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ANGOLA IN R M S



4th

FEBRUARY

1969



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8 YEARS

EDITORIAL

On the 4th February 1961, MPLA militants in the city of Luanda rose up against Portuguese colonial domination, arms in hand. This was a significant development in the Angolan people's struggle for independence and national liberation.

The unforgettable and courageous action carried out by the hero of 4th February was part of the struggle which the Angolan people have been waging against the Portuguese occupant. It spurred the masses on to the armed action which is today spreading throughout the national territory.

The basic nature of Portuguese colonial domination, as expressed in the feudal slave conditions under which the Angolan producers are exploited, the obscurantism, the police repression and physical elimination at the slightest sign of opposition, the violent denial of the most elementary principles of political freedom, these are the fundamental factors which caused the MPLA to mobilize all the country's active forces in the struggle for national independence.

At the same time as channelling the proposed solutions to the fundamental contradiction between Portuguese colonialism and the aspirations of the Angolan masses into a single popular stream - the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola - the 4th February uprising galvanized all social strata in the direct struggle for national liberation.

And so, while on that historic dawn of the 4th of February action MPLA members numbered a few hundred, today they run into tens of thousands.

Whereas military operations were confined to the Luanda district they now extend to the districts of Congo, Uige, Zaire, Cuanzate - Norte, Lunda, Moxico, Cuando Cubango, Cabinda, Bié and Malanje, establishing categorically the irreversibility of the Angolan people's struggle for independence and national liberation.

Everywhere the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola succeeded in continuing and taking to still greater heights the efforts of its 4th of February militants. The Portuguese forces are assuming ever greater proportions.

As the Portuguese colonial army weakens under the blows dealt by our guerrillas, the soldiers are realizing that the Angolan people's victory is a certainty. The MPLA is forming a new consciousness, creating conditions for the solution of tribal and social antagonisms and bringing forth from among the people...

the revolutionary forces that will achieve victory through direct action. Conscious of the tasks of peaceful reconstruction in Angola, it is setting up the basic structure of a new society.

Centres of political instruction are operating in the guerrilla regions. Schools are being opened and hospitals built. The population is being taught the practice of hygiene. The producers are protecting themselves from colonial speculation. The level of guerrilla combativity is rising, and there is a growing influx of people from various parts of the country.

The Angolan people have asserted before international and Portuguese public opinion their justification and their right to struggle for national independence. From Africa, Europe and America come ever more concrete demonstrations of solidarity with the MPLA and the Angolan people, while at the same time the acts of denunciation and rejection of the barbarity of the Portuguese colonial system are growing in number.

The MPLA, which represents the Angolan people in their struggle, is extending its relations with the outside world ever more. The support given by international public opinion is ever broader. While remaining independent and neutral in the conflicts which today oppose certain groups of countries, the MPLA is anxious to establish friendly relations with all African countries, with all countries in other continents which pursue an anti-colonialist policy. MPLA action is directly related to the fundamental interests of our people.

The MPLA is against Portuguese colonialism, its direct enemy, and its imperialist allies. But it maintains links with all countries that condemn colonialism and with all the progressive forces.

We are proud of and rejoice in the successes scored in the liberation of our people. We shall continue our operations with vigour, assured of ever sounder prospects in 1969. The armed struggle will spread throughout the national territory. The vast majority of our militants will be operating inside the country.

Our fight will culminate in the conquest of our national independence and in our people's liberation from hunger, exploitation, disease and oppression.

Our fight will be intensified. Armed action must be broadened and regarded as the principal form of struggle, in the towns and in the countryside. But it will always have a politico-military character.

That is how we, militants of the MPLA, understand the tribute that should be paid to the heroes of 4th February.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

balance sheet _____ _____ of activities

Our country, Angola, was the first Portuguese colony to take the road of armed struggle, on 4th February 1961. Soon we shall be entering upon the ninth year of war, and at the same time we are celebrating the thirteenth anniversary of the founding of the MPLA.

Our people have generously given their blood and the lives of their best sons, to ensure that the whole people shall enjoy the sacred right to freedom.

The developments of our war since 1961 are well known. The MPLA has had to face not only the enemy forces, but also puppet groups of Angolans who have aligned themselves with the imperialists.

But that has not prevented the truth from prevailing; nor has it prevented the very great advances in a country which is the vastest and richest Portuguese colony, with the greatest number of military effectives.

May I be allowed to submit a brief outline of last year's events which have led to the present situation.

One essential fact must be borne in mind: as from 3rd January 1968 the Executive Committee of the MPLA decided to establish the Organization's headquarters inside the country.

Throughout the year, the patriotic activities of the Angolan people, under the leadership of the MPLA, were divided into two distinct phases. During the first few months we witnessed the expansion of the zones of action, the creation of new regions of struggle in the districts of Lunda, Malange and Bié and, towards the end of the year, an offensive favoured by the dry season, which included heavy bombing and attacks by helicopter-borne troops on the villages and the bases in the zones controlled by the MPLA. We therefore had a first phase of expansion followed by a defensive phase and the consolidation of positions.

It is my privilege to announce here, for the first time, that with the extension of the armed struggle to the district of Bié - the geographical heart of Angola - a new military region has just been set up: the fifth region.

The operational zones of the MPLA cover one-third of the territory, divided as follows:

- (a) the First Region, comprising the district of Luanda, Cuanza Norte, Uige and Zaire;

- (b), the Second Region, the Cabinda district;
- (c) the Third Region, the districts of Moxico and Cuando-Cubango;
- (d) the Fourth Region, the districts of Lunda and Malange;
- (e) and, lastly, the Fifth Region, comprising the Bie district.

(a) The development of the struggle in the First Region is affected by logistic difficulties. A long frontier separates the northern region from Congo-Kinshasa, but under present conditions the MPLA is unable to use it.

Nevertheless and in spite of the scarcity of news reaching us, we are informed that our activity is being maintained. Owing to the lack of supplies, the MPLA guerrilla units are advancing slowly in the new zones. There is a great deal of activity around the controlled zone. The operational zone in this Region extends to outskirts of the capital -Luanda- such as the villages of Caxito and Catete.

More than 50,000 men, women and children are continuing to seek refuge in the controlled zone and are suffering from all the ill-effects of the prolonged war; they lack drugs, essential elements for food such as salt, and clothing. This population, however, is keeping alight the patriotic flame lit on 4th February 1961.

(b) In the Second Region there was a new upsurge in our activities during the last few months of the year. Several battles took place and the Portuguese sustained heavy losses.

This action even provoked a threat from Portuguese Government against the Republic of Congo-Brazzaville, aimed at stopping that country's aid to the MPLA as regards the transit of equipment and cadres.

American interests have grown in Cabinda, owing to the exploitation of oil and phosphate. The imperialist presence, which is manifested in the hundreds of technicians, once more shows the alliance of the NATO countries and the assistance given to Portugal to continue to dominate our country. The corruption and the manoeuvres which our enemies are carrying out in this district are a difficulty we come up against, but it has not succeeded in demoralizing the fighters.

In this district, the enemy sustained more than 500 losses out a force estimated at 10,000 men.

(c) In the Third Region, the enemy's losses amount to about 3,000 soldiers killed, 2,600 wounded, 60 PIDE agents killed in action and 3 executed; 8 Portuguese bases, 10 concentration camps and

2 airfields attacked; 96 vehicles destroyed; 3 helicopters shot down; 20 bridges destroyed; 5 steamers sunk; and a large quantity of war material taken, including light arms, ammunition, grenades and miscellaneous equipment. Thanks to this activity it was possible to free 5,000 workers and their families from strategic hamlets which were controlled by the Portuguese colonialists.

The civilian organization of the population is improving from day to day, despite the fact that agricultural production has hardly increased as a result of the many bombing raids.

It is in this region -which is the largest (385,000 km²) - that the MPLA is most active and where civilian institutions are most developed.

In August 1968, the First Regional Assembly was held in the liberated zone, attended by 83 MPLA militants, most of them members of the Executive Committee, and by politico-military leaders. It adopted important decisions regarding the spread of the armed struggle. The proceedings of the Assembly were followed by seven journalists, who published their impressions in different newspapers. Some of them spent three months in the controlled zones and made a film on our struggle.

During the early part of the year, a great many refugees in Zambia returned to the country to take part in the patriotic activities. The flow of refugees was checked by the enemy's offensive action during the last few months, during the dry season, but the Angolans who have sought refuge in neighbouring countries still want to return to their country and fight.

(d) Fourth Region - Last year there was very vigorous action in this region. In their advance towards the diamond zone, in the north of the district of Lunda, our guerrillas carried off brilliant victories over the colonialist forces. These victories seriously disturbed the Portuguese leaders, as could be seen from the press;

(e) Fifth Region - The district of Bié was also the scene of armed struggle under the leadership of our Movement. It is the bridgehead which will serve other districts in the centre of the country.

Summing up our activities, we are happy to say that the MPLA is continuing to advance all over the country and that it has imposed struggle on ten out of the fifteen districts of Angola, that is to say, on more than one-third of the territory. The basis for extending the struggle is there: our people are firmly resolved to pursue the struggle. The year 1969 will certainly be marked by further progress and success in the armed struggle.

Para-military activities have developed in the controlled zones. Thus the Union of Angolan Workers (UNTA), which had its head-

quarters in Kinshasa, has also transferred to Angola, where it is playing an important role in the trade-union education of the masses and agricultural production.

The Women's Organization (OMA) and the Youth Organization (JWRPLA) continue their activities.

New primary schools have been set up. Textbooks for the primary schools have been published by our Movement.

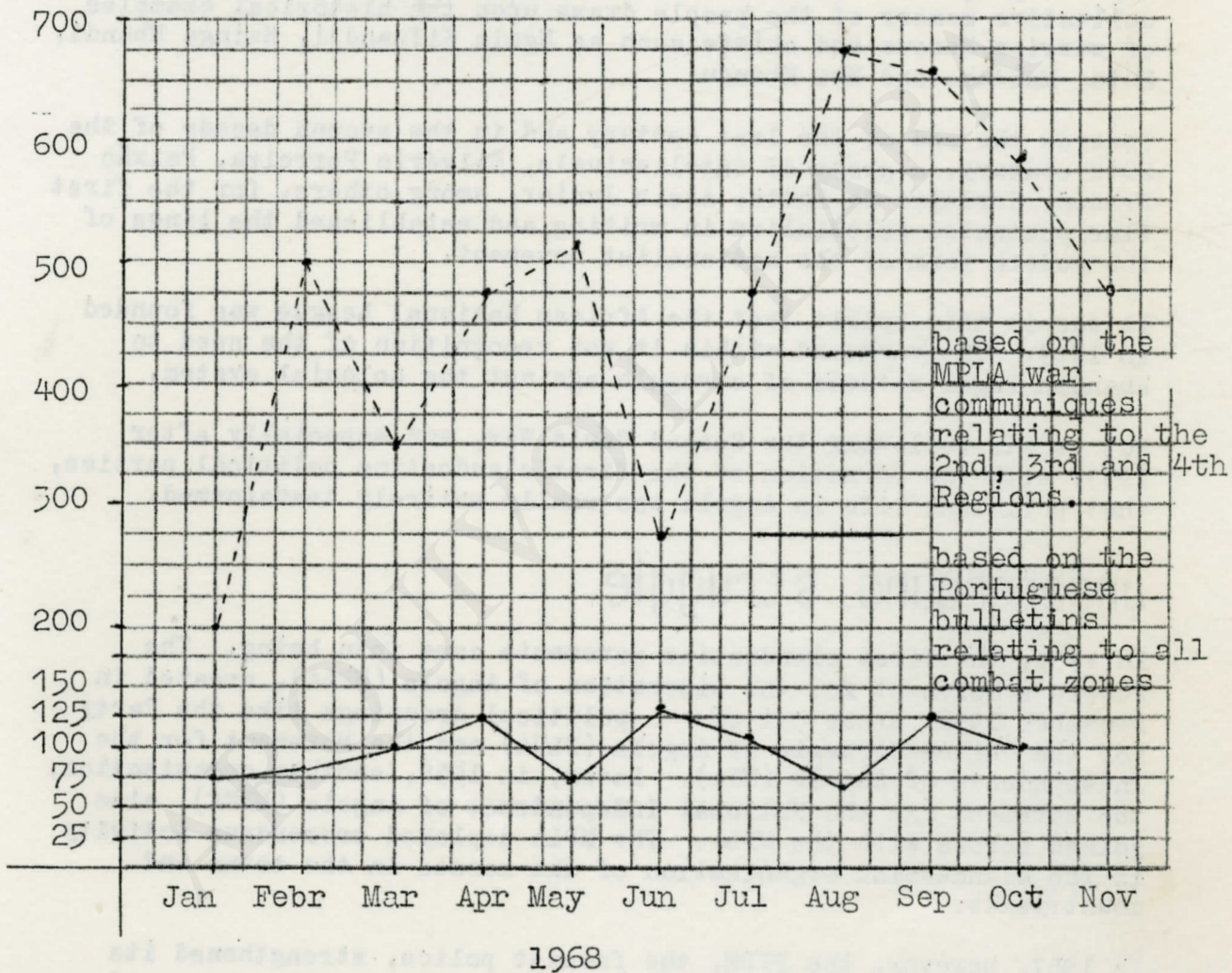
Further Centre of Revolutionary Instruction have been opened, and hundreds of militants are being trained abroad, in friendly countries.

BALANCE SHEET OF MPLA ACTIVITIES ON THE EASTERN FRONT
AND THE CABINDA FRONT, FROM JANUARY TO NOVEMBER 1968

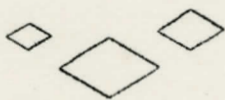
	SOLDIERS			MILITIAMEN			ENEMY CASUALTIES (grand total)
	killed	wounded	total	killed	wounded	total	
January	89	110	199	-	-	-	199
February	232	273	505	-	-	-	505
March	217	136	353	3	-	3	356
April	338	119	457	4	-	4	461
May	356	146	511	-	-	-	511
June	185	65	250	9	-	9	259
July	224	235	459	3	7	10	469
August	279	320	599	28	31	59	658
September	278	281	559	30	42	72	631
October	261	266	527	-	-	-	527
November	255	175	430	9	18	27	457
December(x)	35	34	69	-	-	-	69
TOTAL	2,768	2,160	4,928	86	98	184	5,112

(x)The data are incomplete, since they refer only to the Cabinda front.

COMPARATIVE GRAPH SHOWING THE COLONIAL ARMY'S LOSSES
BASED ON THE MPLA WAR COMMUNIQUES AND THE BULLETINS
OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONIALISTS



In this graph, the two lines are not entirely comparable, since the MPLA records relate solely to the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Regions, (therefore excluding the extremely important First or Northwest Region) while the colonialist figures cover all the fighting fronts.



THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE

The national liberation struggle in Angola has its roots in a long tradition of resistance to foreign penetration. Over a period of four centuries there were uprisings in the different parts of the territory against Portuguese occupation and military conquest. The collective memory of the people draws upon the historical examples of warrior heroes and chiefs such as Ngola Kiluandji, Nzinga Mbandi, Buta, Mandume and Mwe Mbandu.

Towards the end of the last century and in the second decade of the 20th century, a group of intellectuals, Silvério Ferreira, Paixão Franco, Cordeiro da Matta, Assis Junior, among others, for the first time contested colonialism in writing and established the lines of the modern form of the nationalist movement.

It was in this spirit that the African National League was founded in 1929. The vanguard within it won recognition of the need to abandon legal methods of struggle against the colonial system.

But it was following the Second World War, and especially after 1953, with the formation of the first clandestine political parties, that political life in Angola was really entirely transformed.

underground struggle

In 1953, the first clandestine movements came into being. The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), created in December 1956, arose out of political groupings like the Party for the United Struggle of Angola (PLUA) and the Movement for the Independence of Angola (MIA). Later, in 1958, another organisation, the Movement for the National Independence of Angola (MINA), also joined forces with the MPLA. The MPLA deployed tremendous activity in the clandestine organisation of the masses in the towns and countryside.

In 1957, however, the PIDE, the fascist police, strengthened its organisation in Angola. On 29 March 1959, it carried out one of its biggest police raids, throwing dozens of very influential nationalists and a mass of suspects into prison.

A month later, on 26 April, the Portuguese air force was established in Angola with a great deal of fanfare. And to greet this event,

the Governor-General made one of his most threatening speeches: "The country is not defended if it does not possess a military structure..." At the same time, he was forced to recognise for the first time that "Angola was not living in peace and harmony", when he said: "leaflets have appeared in Angola, as we had expected..."

In July 1959 there was a fresh wave of arrests affecting especially a number of leaders of the MPLA; among them Ilidio Machado.

On 8 June 1960, Dr. Agostinho Neto, then honorary President of the MPLA, was imprisoned in Luanda. The population of Icolo-e-Bengo, the village of his birth, protested against this arrest. The Portuguese soldiers were not slow to respond: 30 people were killed and 200 wounded on the spot. This was the massacre of Icolo-e-Bengo.

On 25 June of that same year, the Reverend Father Pinto de Andrade, now honorary President of the MPLA, a doctor of theology, Chancellor of the Archbishopric of Luanda and a member of the Executive Council of the Society of African Culture, was also taken prisoner.

PIDE action was supported by that of the Portuguese troops. Constant raids, house-searches, burning of houses and torturings became daily occurrences.

On 29 December 1960, 20 nationalists, a large number of whom came from the district of Cabinda, were shot in a prison courtyard in Luanda.

Police terror succeeded in dismantling many of the MPLA networks and to a great extent it decapitated the internal organisation of the Movement. This of course had bad consequences when the armed struggle was launched the following year. The lack of cadres within the country was sorely felt.

Two conclusions can be drawn from these facts. First, the Angolan nationalist movement, which dates back to the turn of the century, is one of the oldest in Africa. Although most of the continent has outdistanced Angola in achieving independence, this is to a large extent due to the difficulties inherent in underground struggle and to the protracted nature of the present liberation war.

Secondly, the Angolan political struggle of the pre-war period was waged clandestinely, which made it particularly difficult, especially when one takes into consideration the lack of experience at that time of both the Angolan people and the nationalist movement.

Even in countries which have waged or still are waging very bitter liberation wars - Algeria yesterday and South Africa today - legal political parties were constituted in the first historical phase

and they were therefore able to reach the broad masses of the people much more rapidly.

2. 4 february 1961

Using weapons previously seized from Portuguese soldiers and police, MPLA militants in Luanda attacked the prisons of the capital in order to release the political prisoners, some of whom were leaders of the MPLA. This happened at dawn on 4 February 1961. This was the launching of the armed struggle in Angola.

It is well known that an armed struggle often starts with a very dramatic event which can galvanise the whole people and shake the morale of the upholders of the established order. Just as the Bastille became the symbol of oppression for French revolutionaries, so did the prisons, the focal point of popular hatred, arouse a great deal of feeling in Angola. Everyone had either a relative or a friend incarcerated in São Paulo or elsewhere.

The ensuing events are well known. The Portuguese responded with the most savage ferocity and on 5 and 6 February, 3,000 people were machine-gunned in Luanda. A few days later, a further massacre of 5,000 people took place at Baixa de Cassange, a region in the interior bordering on the districts of Malange and Lunda.

The best militants took refuge in the forests in the North-West of Angola in order to carry on the war, which took on such proportions that within three months that vast region, apart from the towns, was liberated from the colonialists.

While the Angolan masses, galvanised by the example of 4 February, were engaged in insurrection, the UPA* led by Roberto Holden decided to divert the struggle of the people from its genuine objective of national liberation.

3. the crimes of the upa

The UPA started to issue tribalist slogans to influence the masses fighting within the country.

One cannot properly speak of a political doctrine. The organisation

* UPA: Union of the People of Angola, the new name adopted in 1953 by the Union of the People of Northern Angola, which is eloquent testimony of its tribal character.

has always served the interests of United States imperialism, having as its job to obstruct the MPLA, which had set itself as its objective the total independence of Angola. The UPA, on the other hand, intended to establish a neocolonial regime.

However, the stubborn opposition of Portuguese fascism to any steps towards the independence of its colonies prevented Roberto Holden from following the normal road to neocolonialism. It was therefore found necessary to take up arms, but not to carry out a revolution. The struggle of the Angolan people, so full of sacrifice and abnegation, had to be reduced to a disorganised riot. It was with this aim that the UPA appealed to the most negative feelings of the people, such as tribalism, racism, religious intolerance and hatred for literate people.

In any event, it was inconceivable that an organisation dominated by imperialism should take a revolutionary path.*

Having centred the struggle on the physical liquidation of the whites, the leaders of the UPA issued slogans such as: "Kill all the whites, all people of mixed origin, all the literates and all the MPLA people", "kill everything white in colour", "smoke diama** to be stronger in the war" (the Bakongo are superior to all the other tribes, they said), "make fetishes so as to be invulnerable to bullets", "always attack the Portuguese soldiers en masse", "wait until the great leader Holden arrives one day in a square plane!"

The entire political "doctrine" of the UPA was summed up in these slogans.***

* Long after the Alliazo became the PDA (the party which later joined the UPA within the FNLA) its General Vice-President, Matumona, stated in the Courrier d'Afrique, 5 February 1962: "American pressure is being brought to bear on the UPA, Roberto Holden's party. Indeed, observers have noted that almost all the material and financial support for the UPA comes from the United States, or more specifically, from the American Committee for Africa. This financial aid... is given on the condition that the UPA does not join forces with the MPLA or with any other front of which the MPLA is a part".

** Diamba-Kif: hashish

***In an interview granted to Robert Davezies, Holden stated: "I have stressed the political training of our people, but we have to gain our own experience taking into account the difficulties and the needs that arise on the spot. We have not found a formula". (In "The Angolans")

As can be imagined, the results were absolutely catastrophic. People worked up into a state of fanaticism killed thousands of Angolans for no other reason than that they did not belong to their tribe, or were of mixed origin or literate.*

Commenting on this situation, President Agostinho Neto recently said: "In this way, we lost thousands of men, women and children who were almost all sincere patriots and ardent fighters for our cause of national liberation".**

The colonial army was therefore able to regain control of the situation and to launch the big offensive of August-September 1961, with a degree of cruelty far exceeding that of the Nazis during the Second World War.***

* Marcos Kassanga, former "chief of staff" of the UPA, in a press conference held in Leopoldville on 3 March 1962, said, among other things: "The struggle launched in the North of Angola is a veritable fratricidal war in all respects. About 8,000 Angolans have been savagely massacred by the tribalist elements of the UPA, stupidly armed and extremely undisciplined. This inhuman massacre carried out by Angolans against Angolans was a result of blind tribalism appearing in four forms - religious, linguistic, ethnic and ideological. Religious tribalism because everyone had to be Protestant; ethnic tribalism because everyone had to come from São Salvador; linguistic tribalism because everyone had to speak Kikongo; ideological tribalism because everyone had to defend Halden's interests."

** Speech on Radio Tanzania on the programme "The Voice of Angola", 6 June 1968.

***In the testimony of aviation pilot Major José Ervedosa, who deserted from the Portuguese armed forces in Angola, one reads: "The objective is Banza-Muquiama, a village like any other in the North of Angola. I have in my hand a recent plan of the huts... I take the plane. Mix. Rotate. Power. I fly 2,000 feet above the ground. The village is now slightly to my left. I fly parallel to the road... NAP number one. The co-pilot establishes contact. "Ready". I look to the left to try to see the fire. There is a barrier of fire and smoke... The next moment two bodies fall. A woman and a child, hand in hand, their legs covered with burning napalm. A woman and a child."
(See FPLN documents)

The genocide carried out by the Portuguese fascist hordes resulted in 50,000 dead and 300,000 refugees.

4. the crisis of angolan nationalism in 1963

The leadership of the MPLA - which was meanwhile pursuing the political and military training of its militants - sent columns of guerrillas to penetrate the interior with the task of leading the struggle of the people. A number of them were basely murdered by Holden's troops when they passed through the far North of Angola. In 1961, a group commanded by Tomas Ferreira, one member of which was later to become the great commander Hoji ia Henda, was massacred in the region of Fuesse. In 1962, another group was intercepted by the Congolese authorities near the frontier. In 1963, another column was massacred near the River Loge.

For three years, therefore, the UPA dealt the heroic struggle of the Angolan people terrible blows by preventing MPLA militants in the bush from presenting themselves as such and by keeping MPLA militants trained abroad away from the scene of the fighting. The struggle of the Angolan people suffered terrible setbacks, because the MPLA was the only party capable of effectively leading the war.

These problems encountered by the MPLA, which had their origin in the machinations of United States imperialism, with Holden as its agent, and which were supported by the Congolese Government, then led by Mr. Cyrille Adoula, gave rise to uneasiness within the Movement. A separatist group led by the former Secretary-General of the MPLA, Viriato da Cruz, tried in vain to join the UPA.

Together with the difficulties imposed on the MPLA, Roberto Holden's American advisers led him to undertake a two-stage political operation. First he fused his organisation, the UPA, with a tiny tribal grouping (ALLIAZO, which became the PDA* for the occasion),

* ALLIAZO: Alliance of Zombo nationals. PDA: Democratic Party of Angola.

In the "Preliminary programme of the Alliazo before the independence of Angola" one reads: "Consequently, going beyond considerations of territory, the Alliazo will seek to make it understood that from Mbata to Uige there is only one people: the Muzombo people. Indeed, in the history of the ancient Kingdom of the Congo, from which we are all descended, nothing is said of Maquelins, Kibo-Kilois, Bambains, Sanza-Pombo etc. As far as we are concerned, they speak only of the Bazombos as a whole. So down with regionalism! Down with rivalries and sterile quarrels! Down with the divisions of the Portuguese colonialists, who

thus creating the FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola)* and then proclaiming the constitution of an Angolan provisional government in exile.

We have already stated that the UPA and the Alliazo-PDA, the two organisations out of which the FNLA was formed, were founded by Angolan refugees in Congo. The imperialists made it their task to feed oxygen into this aberration of Angolan nationalism.

The OAU Conciliation Commission, which was entrusted with effecting a rapprochement between the MPLA and this trend in Angolan nationalism, did not take the trouble to make a deep analysis of the real facts of the liberation struggle in Angola. It immediately accepted the line laid down by the Congolese Government, which had just recognised the GRAE. Basing itself on the false premises that the UPA was the only party in arms and that the MPLA had not established itself in the field, the OAU recommended that all its member States give de jure recognition to the GRAE as the sole representative of the Angolan people.

Shortly afterwards, militants of the Movement were expelled from Congo Kinshasa. The imperialist plot aimed at destroying the MPLA, the only genuine nationalist movement, had temporarily succeeded. But the MPLA had other resources to overcome the crisis it was going through. These were the eight years of clandestine work during which cadres were trained in revolutionary ideology and the techniques of guerrilla warfare. The death of the valiant militants who had

divide us the better to dominate us!

UNITE, BAZOMBO COMPATRIOTS!"

Long after the Alliazo became the PDA, the General Vice-President of that organisation stated in the Courrier d'Afrique, 5 February 1962: "As is well known, the Alliazo, in the manner of nominally nationalist Angolan political organisations, is a "localised" organisation, or a tribal one, if you will."

- * In Holden's report to the OAU Good Offices Mission, he says: "The Union of the People of Angola was founded on 10 July 1954 in that same town of Leopoldville by Angolan emigrés..." Further on he adds: "... the leaders of the Union of the People of Angola decided to unite their efforts with those of the Democratic Party of Angola - the PDA - another mass movement set up by Angolan emigrés in the Congo." He finally concludes: "From this was born the National Front for the Liberation of Angola".

entered Angola was not in vain, for it started to show the people, tragically, the pernicious horrors of fratricidal strife. Finally, the obstacles encountered by the MPLA had tempered the determination of its best militants.

It is now easier to understand why the MPLA did not succumb. On the contrary, this crisis made it possible to carry out a salutary selection and the best militants found themselves more united than ever. The Conference of Cadres held in Brazzaville in January 1964 merely ratified this new situation. President Agostinho Neto, who had proved able to lead the movement forward, in the midst of the storm, was re-elected, his political and moral authority reinforced.

And when, in the middle of 1964, the MPLA proceeded to reopen the Cabinda Front, the crisis had been definitively overcome.

5 . the significance of the cabinda guerrilla area

While the MPLA regained its prestige abroad and the OAU, to make amends for its error, recognised its status as the Angolan nationalist movement, a new momentum was given to the guerrilla struggle in Cabinda.

The war in Cabinda had an enormous psychological impact on the entire population of Angola. It restored the confidence of old militants who, in the towns and countryside of Angola, had kept alive their faith in the Movement.

The Cabinda guerrilla area was not only a laboratory where the MPLA put into practice its concept of guerrilla war and trained very able cadres, but it was also the first nucleus of a national and popular armed struggle to be organised in the history of the Angolan people.

6 . new prospects — the eastern front

Thanks to its perseverance, on 18 May 1966 the MPLA succeeded in opening a new combat front, the Eastern Front, or Third Region, which includes the districts of Moxico and Cuando Cubango.

The Third Region, with its 391,000 square kilometres, is four times as large as Portugal, more than two-thirds of the area of France and as vast as the whole of Vietnam (both parts together, north and south of the 17th Parallel). It extends 500 km. in depth and 800 km. from north to south. Simply stating the size of this region is enough to render absolutely absurd the colonialist propaganda claim that "the terrorists have bases outside the country and infiltrate into Angola to carry out an ambush and then run away again".

From the geophysical point of view, the Third Region is an immense plateau situated at an altitude of 1,000 metres, slightly inclined towards the South-East. It is crossed by many rivers which form the basin of the Zambezi (most of them) and the Cubango. The territory is an immense savanna dotted with forests, but which becomes dry as one proceeds towards the South. Mountains are rare and relatively higher.

During the rainy season, the water from the rivers floods all the savannas (known as chanas), so that it becomes rather difficult to know where the river begins and the chana ends.

The soil is sandy clay. The people cultivate mainly cassava, but also sorghum and millet, which constitute the staple diet. At the time when there was absolute colonial domination, the peasants cultivated rice in the areas surrounding the capital of the district of Moxico ("Luso") and Muíé in order to sell it to Portuguese merchants.

The rivers are known for their plentiful fish, which has always been the main source of protein in the region. A large part of the fish was dried and sold very cheaply to Portuguese merchants who re-sold it to the Diamond Company as food for the contratados.

It is the region of Angola richest in game, and the colonialists have even created two hunting reserves - Cameia in the north and Chitenge in the south.

There is a long tradition of bee-keeping, and even at the beginning of the century caravans of slaves carried wax to the ports along the seaboard. In some places where there are few fish in the rivers, honey becomes the principal source of protein.

Despite all these possibilities for obtaining food, undernourishment prevails like everywhere in Angola, because of colonialist exploitation and craft methods.

The main source of wealth for the colonialists came from the timber forests in the district of Moxico. But today all that belongs to the past.

Many peoples inhabit this region - the Chokwe, the Luvale, the Lunda, the Mbunda, the Luchaze, the Kangala, the Kwangali and the Khoi-San. The Kwangali in the far south-east are traditionally herdsmen; the Khoi-San are great hunters, and all the others are cultivators. Most of the languages spoken in the region resemble each other fairly closely.

One of the greatest handicaps of this region is its low population density, for it has only about 380,000 inhabitants, or about one inhabitant per square kilometre. Vast areas are totally unpopulated, mainly in the district of Cuando Cubango.

Before the launching of armed operations, the MPLA worked extensively to politicise the masses, so that on 18 May 1966, one was dealing with a conscious people who gave the guerrillas full material and moral support.

All the peoples now living under the banner of the MPLA are organised in action committees, organs of popular power directly elected by the people. This fact is of the highest importance. The people participate in the reality of power, in a new form of State direction, exercising their right to a democratic life. A former traditional chief (the soba) may or may not be elected, depending on his behaviour and abilities. People from all the ethno-linguistic groups inhabit new villages (kimbus) and human contact is a powerful factor in breaking down the old tribal barriers.

The national liberation struggle is the most powerful means of cementing national unity.

The MPLA has set up health and hygiene clinics of the SAM (Medical Assistance Service), schools and politico-military schools for training cadres, and "people's shops". The new life that is coming into being constitutes a mortal challenge to the colonialist enemy.

The colonialist soldiers live in barracks, many of which can be supplied only by air.

Indeed, the colonialists' greatest trump card is still their control of the air, and they take advantage of this to bomb the peaceful population. The main victims are of course the women, children and old people, who have more difficulty in protecting themselves from air attacks.

During the dry seasons the colonialists launch "mopping-up operations". But these operations regularly end as resounding failures.

The MPLA guerrillas, on the other hand, in addition to ambushes, carry out attacks on Portuguese bases so as to harass the enemy constantly and everywhere. One of the major tasks of the MPLA is to help the people held in the "strategic hamlets" to liberate themselves.

The colonialists control the air, but on land it is the MPLA which is in control, and this is the decisive factor.

Even our enemies are forced to recognise our strength. The South African racists, who are also involved in the war in Angola, state: "Recently the war in Angola has taken a dramatic turn for the worse. What was previously a pin-prick in that corner of Southern Africa has affected the security of the whole sub-continent. This is reflected in the growing activity in the Caprivi region and in the sectors north of South West Africa".* The same journalist speaks of the "recent guerrilla activity in the east of Angola and the intensification of the war in the north". According to him, the situation of the colonial troops in the districts of Moxico and Cuando Cubango is as follows: "the Portuguese forces are now concentrated around Luso, in the east, and Cuito Cuanavale, further south".

The Portuguese themselves cannot avoid recognising that the guerrilla struggle is spreading, drawing the attention of the settlers to the fact that the MPLA constitutes a danger.

In conclusion, the Third Region, the greatest success of the MPLA, has opened up tremendous prospects in all spheres. It provides the conditions for rapid progress towards the generalisation of the armed struggle.

7. the transformation of the northern front, or the triumphant entry of cienfuegos and kami columns

In 1966, the North-Western Front no longer looked the same as in 1961. Profound changes had taken place.

The hard lessons of reality imposed by the Portuguese army forced the people to think, and they came to the conclusion that the slogans issued by the UPA led to disaster. During the first phase of the struggle, the people had gone to wait for "Holden's square plane" in the open plain, where the Portuguese seized the occasion to machine-gun the poor people from the air.

The "fetish" to make people "invulnerable" led to the death of many thousands of brave fighters. The slogan "attack the Portuguese en masse and without cover" gave rise to large massacres.

The most valiant people took refuge in the forests and, under the influence of MPLA militants who were still fighting, they "rediscovered" the laws of guerrilla warfare. Massive attacks gave way to ambushes. New organisation replaced the initial "riot".

* Al Venter in the South African journal News Check, 12 June 1968.

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The colonialists control the air, but on land it is the MPLA which is in control, and this is the decisive factor.

It was at this precise time that the glorious Cienfuegos column finally succeeded in crossing Congo Kinshasa clandestinely, arriving on a war footing in the northern guerrilla area.

For a whole week the people feted this historic victory with dances, speeches, meetings and festivities. It was THEIR victory.

In March 1967, the second glorious column, the Kami column, followed the same route and arrived in the traditional guerrilla area.

This was the best reward the MPLA could have given to the heroic people of the North-West who, left entirely to their own devices for six years, had successfully opposed the entire colonial army, achieving a high degree of politicisation.

In this way, the Northern Front, or the First Region, which was already on the right track, was completely transformed after the arrival of these two columns. The MPLA proceeded to organise all aspects of the struggle.

COMBATENTES DO MPLA



E preciso conhecer bem o manejo das armas

8. the generalisation of the armed struggle and the strategic line of the mpla

All the conditions existed, therefore, for succeeding in the great task which Dr. Agostinho Neto, President of the MPLA, had announced to the world in his historic speech at the beginning of 1967: the generalisation of the armed struggle throughout the national territory. A new phase in the Angolan people's struggle was about to begin.

Pursuing this strategic line, the Movement opened a new front in the North-East of Angola, the Fourth Region, which includes the districts of Lunda and Malange. The first Assembly of the Third Region, which was held in August 1968, noted that more than one-third of Angolan territory was controlled by the MPLA and that nine of the fifteen districts through which the colonial administration governed the country were in a state of war: Cabinda, Zaire, Uige, Cuanza Norte, Lunda, Moxico, Bié and Cuando Cubango. The President of the MPLA later announced that: "Other regions will be developed this year, so that there should no longer be a number of combat fronts, but only one enveloping the enemy in an encirclement which will paralyse him and render him inoffensive. This will be the prelude to the final blow, which will culminate in the seizure of political power by our people".*

He added that the headquarters of the organisation was no longer outside the country and was now operating in one of the regions controlled by the Movement. This fundamental statement illustrates an essential aspect of the MPLA's strategic line - the struggle must be waged inside the country.

It is therefore a question of conducting a protracted popular and revolutionary war extending throughout the national territory and encircling the towns, which are also mobilised by clandestine work and which will be taken in the final phase of the war.

It is also a question of waging a guerrilla war, which will be transformed into other more advanced stages, without ever totally abandoning the guerrilla form.

The MPLA's struggle is a politico-military one, with emphasis placed on the political aspect. This is the reason for the great attention

* Press Conference given by the President of the MPLA in Brazzaville on 3 January 1968.

the MPLA pays to the work of mobilising and organising the masses of the people, both those in the liberated regions and those still under the foreign yoke. That is why the MPLA makes it its constant concern to train cadres who are good both from the political and the military point of view.

The liberation struggle of the MPLA has a profoundly national content, so that all Angolan ethnic groups and social strata should join it. It is the consistent policy of the national front, without at the same time neglecting the establishment of a party structure within that front.

9. the portuguese colonial army

In 1967, Angola had the largest concentration of Portuguese military effectives of all the three colonies at war - about 70,000 men.

Today, after the laws passed on prolonging military service and recruiting women, their numbers must be very much greater.

Rumours are already circulating in Portugal to the effect that the Caetano government is going to expand the Portuguese army in Angola by 20,000 men, after the recent tour of this country by the Minister of "Defence".

In addition, Angola is the Portuguese colony where the militarisation of the settlers has been taken furthest. Nearly all the adult settlers are under the directives of the Provincial Organisation of Volunteers for the Civil Defence of Angola (OPVDCA). To this must be added the size of the police force and especially of the PIDE, the political police (which behave like Hitler's SS) and also the "mercenaries" in the pay of the mining companies.

The forces of repression in Angola therefore number some 160,000.

10. the generalisation of the armed struggle in angola and fascism for the portuguese

Let us now analyse the effects on fascist Portugal of the generalisation of the armed struggle in Angola and the intensification of military activities in Guinea Bissau and Mozambique.

What this burden means for Portuguese fascism can be seen even by looking at the official statistics. The avowed military expenditure rose from 2,684 thousand contos in 1960 (23.7 per cent of the budget) to 7 million contos in 1966 (40 per cent of the budget) and 8.5 million in 1967, which represents 7 per cent

of the gross national product.*
And while military expenditure increased, the rate of growth of the gross domestic product slowed down and even decreased in 1967.**

Agriculture has been lagging behind over these years (Portugal, an agricultural country, is a big importer of foodstuffs), but at the same time the tertiary sector is constantly expanding.

To finance the enormous military apparatus, the fascist state is now resorting to inflation, for the first time on a huge scale. The rate of growth of production is slowing down, but the means of payment increase at the rate of 15 per cent a year, as a result of which prices are soaring to dizzy heights while salaries are rigidly frozen (with the help of the PIDE!)

Portugal's balance of trade has for centuries been looked upon as showing one of the greatest deficits in Europe! Portugal's balance of payments with foreign countries (excluding its colonies) also shows a traditional deficit. Only the super-exploitation of the colonies makes it possible to balance what is called "the balance of payments of the escudo area" and to increase the gold and foreign exchange reserves of the Bank of Portugal, a symbol of fascism and a reflection of a backward economic policy under the conditions prevailing in underdeveloped Portugal.

The Portuguese public debt, which was kept at a very low level until 1960, now attains 33.6 million contos, one-third of which represents short-term credits from abroad.

Tourism, which gave Portugal a net income of 7.5 million contos in 1966, started to decline the following year, and that trend is continuing.***

Young men are deserting to escape the colonial war. Portugal, with its 260,000 emigrants in 1966, now has the highest rate of emigration

* Expenditure on the army and the police (including the PIDE) attained 10.2 million contos in 1967, that is, 43 per cent of the budget.

** United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1966-67.

***The tourists who go to Portugal help to finance the colonial war.

of any country in the world. Even the structure of emigration has changed. It is no longer mainly illiterate peasants who flee the Salazarist hell, but skilled workers.

Portugal's allies, whose opinions are expressed in newspapers and journals as important as The Times, Newsweek and Le Monde, have serious doubts about an eventual victory of the Portuguese army.

The Portuguese government still holds a few trump cards. Despite its decline, tourism is still very intense; the gold and foreign exchange reserves are very high and, above all, the NATO allies, South Africa and Japan still give it their support.

However, Portugal's allies give aid only on one condition, which is that the monopolies shall penetrate freely into Portugal and its colonies. So that, in its vain attempt to maintain its colonies, Portugal is itself being transformed into a colony of the big imperialist powers. This is the gulf into which the fascists are throwing their country.

It is no secret for anyone that the Portuguese army is exclusively equipped with NATO weapons - from light FN infantry weapons (Belgian) and G3's (German) to F84 planes (American) and Fiat G91's (Italian), to say nothing of French Alouette helicopters and submarines.

The leasing of the American and French military bases in the Azores and the German base at Beja is paid for in the form of war material.

All this has not been sufficient to meet the growing needs of the colonial army. Portugal is increasingly throwing itself into the arms of South Africa, with which country (and its protégé Ian Smith) it has founded what has rightly been called "the unholy alliance".

Today there are already South African soldiers fighting in Angola, mainly in the district of Cuando Cubango. The South African bases in South West Africa give logistic support to the Portuguese army and to the South African helicopters on operations in Angola. By fighting effectively on the Eastern Front, the MPLA is contributing to the liquidation of the racist bastion in Southern Africa.

Political contradictions are sharpening in Portugal. The struggle is growing: the attack on the Bank of Portugal branch at Figueira da Foz, the capture of arms and ammunition from the Evora barracks, the large workers' strikes, the student protest movement, demonstrations against the war in Vietnam and, hence, against the wars in the Portuguese colonies.

At the same time, dissension is growing in the fascist ranks. This

is nothing new. During Hitler's last days, Goering, Himmler and many other Nazi bandits betrayed their Fuehrer and betrayed each other. In Portugal the fascist elements meet in various groups, some of whom are involved with United States imperialism, others with German imperialism, and so on, and they fight among themselves.

The coming to power of the fascist Marcelo Caetano clearly has not solved these contradictions. He and his militarists are pursuing Salazar's policy, because they think it to be the only way of holding on to the empire. According to them, any kind of independence for the colonies would lead to the complete loss of Portuguese control, which would be replaced by complete independence or by American neocolonialism. The Caetano team has no alternative to an all-out war which will lead to the rout of Portuguese colonialism and fascism.

The difficulties are already so great that last year a law was passed extending the period of military service from two to four years, making military service compulsory for women and introducing new recruitment requirements which are much less stringent, so that even the blind and the deaf and dumb are no longer exempt from this "calvary".*

Contradictions are sharpening in the colonies. Priests in Mozambique are demanding reforms and the settlers in Angola are protesting against the rise in taxes and the growing indebtedness of the army to the private sector** to finance a war "which is not coming to an end".

On 14 February 1968, the newspaper Diario de Mocambique was suspended for stating that 90 per cent of the car thefts in Beira (Mozambique) were the work of the army.

In an October 1967 issue, the magazine Noticia, in Angola, denounced the top military hierarchy's traffic in luxury goods (Dior dresses,

* The Lisbon journal Jornal do Comercio, 12 January 1958, carried the following headline: "National Assembly - emphasis on the assistance of the Portuguese woman and the possible contribution of the blind, the deaf and dumb and spastics to the military service of the Nation".

** Discussion in the "Legislative Council of Angola" between the Governor-General and the settler Venâncio Guimarães, published in the journal Provincia de Angola, 28 October 1967.

beauty creams, American tobacco and drinks etc.) which were entering Angola duty free, since they were listed as war material!

At the very time when the colonial authorities are appealing to the settlers in pathetic tones to "tighten their belts", they are forced to waste foreign exchange on the import of super luxury articles because the colonial society has entered into its final phase of moral decadence and the fascist State, if it wants the cooperation of the settlers, has to come to terms with them.*

conclusions and prospects

Our outline of the social, economic and political life in Angola, of incidents in the armed struggle in the Portuguese colonies and of the situation in Portugal, permits us to draw fundamental conclusions which open up new prospects for the Angolan people.

- 1 Angola is an extremely backward country. One cannot break down the barrier of underdevelopment without freeing oneself from all forms of domination and exploitation.
- 2 Colonialism is a system of exploitation which carries with it insoluble conflicts. All the contradictions have sharpened in Angola since the launching of the war. This explains the ineluctable character of the Angolan revolutionary process.
- 3 The relative acceleration of the rate of development in Angola is merely a vain attempt by Portuguese fascism to stop the struggle by inviting all the imperialist powers to "share in the spoils", so that they too should participate in the war.
- 4 After the 1963 period of crisis, this national liberation struggle - led by the MPLA - has entered into an irreversible phase. The regions of armed struggle are expanding. The enthusiastic people are joining the struggle. There is growing disarray in the ranks of the colonialists. The generalisation of the armed struggle throughout the national territory is an essential task which the MPLA and the Angolan people have decided to carry through to success.
- 5 The MPLA, which has always been the sole truly nationalist body

* In any event, the high functionaries and militarists are the first to be corrupted. Who is not aware, for example, that the former chief of staff of the air force in Angola, Lieutenant-Colonel Magro, is a cocaine addict.

in Angolan, has become the only one responsible for the conduct of the war. After the reorganisation of the Northern Front and the opening of the Eastern Front, the MPLA is the only movement directly facing the enemy and its NATO allies.

6 It is therefore a fallacy to speak of "divisions between Angolan Nationalist forces". THE ANGOLAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT IS UNITED WITHIN THE MPLA.

conclusions and prospects

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COLONIALIST SOLDIERS TAKEN PRISONER

After the 1963-64... the MPLA... the Angolan people... the generalization of the armed struggle... the Angolan people have decided to carry through to...

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generalization of the armed struggle

BELOVED SON OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE

HEROIC FIGHTER OF THE MPLA



MAJOR HOJI IA HENDA

HENDA

beloved son of the
angolan people, heroic
fighter of the mpla

On 14 April 1968, Commander Henda, a member of the Executive Committee of the MPLA and co-ordinator of the Military Commission, was killed in action while commanding an assault on the Portuguese base of Karipande.

His name was José Mendes de Carvalho and he died aged 26. He was born at Dalatando, the name of which town the colonialist Portuguese changed to Salazar.

After receiving his primary education in American Protestant missionary schools in Angola, he started his secondary studies at the Luanda Liceu, but was unable to complete them because he had to take refuge in Congo Kinshasa to avoid PIDE persecution. Indeed, with his extraordinary qualities this young man had at an early age engaged in clandestine work in the city of Luanda, where he took part in various activities including worker and student agitation on political problems, the distribution of leaflets, taking part in mass meetings, etc.

As a member of the MPLA, when he reached Kinshasa, in 1960, he adopted the war name of HOJI IA HENDA, which, literally translated means THE LION OF LOVE; and he was known to all patriots as Commander Henda (Love).

After completing his military training, he carried out his first mission in 1961, joining the Tomas Ferreira column which was taking arms and ammunition to supply the MPLA guerrillas operating on the northern front. The column fell into an ambush laid by one of the UPA bands, near the Fuesse, on the Congolese frontier. Henda escaped.

In 1964 the Executive Committee appointed him Commander of the Cabinda Region, where he personally took part in most of the operations carried out against the colonialist troops, driving them far back from the Congo Brazzaville frontier.

In 1966, he was promoted Co-ordinator of the Military Commission of the MPLA and assumed chief responsibility for military organization throughout the national territory.

In order to organize plans for the offensive and for extending the struggle to the eastern front, he moved to the Moxico district. There he was hit in the head by an enemy bullet when he was at the Karipande base, commanding an assault on that barracks in which the Portuguese lost several dozen men. He was the only MPLA fighter killed in this battle.

He was an honest militant, with integrity, modesty, intelligence and great activity. He was liked by all his comrades and did not need to make any effort to assert his authority as a chief where necessary.

The MPLA has lost one of its best militants, and the Angolan people one of its best sons. The Regional Assembly held in the Moxico district in August 1968 therefore decided to award Commander Henda the posthumous title of "Beloved Son of the Angolan People and Heroic Fighter of the MPLA".

The life of this young revolutionary will for ever shine in the golden pages of the history of our people's struggle, as an example for generations to come.

Henda, one of the pillars of our Revolution.



the most important
achievements of

the MPLA in 1968

During 1968, the MPLA put into practice the watchword "EXTENSION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY AND EVERYBODY INSIDE THE COUNTRY". Hundreds of Angolan families who at the beginning of the armed struggle had taken refuge in the Congos or in Zambia left the neighbouring countries to respond to the MPLA's appeal that all should return.

During 1968, the MPLA scored great victories over the enemy, one of the most outstanding being the fact that it held the First Regional Assembly of the Third Region in our country from 23 to 25 August. It was presided over by Comrade Agostinho Neto and attended by foreign journalists.

The Regional Assembly was of capital importance in that politico-military problems arising out of the advance of the Angolan people's struggle were discussed. Because of its importance and owing to the fact that it was the first Assembly held inside the country, it marked a new page in the history of our people's struggle.

The struggle of the Angolan people, under the leadership of the MPLA, spread to the district of Bié, Lunda and Malange. The MPLA, which up to 1967 had fought on three fronts, is already fighting in five regions, while the sixth region is in the process of being formed. The fronts have increased, their activities creating new zones, and an extremely important factor is the beginning of operations in the towns.

During 1968, there was action in some cities and towns such as Cazombo, Gago Coutinho, Silva Porto, Serpa Pinto, Luanda, Teixeira de Souza, Benguela and Nova Lisboa.

During that year further schools were established. In the Third Region, centres of revolutionary instruction (CIR) as well as a further first-aid training centre were set up.

During 1968, the MPLA affirmed itself as the only organization fighting in Angola. The OAU, which in 1963 had recognized the "GRAE", a government which lacked prestige and was not representative, and which served as a brake in the Angolan people's struggle, finally withdrew recognition of the "GRAE" and recognized the MPLA as the only organization fighting in Angola, giving it full assistance.

The position acquired will undoubtedly help the MPLA develop the Angolan people's struggle under the best possible conditions.

Africa has recognized the MPLA as the sole organization fighting in Angola, and it has responded to the interests of our fighting people.

Although it is true that we scored great victories in 1968, we can say that during that year our Movement lost one of its best cadres, Commander Hoji ia Henda, whom the First Assembly of the Third Region decided to grant the posthumous title of "Beloved Son of the Angolan People and Heroic Fighter of the MPLA", and Comrade Américo Boavida, the only Angolan doctor who responded to the MPLA's appeal and who worked in the Third Region.

By order of date, the most outstanding events for the MPLA were the following:

- 3 January - Press conference of Comrade Agostinho Neto, President of the MPLA, at which he announced the transfer of the Movement's headquarters into the country.
- 9 to 16 January - Meeting of the Liberation Committee at which it was decided to ask for a revision regarding "GRAE"
- 11 to 13 January - Participation in the commemoration of the fourth anniversary of the Revolution in Zanzibar.
- 4 February - Commemoration of the seventh anniversary of the beginning of the armed struggle in Angola.

- 19 to 23 February - First Assembly of the First and Second Regions of the MPLA, in Dolisie, Congo Brazzaville.
- 14 April - Attack on the Karipande barracks and death of Commander Hoji ia Henda.
- 8 May - Beginning of activities in Lunda.
- 6 June - Beginning of military activities in Bié.
- 24 to 26 June - Meeting of Conciliation Commission in Addis Ababa. The Commission was convinced that the MPLA alone was fighting in Angola and decided to recommend to the African heads of State a revision of the recognition of "GRAE".
- 17 to 20 July - Meeting of Liberation Committee in Algiers. It was decided to withhold aid from "GRAE" and that the MPLA should alone benefit from OAU aid.
- 27 July to 6 August - JMPLA participation in the World Youth Festival.
- 23 to 25 August - First Assembly of Third Region, in Angola.
- 13 to 16 September - Assembly of Heads of State and Government, in Algiers. Recognition of "GRAE" withdrawn.



guerrilla warfare

the only valid
form of struggle

The entire world was shaken at the end of last year by the news that Marcelo Caetano had been appointed to succeed the old dictator Salazar at the head of the Portuguese Government.

A number of African political leaders immediately started to speculate about a change in the Portuguese attitude towards the colonies, since the reputation and ambiguous speeches of the new head of State had aroused the hope of "liberalisation".

Having intimate knowledge of Portuguese policy and the reactionary forces now in power, the MPLA always expressed its apprehension about these hopes, which were not founded on concrete facts.

Salazar was not a lone man in his country. He was the representative of the Portuguese financial oligarchy, which is itself subordinate to international high finance. In governing, he was defending certain interests, those of the exploiters.

These very same business circles chose Caetano to replace Salazar. The very same government team is in power. The fall of the dictator changes nothing in Portugal's fascist and colonialist policy. Changing one person, even if his name is Salazar, cannot change the Portuguese political Constitution, which designates the colonies as "overseas provinces".

In any case, neither the Portuguese Government nor the settlers are prepared to yield their domination and influence in Angola and Mozambique to the political, economic and military expansionism of South Africa, which is highly industrialised and showing a tendency to interfere increasingly directly in the affairs of the non-independent countries in Southern Africa.

For the time being, therefore, Portugal has to continue the war. Caetano has already confirmed this line in the speeches made some time after he came to power. He has shown himself to be clearly in favour of the continuation of the colonial war.

He has already sent at least 7 battalions (3,500 soldiers) to Angola and Mozambique and he intends to increase troop effectives in Angola by 20,000 men. He reprimands those who speak against the war, notably young Portuguese Catholic circles who, on 1 January, for example, demonstrated in favour of ending the war in a Lisbon church. These young people have been accused of treason.

It is the new Portuguese Government which is brandishing threats of reprisals against the Republic of Congo Brazzaville if it continue to aid MPLA.

(1) ADITIA
(1) AFRICA



TROOPS ON PARADE AT MPLA BASE

At the present juncture it is therefore impossible that any substantial change might be effected in Portuguese colonial policy.

The MPLA has reached the conclusion that under the present conditions the only possible form of struggle in Angola is armed struggle, and to wage this hard and protracted struggle it is necessary for the whole of Africa to commit itself and sincerely to come to the aid of the Angolan people through their organised representative and dynamic force, the MPLA.

Armed struggle is not simply a sacrifice to those who are fighting on the side of justice and against tyranny, to those who aspire to freedom. It is above a force. It is not simply a burial ground. It does not simply stain the battlefields with blood of the best sons and daughters of our peoples. It is also a school. It is also a means of ensuring that the people will continue that struggle in the future, after political independence, so as to be completely free - politically, economically and socially.

JOINT POWER AND IRRIGATION PROJECT WITH SOUTH AFRICA (1)

"The river Cunene power project, included in the new energy developments under the plan together with the extension of the Cambambe plant, is a joint undertaking with South Africa. A dam on the upper reaches of the river will generate, initially, 300 mw, giving an annual output of 1 bn kwh. This will be increased later by the construction of a further dam, lower down at the Ruacana falls, where the river turns west to form the frontier with SW Africa. 15,000 hectares will be directly irrigated by gravity, and a further 350,000 hectares will benefit from piped supplies to rural communities and watering points for cattle. It is aimed to settle half a million people in the area, of whom less than a third would be employed in the primary sector: At an area of southern Angola reaching virtually to Nova Lisboa. The most northerly installation, a vast artificial lake, which is hoped might also become a tourist attraction, would be barely 40 miles south of that town".

(1) E.I.U. Quarterly Economic Reviews. Portugal and Overseas Provinces. No. 1968, p. 16

the south african
racists and the river cunene hydro
electric project

The news agencies report that after lengthy negotiations the Portuguese and South African Governments have signed an agreement under which the monopolies and the Government of South Africa will grant a loan of 1,800,000 contos, or 25 million pounds, for the construction of hydro-electric dams on the river Cunene, in south-western Angola.

The project relates to the production of 1 bn kwh of power per year and the irrigation of vast areas on the banks of the Cunene, where groups of villages are to be installed similar to those of Matala dam on the same river Cunene, producing approximately 100 million kwh per year.

As in the case of the Matala dam, the greater part of the power produced will be channelled to South-West Africa, for the benefit of the industrial projects of the South African racists in that adjacent country. The height of irony is that Angola, an underdeveloped country consuming only 40 kw/h per year per inhabitant, should thus be transformed into an exporter of electricity !

This loan made by South Africa to Portugal comes within the wide context of the racist pact of Southern Africa. The ambitions of the economic and financial interests assume a tentacular aspect, with South Africa always playing the role of leader. The political alliances are obvious, and there are successive secret military pacts.

South African soldiers are already operating in Angola, particularly in the Cuando-Cubango and Moxico districts, and a South African military base is under construction in Luatamba, in south-western Angola.

The ultimate objective of racist South Africa is obvious: to expel the Portuguese and establish a white minority government in Angola similar to the Ian Smith regime. In all this scheming, the South African racists are helped by their accomplices the imperialists, who demurely cover their eyes, their ears and their mouths, so as not to see, hear or say anything. Yet they are not simply accomplices but the real culprits, for it is they who finance, who arm and who give political support to the fascists of South Africa and Portugal. But whatever the manoeuvres of the imperialists, the South African racists and the Portuguese colonialists, the heroic and selfless struggle of the Angolan People, under the enlightened leadership of the MPLA, will eventually destroy colonialist and imperialist exploitation in Angola once and for all.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN !

the International Union of Students).

The MPLA delegation, who took part in the proceedings of all the Committees, submitted two papers : a general report by the President of the Movement and a paper by Carlos Rocha on "The Racist Pact of Southern Africa".

The Portuguese Democratic delegation co-operated perfectly with the delegation from the colonies, showing once more that with independence and mutual respect, the coexistence of all peoples and their representatives is possible.

It emerged from the Conference that the Portuguese colonies were regarded as a specific problem and that vigorous action must be taken against the weakest link in the imperialist chain : the Portuguese fascist government.

Decisions of a practical nature follow an encouraging pattern, since it is proposed to hold a meeting of Western European countries in support of the peoples in the Portuguese colonies, while another one is planned in Italy.

The Khartoum Conference was therefore a success.

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statement by the *MPLA* _____
on the international conference in support of the
peoples of portuguese colonies and southern africa
held in khartoum from 18 to 20 january 1969

The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) is very satisfied with the atmosphere of fraternity and mutual understanding which prevailed at the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Portuguese Colonies and Southern Africa, with the broad international support for the struggle of our peoples demonstrated by the presence of representatives from fifty countries and, above all, with the downright positive results achieved.

After a profound analysis of the situation in our countries, all the delegations reached the unanimous conclusion that the struggle in Angola, in the other Portuguese colonies and in

Southern Africa went far beyond the limits of a confrontation with the colonialist and racist regimes of Portugal and Southern Africa, and came within the broad framework of the world anti-imperialist struggle. It was noted that the armed struggle, combined with political struggle, was the only course open to the peoples of the Portuguese colonies and Southern Africa, and that it could lead to the elimination of colonial and racist domination.

The Conference also noted that Portugal is today the weakest link in the imperial-colonialist chain, and that the intensification of the international struggle against the Portuguese colonialists is a matter of paramount importance.

During the Conference, an exhibition of photographs was held, showing various aspects of the struggle in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea. Films made on the Eastern Front of Angola and in Guinea were also shown.

The Conference further confirmed that the level attained by the armed struggle in the Portuguese colonies and the political atmosphere prevailing in Portugal were factors which permitted a vast offensive at international level and an intensification of the armed struggle in each one of the colonies, in order to weaken the enemy still further.

The delegates carefully considered the concrete problems arising from the existence of various liberated areas in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, and guerrilla activities in Zimbabwe and Namibia, and enthusiastically hailed the brilliant victories achieved by the MPLA, the PAIGC, FRELIMO, ZAPU-ANC, and SWAPO.

On these four fundamental premises, the Conference established a complete strategy of international support for the struggle of the peoples of Portuguese colonies and Southern Africa, many aspects of which went even into concrete details.

Thus, for example, it was decided to hold a conference of support for the liberation struggle in the Portuguese colonies in Western Europe, to multiply the number of national committees of support for our struggle; in some countries, such as Italy, a programme of conferences on the Portuguese colonies has already been drawn up.

The MPLA therefore considers that this conference has seen the birth of a new spirit, one which might be called the spirit of Khartoum and which can unleash a vast campaign of world mobilization concerning the burning problems of the Portuguese colonies and Southern Africa.

But for the spirit of Khartoum to be effective, it is essential that all the resolutions adopted should be implemented

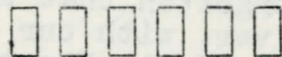
within the shortest possible time, and new and more fruitful initiatives should be set in motion.

In short, the MPLA hopes that this conference may be the starting point for a vast and ~~profound~~ irreversible process that will channel dynamic support and the largest possible volume of international aid to the peoples fighting in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Southern Africa and Namibia.

The MPLA therefore hails all friends of the struggle of the Angolan people and pledges that by helping Angola they are also helping their own peoples.

VICTORY OR DEATH !
VICTORY IS CERTAIN !

The Executive Committee of the MPLA



after the _____
_____ khartoum conference

The Khartoum Conference suggested that National Committees be set up in every country in the world, in order to mobilize the various strata of international opinion and get them to organize demonstrations against the Portuguese Government, as the oppressor of the peoples in its colonies.

The peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and St. Tomé want independence and freedom. That is why our people in Angola took up arms against the colonialists and were the first colony to resort to arms to win independence. Later the armed struggle started in other colonies. It was on 4th February 1961, eight years ago, that our people started the armed struggle. Since that time conditions have changed in Angola and in the other colonies.

Despite the fact that the fascist government has an army of more than 150 thousand men, the war has continually spread, and in Angola we are now fighting in five different regions; the enemy are unable to contain the impetus of the people's will, and we are moving surely towards the generalization of

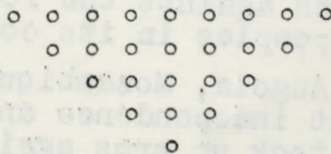
the armed struggle throughout the national territory.

This situation is even affecting Portugal's social and economic equilibrium. Politically, the fascist and colonialist government of Marcelo Caetano is becoming increasingly weak and isolated. In Khartoum, Portugal, which is discredited throughout the world, was regarded as the weakest link in the imperialist chain.

That is why victory is possible. That is why action must not let up. The armed struggle must be intensified. Diplomatic action must be intensified. Political action must be intensified. Inspired by our people, the whole world will launch a vast campaign for the liberation of our contry. Let us therefore hail the Khartoum decisions and help put them into practice.

It must not be forgotten that the brunt of the struggle must be borne by ourselves, with our arms, our soldiers and our strength. In support of the Khartoum decisions, we are going forward with greater determination to extend the armed struggle in the fields and in the towns. Let us struggle wherever there is a colonialist. Let us organize, organize, organize and struggle with greater vigour against colonialism, against oppression. Let us continue the offensive against colonization. Let us be worthy of the political aid all the peoples of the world will give our people.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN !



marcelo caetano

a new portuguese fascist leader

Marcelo Caetano, the new President of the Portuguese Council, in a message read to the Portuguese National Assembly made the following statement :

"I felt it was particularly necessary not for a single minute to neglect the defence of the overseas provinces, to which I am bound by such numerous and affectionate ties and whose population is always in my heart ...".

Let us see why !

Marcelo Caetano presides over the General Assembly of the Companhia de Seguros Previsao and is a member of the Administrative Board of the Companhia de Seguros Bonanca, which belong to the Banco Espirito Santo e Comercial de Lisboa, and its branch the Companhia de Seguros Tranquilidade has a direct interest in this Bank's activities. Marcelo Caetano is a son-in-law of the big capitalist Paulo de Barros, and through his wife is connected with the Queiroz de Barros family which controls the Banco Espirito Santo e Comercial de Lisboa, one of the big Portuguese monopolies with interests in key sectors of the Portuguese economy and which is solidly installed in the colonies (it has a direct or indirect interest in 16 agricultural and industrial companies in the colonies, including CADA, the Companhia de Mocambique and the Companhia de Algodoes de Mocambique).

On the other hand, owing to the links between the Banco Espirito Santo e Comercial de Lisboa and the Barros family (all of them closely connected with the interests of the Banco Portugues do Atlantico, since we find 21 indirect links between them), and owing to the fact that Caetano is Chairman of the General Assembly of the Sociedade Algodoeira de Fomento Colonial, the parent company of TEXTANG, we see that the new Portuguese premier is also linked with the interests of the Banco Portugues do Atlantico. This monopoly has a share in the capital of at least 19 companies in the colonies and controls five of them (Banco Comercial de Angola, ECOMAR, CUCA and VIDRUL, and Companhia do Acucar).

But Marcelo Caetano is also Chairman of the General Assembly of the Banco Nacional Ultramarino, closely linked with the Espirito Santo and Portugues do Atlantico tandem and having widespread interests in the colonies, in at least 9 big companies.

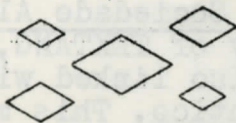
Besides, the Alves Caetanos (Marcelo's brothers or sons) are connected with the Hidro-Electrica do ZEZEFE and the Empresa

Nacional de Aparelhagem Electrica (an affiliate of the German OSRAM Company).

Lastly, Marcelo Caetano was the lawyer or legal adviser (and therefore trusted man) of CUF, the biggest Portuguese monopoly, which controls dozens of Portuguese companies and has interests in 15 big companies operating in the colonies. It controls the Companhia da Ilha do Principe, the Companhia de Cabinda, SIGA INDUVE, CONFABRIL, the Empresa do Cobre de Angola and the Companhia Textil do Pungué.

Since the fall of Salazar, Marcelo Caetano is the man who has managed directly to defend the interests of the larger Portuguese monopolies, which are also firmly established in the colonies. On the other hand, the monopolies with which Marcelo is connected could not fail to have close links with European monopolies (especially with the German, Belgian, French, Swedish, Dutch and British monopolies) as well as with South African monopolies (Banco Comercial de Angola and Banco Nacional Ultramarino in the Bank of South Africa) in addition to other links through companies in Angola and Mozambique.

Marcelo Caetano, in his policy, could not for a single moment neglect the "defence" of the colonies, or rather of his own interests !



Practical Medicine and Hygiene, in both 1954 and 1958 he worked in the clinical hospital of the Medical Faculty of the University of Barcelona, and in 1962 he specialized in Gynaecology and Obstetrics for Post-Graduate Medical Studies.



He practiced his profession in Luanda, where he lived for many years, known for his qualities and for the enormous work he carried out for the people.

His nationalist feelings and his activities in the struggle for the liberation of the people.

In August 1960 he was elected a member of the Executive Committee of the Angolan Workers' Union (CVAAR) and the National Committee. He was one of the first Angolan doctors to respond to our Movement's call to go to our country.

Dr. Américo Boavida

morto em combate em 25.IX.1968

Throughout his life as a doctor and teacher of affection and friendly counsel of his wife and children and his colleagues. The just nature of our struggle made her support and accompany him with courage in all his activities. His widow has made an active contribution to the development of our struggle and devoted herself with all possible enthusiasm and effort to the liberation of both the Angolan people and the oppressed Portuguese people.

The Executive Committee of the MPLA, expressing the feelings of all its militants, pays a high tribute, full of emotion, to Dr. Américo Boavida, who died in combat in Angola as a result of a bombing raid in one of the combat areas, where he worked as Director of the Medical Assistance Services.

Américo Boavida came from Luanda, where he was born on 20 November 1923. Overcoming all difficulties of a racial nature, he successfully completed his primary and secondary schooling and was one of the first Angolan graduates of the Liceu de Luanda, where Agostinho Neto was also a student. He represented the local athletics club as an athlete and made an effective contribution to the sporting successes carried off by that group.

In 1952, he obtained a degree in Medicine from the University Medical Faculty in Porto and Lisbon, followed by degrees in

Tropical Medicine and Hygiene. In both 1954 and 1958 he worked in the clinical hospital of the Medical Faculty of the University of Barcelona, and in 1965 he specialised in Gynaecology and Obstetrics at the Institute for Post-Graduate Medical Studies in Prague.

He practised his profession in Angola, in the town of Luanda, where he lived from 1955 to 1960, becoming well known for his qualities, both professional and nationalist. He earned enormous prestige and the esteem of his compatriots.

His nationalist feeling led him to give up his professional activities and to devote himself entirely to the struggle for the national independence and freedom of his people.

In August 1960 he joined the MPLA, where he worked as a member of the Department of Foreign Relations, as President of the Angolan Volunteer Corps for Assistance to the Refugees (CVAAR) in Kinshasa and as a member of the National Committee. He was one of the first Angolan doctors to respond to our Movement's call to go and fight inside our country.

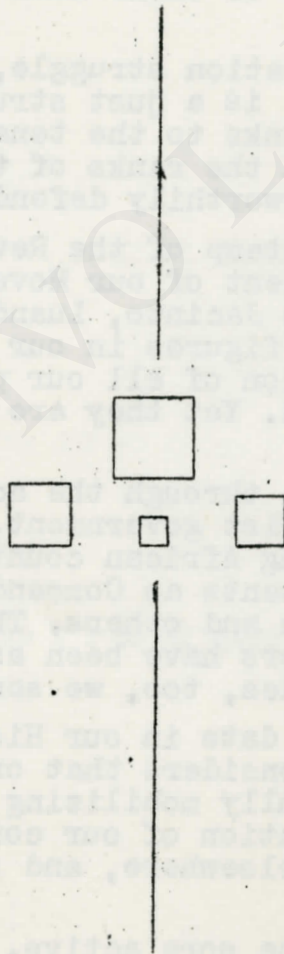
Throughout his life as a doctor and fighter he had the affection and friendly counsel of his wife, a teacher of Portuguese nationality. The just nature of our struggle made her support and accompany him with courage in all his activities. His widow has made an active contribution to the development of our struggle and devoted herself with all possible enthusiasm and effort to the liberation of both the Angolan people and the oppressed Portuguese people,

Deeply concerned about the evolution of the social and political problems of the Third World, Dr. Boavida made a profound analysis of the Portuguese colonial system, strongly condemning it in various articles published in the international press and in his outstanding book, Angola Cinco seculos de exploração portuguesa (Angola, five centuries of Portuguese exploitation), published in Brazil by Editora Civilização Brasileira S.A., Rio de Janeiro.

The Executive Committee of the MPLA considers that Dr. Americo Boavida gave services of inestimable value on the Eastern Front, making himself especially noted for the setting up of a number of dispensaries there, for the way in which he ensured the medical care of the local population and also for the scientific analysis he made towards a solution of the health problems in Angola.

A well-known figure internationally, Dr. Americo Boavida stands immortal at the side of all the heroes who have died for the liberation of Angola from Portuguese colonial domination. His example will not have been in vain. Paying with his life for his feelings as a nationalist and revolutionary, Dr. Americo Boavida will remain a symbol to all Angolan patriots who are wholly dedicated to the task of transforming Angola into an independent, democratic and free country.

FROM HIS BLOOD WHICH HAS BEEN SHED WILL SPRING FLOWERS FOR INDEPENDENT ANGOLA.



a greeting to the imprisoned

patriots

Hundreds, if not thousands, of Angolan patriots are held in Portuguese prisons, in Angola, Cape Verde or Portugal. Many others suffer from restraints on their liberty, under restricted residence in various places, either inside the country or elsewhere.

The Executive Committee of the MPLA sends a warm greeting to all those who are in prison, detained for the cause of our people's freedom, whether members of the MPLA or not, whatever their belief, the colour of their skin or their political opinions.

The national liberation struggle, which has produced heroes among our people, is a just struggle and will continue until final victory, thanks to the tenacity and consistency of sincere patriots who, in the ranks of the guerrilla or in clandestine activities, worthily defend our right to independence.

Militants of the stamp of the Reverend Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, Honorary President of our Movement; Ilidio Machado, Liceu Vieira Dias, Antonio Jacinto, Luandino Vieira and so many others, are well-known figures in our country and have earned the respect and admiration of all our people and of progressive men throughout the world. Yet they are temporarily deprived of liberty.

On the other hand, through the action of forces allied with the Portuguese fascist government, in the underground prisons of a neighbouring African country there are such distinguished MPLA militants as Commander Joao Goncalves Benedicto, Deolinda Rodrigues and others. Their lives are in danger, the more so as many others have been assassinated in those same prisons. To these comrades, too, we send a warm greeting.

On this glorious date in our History, the Executive Committee of the MPLA considers that only by intensifying the armed struggle and by fully mobilizing international opinion can we secure the liberation of our comrades who are imprisoned inside the country and elsewhere, and save their invaluable lives.

Let us therefore be more active. In our action lies their HOPE.

FREEDOM FOR ALL THE IMPRISONED PATRIOTS !

〇 〇 〇

WE SHALL NOT MOURN THE DEAD

I shall not speak of those who necessarily
fall in the struggle

On the earth that covers you
Comrade

We shall not drop tears
or flowers

The liberation of the Motherland requires blood

On the earth that covers you
Comrade

We shall let the children play
with their wooden rifles
with their wooden rifles

The liberation of the Motherland requires blood
The blood of her best sons

We shall let the children play.

We shall let feet hardened
by rough walking
without end

pass over the earth that covers you
Comrade
and follow the path
of the fields
where corn grows
and cassava swells.

We shall let feet hardened
by rough walking
without end

pass over the earth that covers you
Comrade

The liberation of the Motherland requires blood
The blood of her best sons

We shall let the wind blow.

We shall let the grass grow
high
to the height of the savanna.

We shall let the rains fall.

We shall let the rains fall
and may the earth that covers you
Comrade
give out that smell good
and warm
that free smell
which is the smell of damp earth
which is the smell of fertile earth.

The liberation of the Motherland requires blood
The blood of her best sons

On the earth that covers you
Comrade
We shall let the children play.
We shall let feet hardened
by rough walking
without end
pass over the earth that covers you
Comrade.

We shall let the wind blow.
We shall let the grass grow
high
to the height of the savanna.

We shall let the rains fall.
On the earth that covers you
Comrade
We shall not drop tears
or flowers.

On the earth that covers you
Comrade

We shall follow the example
of your heroism,
of your valour,
in order to advance
as much as possible
as quickly as possible.

and,
thus,
make your heroism
useful to our people

On the earth that covers you
Comrade

NAO CHORAREMOS POIS OS MORTOS!

Não falarei dos que necessariamente
tombam durante a luta.

Sobre a terra que te cobre
Camarada
Nao deitaremos prantos
nem flores

A libertacao da Patria necessita de sangue

Sobre a terra que te cobre
Camarada
Deixaremos brincar as criancas
com suas espingardas de pau
com suas espingardas de pau

A libertacao da Patria necessita de sangue
Do sangue dos seus melhores filhos

Deixaremos brincar as criancas.
Deixaremos que os pes endurecidos
das duras caminhadas
sem fim
Passem sobre a terra que te cobre
Camarada
e sigam o caminho
das lavras
onde cresce o milho
e a mandioca.

Deixaremos que os pes endurecidos
das duras caminhadas
sem fim
passem sobre a terra que te cobre
Camarada

A libertacao da Patria necessita de sangue
Do sangue dos seus melhores filhos

Deixaremos que o vento sopra.
Deixaremos crescer o capim
alto
da altura da savana.
Deixaremos que as chuvas caiam.

Deixaremos que as chuvas caiam
e que da terra que te cobre
Camarada
saia esse cheiro bom
e quente
esse cheiro livre
que é o cheiro da terra húmida
que é o cheiro da terra fértil.

A libertação da Pátria necessita de sangue
Do sangue dos seus melhores filhos

Sobre a terra que te cobre
Camarada
Deixaremos brincar as crianças.
Deixaremos que os pés endurecidos
das duras caminhadas
sem fim

passem sobre a terra que te cobre
Camarada.

Deixaremos que o vento sopra.
Deixaremos crescer o capim
alto
da altura da savana.

Deixaremos que as chuvas caiam.

Sobre a terra que te cobre
Camarada

Não deitaremos prantos
nem flores.

Sobre a terra que te cobre
Camarada

tomaremos o exemplo
do teu heroísmo
do teu valor
para avançarmos
o mais possível
o mais rapidamente possível

e,
assim,

tornarmos o teu heroísmo
útil
para o nosso povo

Sobre a terra que te cobre
Camarada

Não falarei
dos que necessariamente tombam
durante a luta

I shall not speak
of those who necessarily fall
in the struggle

I shall not speak

Comrade
But on the earth that covers you
Comrade

great,
with the immense greatness
of the liberation of Angola

every hour
every instant

I shall utter the cry
the cry
which was your last cry
and which resounded
in the hearts
of the comrades
who were attacking

beside you
the last enemy barracks
you destroyed
the cry

which was your last cry
and which resounded
in the terror
of those
who thought
they had killed you,

the cry
which was your last cry
and which resounded
in the immensity of the earth
and raised thousands
of other cries
like yours.

Every hour
every instant

I shall utter the cry
the cry
which was your last cry

Não falarei

Camarada !

Mas sôbre a terra que te cobre

Camarada

grande,

da grandeza imensa

da libertação de Angola

a cada hora

a cada instante

lançarei o grito

o grito

que foi o teu último grito

e que ressoou

nos corações

dos camaradas

que atacavam

contigo

o último quartel inimigo

que destruiste,

o grito

que foi o teu último grito

e que ressoou

no terror

daqueles

que julgaram

te terem morto,

o grito

que foi o teu último grito

e que ressoou

na imensidão da terra

e levantou milhares

de outros gritos

iguais ao teu.

A cada hora

a cada instante

lançarei o grito

o grito

que foi o teu último grito

MPLA AVAAAAAANÇAAAAA.....

Por HELDER NETO

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION
OF ANGOLA (MPLA) P. O. BOX 20793
PHONE 24292 DAR ES SALAAM