to get enough for the taxes.

It was always difficult to get enough to eat, because the threat of taxes was always hanging over us. We knew that now, in two months time, we would have to pay, but we didn't know how to get the money together. Sometimes members of my

family thought of buying clothes with money we had got for our produce. But we were very seldom able to do so. Instead, the money went to the 'chefe de posto'. And we had to have licences for everything: fishing, bicycles, sewing machines, etc. We had to pay a lot of money to the Portuguese to get these licences.

My first contact with the MPLA was in 1966. I met Comrade Kanjangulu, who was a commander in Zone A at that time, and another comrade called Tudue-nosso in the village where I lived. They asked me whether I didn't know that the 'tuga' regime was bad, and if I hadn't been ill-treated and if I had suffered. Well of course, that's the way it was. There were the taxes, the forced labour and many other things. And so I was really willing to fight for freedom with the comrades, and this is why I followed them to

Mandume and became a member of the MPLA.

My work now is mainly to fight. But it is also to mobilise the people. We have to explain what the MPLA is, who the Angolan people are, etc. Part of the mobilising is done in the 'ndandandas' (strategic hamlets). There the Portuguese have tried to inculcate their propaganda upon the people. They say that the MPLA are "bandits and communists who rob the people". In this way, they want to prevent the people from working with us. The first thing we have to do is to make the people understand that the 'tuga' propaganda is false. We tell them that the MPLA does not want to rob the people at all, but that we are fighting so that Angola may be independent, and that we never kill the people -- only our enemies, those who are against

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Interview with MPLA militant

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independence and the good of our people. We explain to them that this is why we are living in the forests, and we urge them to come with us; and that perhaps they will then understand that it is because the 'tugas' are the enemies of the people that they lie about our life in the forests and want to prevent people from joining us. I conclude by saying: "You must tell the truth to your families and to the people in the 'ndandanda'. You must say that our life in the forests is well ordered and disciplined."

I am always part of a guerrilla group. One of my jobs is to maintain discipline. I explain to the comrades why discipline is necessary, because we are at war. And those who are not disciplined and do not do their duty are punished.

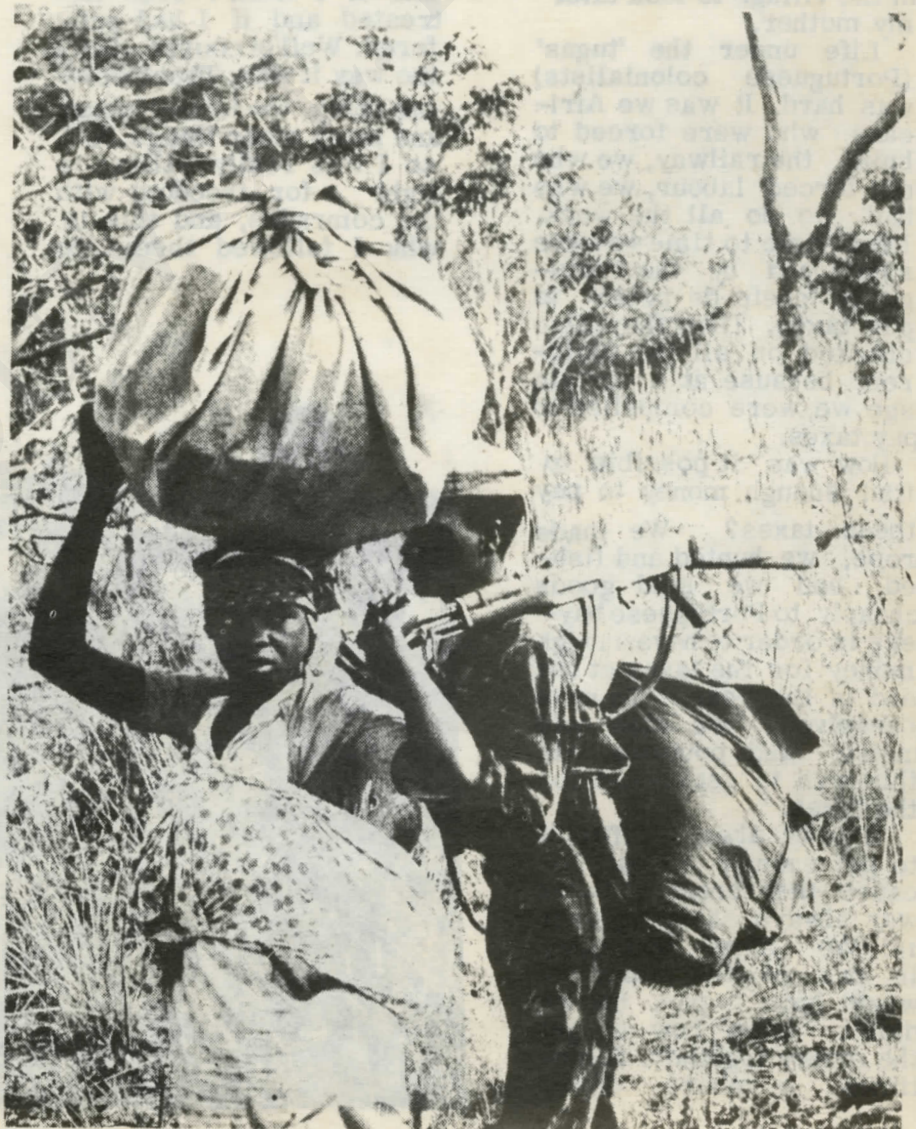
Before a battle I also explain the aim of the battle we are undertaking. A plan is drawn up in advance, at a meeting, and then the comrades are given the order to get ready to march. We walk to a predetermined place and there; I explain the plan. Everyone is told in detail what he has to do and I stress the importance of everyone doing his duty in accordance with the plan, so as to ensure the success of the operation. I try to mobilise the people to work, because if we do not work we have nothing to eat. And if we have nothing to eat we cannot go on fighting.

The greatest difficulty in my work is getting rid of the stupidities that Portuguese propaganda has instilled in some of our people. Tribalism, racism and such things. It's difficult to get these ideas

out of comrades' heads, because the Portuguese have gone on hammering these things into their heads for so long. I try to explain to them why tribalism is bad, among other things because the 'tugas' try to use it to divide us and thus maintain their power. If we continue to be divided we will never be able to win this war. It will be much easier if we all stay united. As for racism, I say: "It is not against the whites or the mulattoes that we must fight. There are traitors among the blacks too. And one mustn't judge any-

one on their colour, but on their opinions."

In the Angola of the future I want an end to suffering and a better life for the people. We will then have driven out all the bad thoughts -- tribalism and racism, for example -- which the 'tugas' have put in our heads. We are all going to work to have food and clothes. If we do not have enough to eat and enough clothes then, it will be because we have not worked enough. We are going to work with all our might for the good of the whole people.



International solidarity

**COMMUNIST PARTY
OF SWEDEN**

Since the beginning of the 1960's the peoples of Angola Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau have been waging successful wars of liberation against the colonial power of Portugal. The struggle is led by MPLA FRELIMO and PAIGC, which

are the only movements fighting for complete economic, political and cultural independence in their respective countries. The 23rd Congress of the CP of Sweden expresses its wholehearted support to this just and heroic struggle.

The Portuguese colonialists can remain in Africa only because of the massive military, economic and political support from South Africa, the NATO powers and other imperialist states.

The 23rd Congress of the CP of Sweden condemns the imperialist support to the colonial wars and sets itself the task to mobilize the Swedish working class for struggle against imperialism.

Defoliants and herbicides are spread massively in Angola and Mozambique so that devastation and famine occur. The 23rd Congress of the CP of Sweden strongly condemns the use of chemical weapons.

The Swedish working class has common interests with the peoples of the Portuguese colonies in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. Therefore solidarity between the CP of Sweden and the liberation movements MPLA, FRELIMO, and PAIGC is self-evident.

The heroic armed struggles against the Portuguese colonialist regime which are being waged in Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique by the MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO fighters have earned countless testimonies of solidarity from all over the world, which are an inestimable source of encouragement.

In a resolution adopted in October 1972, the European Justice and Peace Conference:

1973 - A NEW YEAR

On the threshold of this new year, the MPLA leaders and militants extend very best wishes for a Happy New Year to all those who are in solidarity with the Angolan people's national liberation struggle.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS ABOUT ANGOLA

"ANGOLA: FIVE CENTURIES OF PORTUGUESE EXPLOITATION"

by Dr. Americo Boavida

English edition published by
Liberation Support Movement, Information Centre,
Box 338, Richmond, B.C., Canada

"THE REVOLUTION IN ANGOLA" MPLA life histories and documents from guerrilla war.

by Don Barnett and Roy Harvey,
published by Bobbs - Merrill Company.
Indianapolis, New York.

"IN THE EYE OF THE STORM" — Angola's people — by Basil Davidson

Longman Group Limited, London, 1972

European justice and peace conference

- requests the National Commissions of Europe:-
- a) to make proposals to their respective governments to put pressure on the Portuguese government to enable Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau to dispose of the right of self-determination;
 - b) to alert public opinion

about the injustices, and so act in such a way as to enable these peoples to fulfil their aspirations; to approach their respective governments to advocate a policy of legal aid and social assistance for the Portuguese deserters who have no right to conscientious



- objection within their own country as well as for the other Portuguese refugees persecuted for political reasons;
- d) to denounce the sale of arms to Portugal by those members of NATO who are still doing so, since these arms are used by Portugal in the war being waged in its overseas territories;
 - e) to promote the idea of a boycott of Angolan coffee;
 - f) to ask their respective governments to refuse to provide the co-operation of their country's business firms and capital in the construction of the Cahora Bassa dam in Mozambique and the Cunene Dam in Angola, and to take the requisite measures to ensure that the firms and capital which are already involved should be withdrawn. In the present situation, these two projects, far from benefiting the Africans, would increase and strengthen the influence of those favouring White Africa and apartheid;
 - g) to make contact with the governing bodies in their countries in order to see with them what consequences should be drawn from the Utrecht resolutions of the Central Committee of the WCC, which recommended the withdrawal of Church and members funds from banks which have agreed to take part in the financing of these dams;
 - h) to ask the Pontifical Justice and Peace Commission to consider whether it or any other official body of the Catholic Church could not become associated with this call from the WCC's Central Committee;
 - i) to collect and disseminate information on these problems.