

# ANGOLA IN ARMS

(SPECIAL ISSUE)

7  
YEARS



4th

# FEBRUARY

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# EDITORIAL

the 4th of february

For the Angolan People the 4th OF FEBRUARY represents the date on which our people put an end to the pain it had silently suffered for five centuries, breaking all the threads which seemed to link it to the Portuguese colonialists.

The Angolan people have <sup>never</sup> accepted the presence of the Portuguese colonialists in our country. Our people's resistance dates back to the invasion of Angola by the Portuguese oppressors. Our history has engraved in gold the names of Angolan heroes such as Njinga Mbandi, Kandimba, Bula Matadi, Tulante Buta, Mutuyakevela, Ekuikui, Kanjundo, Hamoko, Madume and so many others who distinguished themselves in the defence of our national territory.

The conditions in Angola have always roused hatred and rejection of the colonialist presence in our country. The exploitation to which the people were subjected, the absence of medical care, the lack of education, forced labour, taxation, acute infant mortality, the contrast between the standard of living of colonialists and angolans, and even between angolans, and other similar factors existing within angolan society itself, were phenomena which, as they accumulated, represented the great force which determined the angolan people's revolution.

The MPLA, the vanguard of the Angolan people, being aware of the objective conditions prevailing in the country, was the first Angolan movement to state publicly that ARMED STRUGGLE was the only course for the liberation of our people.

The situation was ripe for the beginning of armed struggle: on 4th FEBRUARY 1961, hundreds of patriots, led by MPLA fighters, seized arms from police stations and night patrol jeeps, and with these attacked the prisons of Luanda, the capital of our country, for the purpose of freeing MPLA leaders and other nationalists who were detained.

That action marked the beginning of ARMED STRUGGLE IN ANGOLA. There were great international repercussions, and the UN Security Council was obliged to condemn Portugal.

The colonialists took brutal revenge, and on 5th February, 3.000 Angolan patriots were massacred in the city of Luanda.

Conditions were nevertheless ripe, and the flame lit on 4th FEBRUARY was spreading rapidly. In the cotton-growing region of Baixa do Casanje (Malange district), the workers refused to work and the colonialist troops savagely retaliated by massacring 5.000 people. The Dalatando region (Cuanza Norte district) in turn became the scene of armed attacks, and little by little the patriots flame reached areas in Northern Angola.

The struggle has been launched and it devolved on the MPLA, the vanguard of the Angolan people, to take over the leadership of that struggle. Reaction however was organized from abroad, to prevent the militant action of the MPLA.

American imperialism formed a movement in the Congo for which it claimed the leadership of Angola's armed struggle; this movement was accepted and supported by the authorities in Congo-Kinshasa to the detriment of the MPLA. To eliminate the MPLA from the Angolan political scene, in 1963 a so-called government in exile was recognized, formed by the UPA and by another regional movement, the PDA. The MPLA was driven out of Congo-Kinshasa and it moved to Congo-Brazzaville, and from there, reorganized the struggle in the Cabinda district.

Despite the obstacles created by the American, Federal German and British imperialists, who have never ceased interfering in Angolan matters; despite the alliance between the NATO countries and Portugal; despite the union of Salazar, Vorster and Smith, nothing can stop the flame lit on 4th FEBRUARY 1961, under MPLA leadership, because the MPLA's strength stems from the support given to it by the masses in the country and from the correctness of its political line.

Thus the MPLA has today overcome all obstacles and it is the only Angolan movement fighting in Angola weapons in hand, on three fronts.

On this day of re-dedication to our struggle, the MPLA remembers with pride the names of Angolan heroes who have fallen on the field of honour in the fulfilment of their duty, at a time when the structure of our politico-military organization has taken root throughout our national territory. The names of Ferraz Bomboko, Tomaz Ferreira, Mateus João Paulo, Kamy, Suka-maula, Desta Vez, Sequeira, Kafifi and of so many others will be engraved for ever in the mind of the Angolan people.

The MPLA is not alone in the struggle it leads against Portuguese colonialism. It has the support of some progressive

African countries, which through the Liberation Committee render the aid that enables it to intensify the national liberation struggle. It can also count on considerable help from the socialist countries, which give it moral and material support in developing our struggle, and on the solidarity of mass organizations and of the people in western countries.

With the intensification of our struggle and since the MPLA has already consolidated its position as the vanguard of the Angolan people, we are certain that no country that prizes peace and liberty will hesitate to help the MPLA, in order that the Angolan people may claim their right to the freedom which they were denied 500 years ago.

The 4th FEBRUARY is now the day of world solidarity with the Angolan people.

To all African and socialist countries which have consistently helped the MPLA as the only valid representative of our revolutionary people, we express our gratitude, and once again we reaffirm our unshakable determination to continue our struggle until the day comes when all colonialists and imperialists are definitively driven out of our country.

VICTORY OR DEATH

VICTORY IS CERTAIN

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ONLY AFRICA CAN FIGHT FOR ITS DESTINY.  
IN THIS STRUGGLE WE SHALL NOT REJECT  
THE ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT OF OUR FRIENDS,  
BUT WE WILL YIELD TO NO ENEMY, HOWEVER  
STRONG.

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# outstanding mpla events from 4th february 1967

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to 4th february 1968

In the events which occurred in 1967, two special dates stand out : 4th FEBRUARY, the tenth anniversary of the founding of the MPLA, and the sixth year of the armed struggle, and 21st JUNE when the Executive Committee of the 3rd Region held a meeting inside the Country, presided over by Dr. Agostinho Neto, President of the MPLA.

Throughout the Country our activities arranged for the Angolan people to celebrate the MPLA's ten years of existence and the six years of struggle in the course of which the MPLA has asserted itself as our people's revolutionary force and sole leader of the armed struggle within the Country. Abroad the day was fittingly commemorated by all MPLA offices and friendly countries.

The meeting held on 21st JUNE dealt with problems arising at a given stage of the development of our struggle.

As a result of the meeting of 21st June, the MPLA and the Angolan people made a great stride forward in achieving the politico-military objectives set for 1967. Thanks to all the measures adopted, the 21st June consolidated and extended our politico-military action through the reinforcement of the zones already under our control and setting up of focal points of armed struggle in other parts of the Country. The meeting held on 21st June adopted practical measures to develop the population's economic activities and to provide for health and education by means of schools and dispensaries. It established the first organs of people's authority, while the training of our politico-military cadres within the Country was given a fresh impetus by the setting up of the Centre of Revolutionary Instruction (CIR).

The following dates in 1967, given in chronological order, were important for the MPLA :

## February

- 4th Tenth anniversary of the founding of the MPLA and sixth anniversary of the launching of the armed struggle
- 5th MPLA Statement in support of the Arusha Declaration.

## May

- 13th MPLA statement on the occasion of Paul VI's visit to Fátima, condemning the policy of cruelty and vio-

lence which the Pope in the interests of the Church of which he is the supreme representative, ratified through his visit to Fatima.

June

MPLA statement condemning the Israelo-imperialist aggression on Arab nations.

21st

Meeting of the Executive Committee of the 3rd Region inside the Country, presided over by Comrade Agostinho Neto.

July

Imprisonment by Congo-Kinshasa of 200 armed and equipped MPLA fighters proceeding to Angola to reinforce the Northern Region.

Meeting of the Liberation Committee at Kampala.

Meeting of the Committee on Decolonization at Kitwe and Kinshasa.

Meeting of the neutral Military Commission on Angola.

August

MPLA statement in support of the struggle of the American Negros.

September

11th-14th OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government in Congo-Kinshasa. The MPLA refused to attend owing to Congo-Kinshasa's hostile and discriminative attitude to the MPLA.

October

MPLA statement paying tribute to the late Major Ernesto "Che" Guevara, a leader of the Cuban revolution and tricontinental fighter.

23rd

Arrest in Angola, by the MPLA guerrilla fighters of Alice Lenshina and her 50 companions, who were handed over to the Zambian Government on 30th October.

November

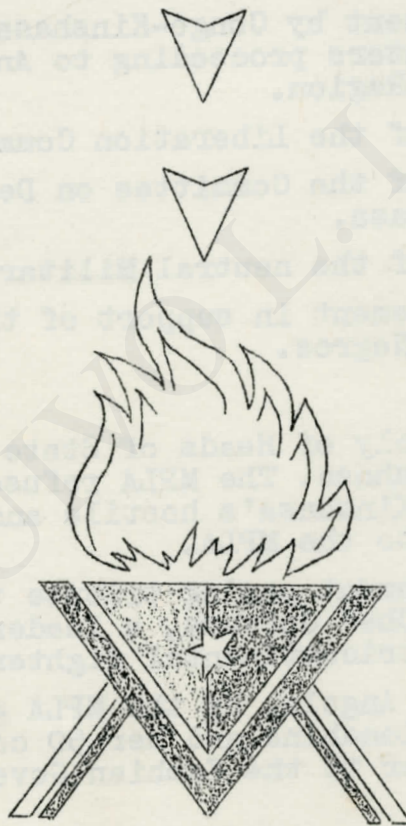
MPLA participation in the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

January (1968)

3rd Press conference given by Comrade Agostinho Neto, President of the MPLA, at which he announced that the Movement's headquarters were being established inside the Country.

9th-16th Meeting of the Liberation Committee in Conakry.

11th-13th MPLA participation in the commemoration of the 4th Anniversary of the Zanzibar Revolution.







One of the aims of the MPLA guerrillas is to seize arms and equipment from the enemy. The arms seen in this photograph come from Italy, Federal Germany and Spain.



The Angolan masses as a whole have joined the struggle led by the MPLA, and without wasting a moment they set to learning how to eliminate the enemy. Here is a political activist addressing the people.



The MPLA is concerned about the training of its cadres, in order to raise the level of our struggle. This MPLA guerrilla column is well trained and armed.



A large number of men, women and children who take an active part in MPLA activities.

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## political situation

The victories achieved by the MPLA in its struggle against Portuguese colonialism and the total engagement of the masses in the liberation struggle allow us to foresee soon a stage of general insurrection of the Angola population, leading to our people's final victory over the Portuguese colonialists.

The fighting have been extended, and a large number of young men and women are taking an active part in the armed struggle.

The conditions have been created for the general development of armed action, and the time has come to deal the enemy over harder blows, both in the countryside and in towns.

The defeats which the MPLA has inflicted on the enemy account for the anxiety of the colonialist forces. The losses sustained by the Portuguese army, the militarized forces, the colonists known as volunteers, and the political police (PIDE), are common knowledge.

The Portuguese colonialists are cut off from the Angolan people, and their attempts to prevent the active population from taking part in the freedom struggle are all in vain, for there is a mass exodus from the strategic villages, despite barbed wire and the vigilance of the colonialist authorities.

All the measures taken to improvise reforms or corrupt some of the less steadfast fail to check the impetus of our people, who are determined to drive the Portuguese colonialists out of our country at any cost.

The distressing circumstances which Portugal is today experiencing in the colonies are obliging it to use the last resources at its command. Portugal has increased its military budget and has proclaimed that it is mobilizing the deaf and dumb for its auxiliary army services. By adopting such measures, Portugal has shown that it is drowning and desperately clutching at every straw. But the MPLA - the Angolan people's vanguard organization in the struggle, the only organized armed force which is feared and fought by Portuguese colonialism and plotted against by the international monopolies, in their attempt to maintain the status quo of domination based on the plunder and exploitation of one of the richest areas of Africa - knows that Portugal's mobilization of the deaf and dumb is simply a means of diverting world opinion from the real objective which it is pursuing at the present desperate stage.

Portugal is endeavouring to obtain more material aid from its NATO allies in exchange for increased economic, political and military concessions, but it is seeking some justification for permitting racist and fascist South Africa's direct intervention in Angola to help in its wars.

The South African Government is preparing its country's reactionaries for direct intervention in Angola, on the pretext that Portugal's presence in Angola is a safeguard against the continuance of subversion in South Africa.

South Africa is thus trying to consolidate its position in southern Africa by intensifying the forces of repression and concluding military pacts directed against the Nationalist forces fighting in that area, weapons in hand. The latest exchange of visits by the ministers of defence and foreign affairs of Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa, and their aggressive statements about the adjacent countries which are sheltering fighters, clearly reveal their purpose.

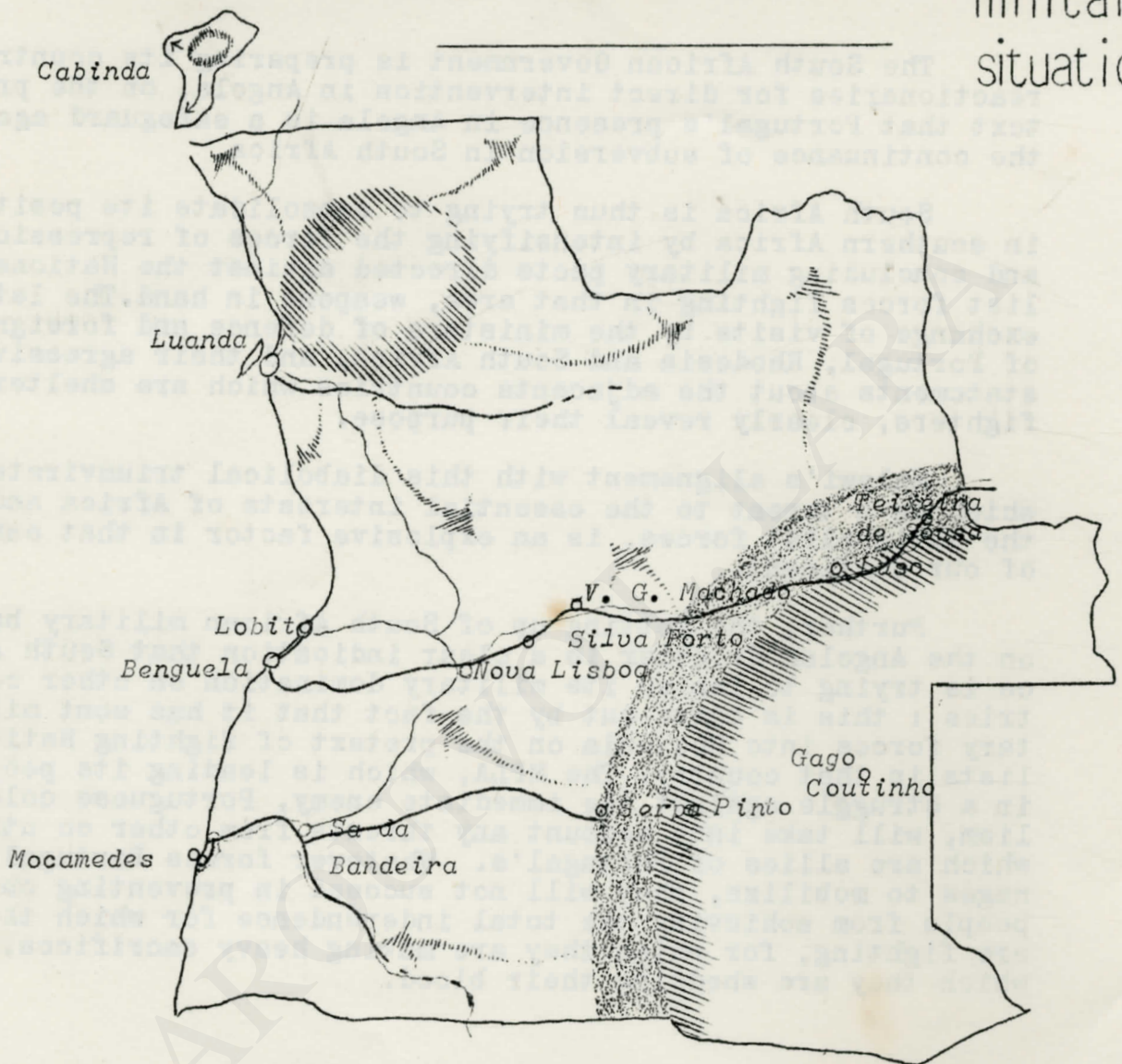
Malawi's alignment with this diabolical triumvirate, which is a threat to the essential interests of Africa and the Nationalist forces, is an explosive factor in that part of our Continent.

Further, the setting up of South African military bases on the Angolan frontier is a clear indication that South Africa is trying to impose its military domination on other countries: this is borne out by the fact that it has sent military forces into Rhodesia on the pretext of fighting Nationalists in that country. The MPLA, which is leading its people in a struggle against the immediate enemy, Portuguese colonialism, will take into account any threats from other countries which are allies of Portugal's. Whatever forces Portugal manages to mobilize, they will not succeed in preventing our people from achieving the total independence for which they are fighting, for which they are making heavy sacrifices, for which they are shedding their blood.

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# military situation



To: extend the armed struggle in a territory as vast as that of Angola (1.274.000 km<sup>2</sup>), the MPLA has established itself in three regions, the three present fighting fronts. The first region stretches from the district of Cuanza Norte to the frontier with Congo-Kinshasa, the second comprises Cabinda district, and the third covers the districts of Moxico and Kuando-Kubango. Activities are now spreading to the western and northern areas of the country,.

## FIRST REGION

In this region, the most populated of the three fronts and the traditional focal point of our people's resistance,

the MPLA has received close support and co-operation ever since the Angolan people took up arms in 1961.

Despite the MPLA's difficulties in supplying this front, owing to the intransigence of the Congo-Kinshasa authorities in preventing the transit of men and arms through their territory, our people are continuing their heroic fight against the oppressor, the Portuguese colonialist.

The difficulties created for the MPLA in no way divert our Movement's attention from the task of reinforcing its fighting potential in the first region.

It was thanks to a long period of clandestine work that in 1966 the MPLA succeeded in bringing columns of crack guerrilla fighters, well trained and armed, across the northern frontier. Thus the first region has resumed its activity, and the Portuguese colonialists have already sustained crippling blows. This activity has heightened the consciousness and political awareness of the masses, who have taken the path of struggle against our enemy, Portuguese colonialism, and put an end to the fratricidal struggle created by all activities coming from Holden in Congo-Kinshasa. Thus the entire Angolan population of the first region look to the MPLA as the only movement fighting in Angola and the Angolan people's sole guide.

Activities in this region are conducted in a corridor 400 km long, and the most active zones lie hardly a hundred kilometres from Luanda, Angola's capital.

## SECOND REGION

The struggle on the Cabinda front began to develop after the MPLA was expelled from Congo-Kinshasa.

But owing to the special geographical conditions prevailing there (the smallness and roughness of the territory, its thick forests and sparse population) and to the fact that it had a colonial regime less violent than enforced in other districts, the population has taken little part in the liberation struggle. There is the added fact of the betrayal by Alexandre Taty, former minister of armements in Holden's so-called GRAE, who mobilized a number of former nationalists to fight against the MPLA in the ranks of the Portuguese colonialists.

These factors have prevented progress in this region from attaining the anticipated level, despite the ample facilities available for receiving supplies from abroad.

In Cabinda, a number of Angolan soldiers and officers in the colonial armed services have already deserted.

These deserters are now fighting in the ranks of the MPLA.

### THIRD REGION

Developments on the eastern front have been rather encouraging, and the masses are fully involved. Our victories on the eastern and south-eastern front have reached a point where our armed forces are now fighting in a penetration zone 500 km deep, along a frontier 800 km long.

The MPLA controls 80.000 km<sup>2</sup> and is operating over an area four times larger than Portugal, with a population of more than 40.000. In the regions under its control, the MPLA has already set up rudimentary organs of people's power such as militias, production and trade centres, people's shops, a civil registration centre, a centre of revolutionary instruction, primary schools, services responsible for preparing texts and programmes of national culture, as well as a newspaper, medical services, people's councils, and a police force.

The military activities in the Moxico and Kuando-Kubango districts are spreading to Bié, in the direction of the districts of Huambo, Benguela, and Lunda. MPLA advance detachments are already operating about a hundred kilometres from the centre of the country.

It was owing to the MPLA's resolution, steadfastness and courage, as well as to the people's support, that 1967 was a year of general armed struggle throughout the territory. This fact lends us strength and assurance to carry on our national liberation struggle, whatever difficulties may arise.

Nothing will ever check our people's desire for freedom and independence.

Today, on this 4th FEBRUARY, the successes we have scored and the experience we have gained allow us to state with confidence and determination that VICTORY IS CERTAIN.

VISIT OF DR. AGOSTINHO NETO, PRESIDENT OF  
THE MPLA, TO THE 3rd. REGION





Crossing rivers...



... Swamps ...



... Savanas ...



... Abandoned villages .



Reaching the objective — one of the MPLA bases





Reviewing a column of guerrillas and pioneers



Listening to explanations given by the Regional Commander



Talking with the Director of the Centre of Revolutionary Instruction (C.I.R.)



Addressing the people



## record of mpla activities from 4<sup>th</sup> february to november 1967

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The call for all-out armed struggle dominated the activities and mobilized the energies of the MPLA throughout 1967, in the course of which our people's struggle scored the most significant victories, allowing us to look forward soon to a state of general insurrection of the people, leading to final victory over the colonialists.

The record of our military activities is part of our people's overall politico-military victories. Behind the figures lie a whole series of missions, daily efforts and continuous blows against the enemy, a whole series of decisive acts -at times mere trifles which have given the struggle form and imbued the men who have carried them out with a new outlook.

The information we give does not reflect all the losses inflicted on the enemy. Information is sometimes slow in coming in from a front so vast and lying so deep in the heart of the country. The attitude of Congo-Kinshasa in denying the MPLA freedom of action across its territory prevents MPLA couriers from bringing in reports on the activities on the northern front, which were resumed in 1966 and which are causing the enemy appreciable losses.

From our war communiques issued between 4th February and 3rd November 1967 we have extracted information which is borne out by the communiques and bulletins of the Portuguese armed forces and in fact by the press, admitting increased guerrilla activity in the regions where our operations are being carried out.

- More than 2.000 politico-military cadres trained
- 1.160 enemy dead, including a number of PIDE agents and traitors
- More than 1.500 wounded
- More than 300 Angolans released from strategic villages
- More than 150 Angolan workers released from forced labour
- 4 planes shot down (three DC4's and one B27)
- 9 launches destroyed
- 2 barges destroyed
- 25 Unimog trucks destroyed
- 30 Mercedes trucks destroyed
- 15 Unimog jeeps destroyed

- 10 bridges destroyed

Capture of a large quantity of arms and equipment from Israel, Belgium, the USA and Federal Germany.

- 10 military posts attacked.

## 1968 is the decisive year of the Angolan people's struggle

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The communiques about activities on our battle-fronts indicate achievements over past years.

The MPLA has thus gone beyond the first stage of setting up our bases. Now that the enemy is paralysed and throttled, both politically and militarily, conditions are ripe for the general extension of the armed struggle.

In the areas under our control, organs of people's power are being set up for the orientation and administration of the population.

Our people's achievements now allow us to take important military and political decisions.

One of the most important decisions, a decisive step forward in the struggle, is THE TRANSFER OF OUR MOVEMENT'S HEADQUARTERS INSIDE THE COUNTRY, which is already going ahead. This means that as from this year - 1968 - our Movement's headquarters will no longer operate abroad. The headquarters will not be in Brazzaville, but in one of the regions controlled by our Movement. There will be an office in Brazzaville similar to those already operating in Tanzania, Zambia, Algeria and the UAR.

MPLA leaders will thus be able to work more permanently among the people, closer to their problems, contributing more directly to raising the level of our people's struggle, giving it a more clearly defined political content, and bringing our struggle to the decisive stage.

We hope this measure will make it possible for Angolan who have taken refuge in other countries to go home and take an active part in our national liberation struggle, which is what refugees in Zambia have already begun to do.

This is a decisive year for the Angolan people's struggle. With the victories they have achieved in their struggle against the Portuguese colonialists, the Angolan people can affirm that the conditions have been created for extending armed action throughout the country. In 1968 the MPLA will carry the struggle into the cities and towns, to pave the way for the general insurrection which will undoubtedly

lead to the final defeat of the Portuguese colonialists in our country.

The MPLA will not fail. In the interest of our people, of the peoples fighting in the Portuguese colonies, of the oppressed peoples of the three continents, we shall do everything we can to inflict heavier defeats on Portuguese colonialism. We shall not betray the solidarity which the peoples of Africa and the rest of the world have shown with our cause. We shall consistently fight Portuguese colonialism and unmask any imperialist manoeuvres which may be attempted as a means of diverting our people's struggle from its fundamental objectives.

To respect and command respect for our struggle, nurtured with the blood of our heroic comrades, we shall be inflexible with the internal and external foes of our national liberation struggle. We demand much of ourselves, and we shall never tolerate interference from American imperialism, which has shown its hand since 1961, or from Federal Germany, one of Portugal's mainstays. Our resolve to bring the relentless struggle to final victory is unshakable. Only the consistent pursuit of the national liberation struggle can destroy the colonialist military forces, bring freedom and independence for our people, fulfil the desires of the most heavily exploited strata in our country, avenge the blood shed by our martyrs, and build a common victory of the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde Islands, under FRELIMO and PAIGC leadership, and contribute to the process of decolonization in Africa.

The MPLA thus enters upon 1968 full of hope that the Angolan people's struggle will develop ever more rapidly for the good of Angola and the Angolan people.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN



ARQUIVO L. LARA

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