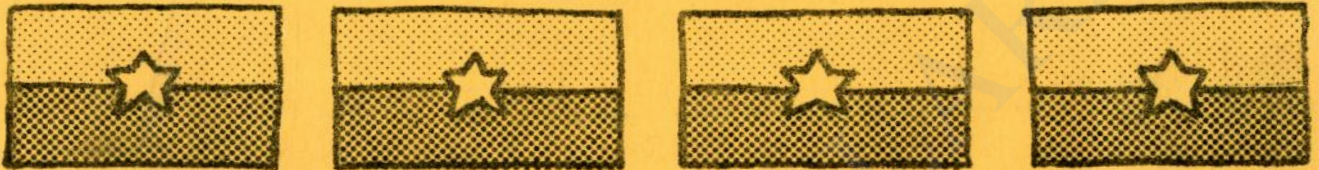


MPLA

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE
LIBERATION OF ANGOLA



3-4
1972



"NO SOLUTION CAN BE
FOUND FOR ANGOLA
WITHOUT THE CONCRETE
PARTICIPATION AND
AGREEMENT OF THE MPLA."

(DR AGOSTINHO NETO
PRESIDENT OF THE MPLA)
10/12/1971

IN THIS ISSUE _____

<i>Editorial</i>	p. 1
<i>Message to the Angolan People from our President Agostinho Neto</i>	p. 2
<i>Peoples War in Angola</i>	p. 5
<i>Declaration on Vietnam</i>	p. 17
<i>The Cunene Project</i>	p. 18
<i>Resolutions adopted by the United Nations</i>	p. 26
<i>Testimony of a Spanish Missionary</i>	p. 29
<i>Press Cuttings</i>	p. 30
<i>War Communiques</i>	p. 32
<i>China at the United Nations</i>	p. 40
<i>Peking Review: African National Liberation Movement</i>	p. 42
<i>Documents: Secret Correspondance</i>	p. 44
<i>News</i>	p. 51

Publication made by MPLA's representation in Sweden

Address: Malmskillnadsgatan 45 - III 38 Stockholm

Cable: Angolbefrielse Stockholm

Telephone: (08) 21 04 95 or (08) 36 67 57

Postgiro: 201005-6

Price of this issue: 3 Sw. kr. or equivalent

editorial

Antonio Neto

The Portuguese colonial authorities have again increased the oppression against our people. they have built the concentration camp in St Nicolau close to Mocamedes; it will compensate TARRAFAL, the camp of death at the Cape Verde Island.

Hundreds of people have been killed by torture and by deficient treatment. Others have been shot in Tarrafal. It has mostly been members in Portuguese resistance movements or people sympathizing with IPLA, PRELIMO and PAIGC. These "administrative prisoners" as the fascist law calls them, never tried before court. What should the use be of that? The fascism condemns them to torture in jail untried.

There are 2.000 Angolans in Tarrafal. Several of them have already died. The international Red Cross is not doing anything. More than 5.000 Angolans are in the concentration camp of St Nicolau in Mocamedes. It is the most perfect thing the Portuguese fascism has been able to construct. The prisoners' food are per day 1/4 kg of peanuts, 1 hg of dried fish and stinking water to drink. The camp is equipped with crematory ovens in which the Portuguese burn Angolans prisoners alive. The Portuguese fascism wants to have a copy of AUSCHWITZ or DACHAU on the African continent. All the prisoners are black and are living under very hard conditions of forced labour. The last news from the camp tells that hundreds of women and children are kept prisoners in the camp for the crime "of wanting to separate Angola from the mothercountry". The life in the camp is unbearable. Children and women are forced to carry heavy stones and are tortured. They are working in the gardens and in the fields, together with men they are forced to work in the canning-

-factory where they make preserved food of fish, fishmeal, fish-oil and dried fish. Those products are exported to Europe. Fishmeal and fishoil to Holland, West Germany and Polen, frozen fish, fishmeal and fishoil to Portugal and South Africa and dried fish to Mocambique and Zaire.

The oppression in the ST NICOLAU CAMP is very intensive. One more concentration camp is being built in VIANA, about 25 km from LUANDA. To this place the Portuguese authorities are going to send the prisoners from ST NICOLAU whom they earlier sent to TARRAFAL. This camp take 500-5000 prisoners. They will have to work mostly in the foodproduction to supply the capital LUANDA with for example vegetables. They will also be forced to work in a factory, which assemble American cars and to work on the cotton fields. Otherwise they will be killed.

When you remember the victims from the concentration camps in Nazi Germany you just can't sit with folded arms and let something like that happen again.

Our days axis powers are Portugal and its racist allied South Africa and the implicated imperialist countries. Over the crematory ovens in St Nicolau the international Red Cross in Geneva keeps silent... the UN secretariat doesn't want to know anything. The importers of fishproducts are waiting for the next transport from St Nicolau.

We demand that an international campaign should be launched in Africa, in Europe, in Asia and in America.

- to stop the import of fishproducts from Angola.
- to stop the oppression in Tarrafal and St Nicolau and above all to destroy the crematory ovens.
- to release political prisoners in Angola, Mocambique, Guinea-Bissau and Portugal.

Victory Is Certain!



LUCIO LARA

MESSAGE TO THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE FROM OUR PRESIDENT AGOSTINHO NETO

Compatriots,

Comrades,

Without risking any facile exaggeration, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola can affirm, with satisfaction and optimism, that the Angolan people are continuing to accumulate victories which are totting up to equate to the promise that the longed-for day of our beloved country's Independence is coming ever nearer.

The mere fact that in eleven years of struggle the well-equipped and technically well-outfitted Portuguese colonialists have not been able to liquidate the various military combat fronts or to break the resistance of the people in the areas under their control, is in itself proof of the vitality of a movement which is constantly growing and changing. But, most important is that the enemy, who are being attacked on every side, feel it would be satisfactory to be able to contain the progress of the guerrilla war in given areas for a while, and not to have disquieting disturbances in the urban areas for the time being.

However, the enemy should have learned their lesson in Cunene, the area to which they had to send large forces to put down the rebellion of the people in that region. This phenomenon will be repeated and the colonialists' few remaining hopes will be extinguished by the realities of our country.

The frail coexistence which still reigns between the enemy, with whip still in hand, and a part of the people who keeps silent out of terror, cannot continue for much longer. And the more intelligent colonialists are well aware of this.

The colonialist enemy are isolated and the MPLA's prestige is tremendous

Just as it has done inside our country, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola has been able to consolidate its position internationally, to such an extent that the Portuguese government is bowing under the weight of all the humiliations of every

kind inflicted on it by its former friends.

To cite just a few recent events, I can refer to the honourable attitude of the Danish, who are going to help the MPLA to build an Institute of Secondary Education, in addition to undertaking projects for medical care and increased production.

An important Dutch political personality has, like others, turned down a Portuguese invitation to visit Angola, on the grounds of not recognising the fascist Lisbon government's right to make such invitations. And it is quite possible that, like so many other foreigners, this same personality will accept an MPLA invitation to visit the areas under our control. The fascist Portuguese government's former friends are understanding increasingly on which side justice and right are to be found.

For most of the countries in the world, for most of the people in any of the continents, the Portuguese government no longer represents and indeed cannot represent the Angolan people, and it cannot put itself forward as being a part of a people of whom an appreciable percentage are oppressed on our national territory. The only true representative of our people, of the Angolan people, personifying their aspirations and their most just interests, is the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola.

This historic truth is becoming a legal reality to the extent that, regardless of how one interprets the form adopted at the Security Council meeting held in Addis Ababa, the whole world attentively followed the report made by the MPLA delegate who presented our problem before that high international body. The specialised agencies of the United Nations Organisation have rejected Portugal when it comes to the representation of the peoples of Angola and the other colonies. UNESCO is helping us with education. The World Health Organisation is helping in the field of medical care. FAO is helping us to minimise the effects of the criminal use of defoliants and herbicides.

Countries which are members of NATO are more and more openly acknowledging the rights

of our people and the authority of the MPLA, the sole body they seek out when dealing with Angolan problems.

At present the Portuguese government still gets some foreign capital to carry out the hastily conceived economic development plans with which it hopes to throw sand in the eyes of the world. However, five centuries of colonisation, obscurantism and oppression have made it impossible for anyone to be fooled as to Portuguese designs. For this very reason, given our people's heroic resistance, no one can doubt Portugal's inability to maintain its present domination. For this very reason, some of those interested in investing capital in Angola are already coming to contact the MPLA to ensure the future co-operation that will take place in accordance with the decisions made by our people on these matters and with the provisions of our Programme.

The conditions exist for further developing Revolutionary action.

No one is unaware that political Independence is inevitable. Neither is anyone unaware that it is only through their true representative — the MPLA — that the Angolan people can make their voice heard.

Therefore, comrades and compatriots, we have solid foundations, both at home and abroad, for continuous progress in our national liberation struggle. We have the foundations for pursuing our action, for carrying out the revolutionary tasks facing us, which can be summed up under two broad headings: unyielding struggle against colonialism, and national reconstruction in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres.

Our enemy are already unable to admit to the tremendous losses they always suffer when their barracks are attacked, as happened, for example, at Chiume and Lumbala, in Moxico district. They are unable to admit to the growing unrest among the population in the hot areas, like Menongue and Luso. They now confine themselves to

(Continued on Page 3)

(Continued from Page 2)

arguing that we have not made any large-scale attacks on positions in the centre of the country or on the seaboard, or that there have been no big operations in urban centres. As any one of our people could tell them, I can assure them that they need only wait — there is nothing to lose by waiting: shells will fall on them in places where they can still sleep peacefully now.

Each criminal act of the colonialists has its appropriate riposte which throws them into despair. The use of chemical agents, for example, exposes whole peoples to the bitterness of hunger for a certain time, but, on the other hand, it permits an even more generous demonstration of international solidarity. Industrial goods are flowing in in greater quantities than before to help our people to face an enemy which is fighting with superior weapons but is incapable of taking a single step forward.

The MPLA, an invincible force.

There is therefore one fact that we cannot ignore. This is that the MPLA is an invincible force. It is the hope of all Angolans and the politico-military foundation for winning our Independence. There exists in the consciousness of the men and women of our land, and even in the attitudes of children and the aged, the certainty that we will win independence for our land, that we will overcome this heroic phase of our history. There can be no other outcome to the protracted struggle we are waging, with all its vicissitudes, than the complete victory of our people.

The consciousness of independent man is something every Angolan has already acquired, even at this time when the physical presence of the Portuguese occupier is still a fact. This presence is temporary and we all know it.

The Portuguese colonialists have to find a political way out.

Conscious of its responsibilities both at home and abroad, the MPLA has more than once addressed itself to the Portuguese government, the settlers and all those who support colonial rule, calling their attention to their lack of

realism. It is high time that Portuguese face the problem of Angola outside the ossified and narrow view of Lisbon, without at the same time succumbing to the embrace of South African expansionism.

Everyone knows perfectly well that bloodshed is not our essential purpose. The blood already shed by young Angolans and Portuguese, and all the cruelties of a war ill-controlled from abroad, are already a high price paid by our people and the Portuguese people to make the Lisbon rulers realise the need to seek a more humane and rational way of finding a solution to the problem.

All Portuguese know that it is not through war that they will gain peace and calm. The war is daily increasing the hatred between two peoples and in future this could jeopardise the very existence of little Portugal in the Europe of the Big Powers. The war is deepening the hatred between two races, between two nations. Future co-operation may become difficult.

The only possible way that the Portuguese can find a solution to this problem, which involves lives and is arousing feelings throughout the world, is to try to find a political way out which satisfies the Angolan people.

The MPLA, which has made statements to this effect on a number of occasions, will do so untiringly in the interests of the Angolan people, in the interests of the Portuguese people and of mankind as a whole.

I am once again going to emphasise the growing difficulties apparent in the life of the Portuguese settlers in Angola in respect of their relations with their metropole. These difficulties are expressed by the balance of payments, the unequal terms of trade with Portugal, the constant rise in the cost of living and the suffocating atmosphere on the foreign exchange market and as regards the transfer of capital. The future holds in store even more difficult conditions for the businessman, who is essentially the settler.

The constitutional change of legal names aimed at camouflaging the shameful word "colony" under a flimsy veneer of administrative structures which, to the outside world, amount to the word "state", cannot solve the problem. The much publicised "administrative decentralisation combined with strong unifying centralism" is a bluff which only those who suffer from political myopia can still accept as a solution to Angolan problems. All these reforms will be rejected wholesale by the Angolan people.

In fact these plans seem to be aimed less at keeping Angola under Portuguese rule than at putting the settlers under the "white" Southern African influence, under the sway of countries which are more industrialised than Portugal and hungering to control Angola's resources.

In that event, and given the international situation, the military struggle will take on more violent aspects and will have more serious consequences for the Portuguese settlers.

Only with the MPLA can there be a political solution

Although it might appear contradictory, the only useful solution for the Portuguese, the only way out of the labyrinth of war, is a political solution found with the MPLA, so as to establish the foundations for better future understanding and the kind of relations one would wish to see between independent and sovereign peoples.

The whole logic of the national liberation struggle and the staunch support and growing solidarity the MPLA is getting from the four corners of the world comply with my expressing myself in these terms. History will prove those who become convinced of this fact to have been right.

Unite all Angolans

Compatriots,

Comrades,

It is true that the Portuguese colonialists and a few people, either misled or out of bad faith, still have doubts about our country's independent and radiant future, in which our people will be free, have democratic institutions and be the masters of their own destiny.

At this time the colonialists and their allies would like to weaken the Angolan people's revolutionary force by dividing them, playing on the ambitions of some and the incompetence of others.

Yet "divide and rule" is a maxim which even children in our schools learn is a colonialist rule to be fought against.

(Continued on Page 4)

(Continued from Page 3)

Factionalists, Divisionalists, are always exposed, isolated and rejected.

Our people are achieving ever greater genuine unity in the struggle. THE MPLA has provided the necessary conditions enabling the people to wage a united struggle against their enemy, Portuguese colonialism, and making use of all anti-colonialist trends in the country to this end.

Do away with all misunderstandings and struggle in unity

We do not wish to, we cannot conceal certain difficulties which still exist, not so much in consolidating the foundations of the united combat front on Angolan soil, but principally in doing away with certain misunderstandings within the African family.

A united front is what all Angolans want. The MPLA supports it and is actively working to achieve it. For the MPLA, a united front is a factor essential to winning independence.

Neighbouring countries should assist our struggle.

At the international level, the MPLA pursues a policy of independence and for the establishment of just relations with all peoples in the world. We are in a position to guarantee to all African countries whose territory can serve as a base for our national liberation struggle full respect for their sovereignty and their internal social standards, and we guarantee non-interference in their internal affairs, in accordance with OAU principles. The MPLA wants help for its activity and nothing more.

On this basis, it continues to place its hope in the farsightedness of all African leaders, especially those in neighbouring countries, trusting that, showing a reciprocal attitude, they will create the conditions for our Movement's formidable military potential to be used effectively by all Angolans, on Angolan territory. The Independence to be shortly won will not be solely for the Angolan people, but for all of Africa too.

We give our most heartfelt thanks for the asylum granted to Angolans who have taken refuge in



M.P.L.A. President inside Angola

neighbouring countries, but we wish just as sincerely to express our desire to be able to return to our country organised, in order to fight there, to live or die there, but fighting for our independence. This is the MPLA's supreme wish.

Unity and struggle.

The MPLA is at this moment capable of removing all the obstacles which still stand in the way of our rapid advance to freedom. The united combat front must become a reality, for it alone will put victory within our immediate reach. We must not weaken the idea of unity with ideological, ethnic, racial or other considerations. Unity first. The common enemy must be fought first.

The MPLA is prepared to take the necessary steps for establishing joint ways and means of achieving joint action. The MPLA will waste no more time on useless quarrels. For the good of our people, we are ready to meet and solve our problems within the Angolan family.

The subtle activity of the colonialists must, however, be neutralised. The intrigues and constant psychological action carried on among us must be laid bare, for it is through this action that difficulties arise in the liberation struggle.

We can state without fear of error that where there are dif-

iculties in achieving unity, where there is factionalism, there is always either the immediate or distant presence of the colonialists or of other countries.

Because our people, all of us, are united in our desire to fight for Independence, those who do not give proof of consistently adhering to this desire may be rejected by the struggle itself. It is the struggle that will throw them out.

Defend revolutionary principles Advance because the time is excellent.

Therefore, in our Movement and in our liberation struggle we are not afraid of consistently defending revolutionary methods of action and principles. In defending them, we are defending our people.

Let us concentrate our united efforts against the enemy, the Portuguese colonialists.

The time is excellent to take strides forward. We are therefore going to use the foundations we already have to deal the enemy blows everywhere and with even greater force.

Wiping out all the sources of differences will be a victory for our people.

The time is also excellent for the colonialists to allow themselves a few minutes for reflection.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Peoples War in Angola

(continued from the last issue)

To this campaign of mobilization the Portuguese government responded with armed repression and massacre and burnt down seventeen villages in the Cassange basin and brought death over 20,000 people. It also used armed force against the peaceful demonstration waged by the people of Icolo e Bengo village. This resulted in 30 deaths and more than 200 wounded. That was massacre of Icolo e Bengo.

Since 1960, martial law has been enforced in the capital. The repression in cities and countryside only confirms the exacerbation of existing political and social contradictions which provided the objective and subjective conditions for the MPLA militants to pass to direct action, that is to say, to respond to reactionary violence with revolutionary violence. As a matter of fact in the early morning of February 4, 1961, the MPLA militants attacked the prisons and other military installations of the enemy and began to take the road of armed struggle for liberation.

By this example and for the first time in history the Angolan people showed that the way of liberation is possible by engaging armed struggle. MPLA came to this conclusion after having asked the Portuguese government to open deliberations (the 30th of June 1960) in order to solve the colonial problem in a peaceful way.

Our first political-military region was then established despite of the repression which followed. Certain correspondents of the western press estimated the casualties of the colonial power in this repression at more than 50,000 deaths. Despite of this, the MPLA militants were sent to the districts of Cuanza-Norte and Uige, regions traditionally favourable to the MPLA, to continue the struggle.

Our people and MPLA denounced already then the occurrence of a plot led by imperialism in order to turn the struggle from its real purpose.

Holden Roberto and his "Union for the Population in north Angola" (UPA) didn't stop to proclaim from Kongo-Kinshasa that the tribal- and racebelonging should be the leading principles for their "struggle for liberty"; at the same time they developed a close collaboration with imperialism.

The imperialism engaged itself seriously and gave them order 1962 to form "the National Front for the Liberation of Angola" (FNLA) and after that to form an "exile Government for the Republic of Angola" (GRAE), a puppet government which saw it as its first task to obtain recognition in exile from Adoula's pro-US puppet government and soon after from the O.A.U.

They also called themselves a "revolutionary government" with the purpose of increasing the confusion and their prestige. However, this facade did not deceive anyone.

From everywhere came USA advisors, even those who had been in Vietnam, like certain officer called Bernard Maientz and other specialists, whom CIA have sent out to work with GRAE's communication system. Other agents known from CIA also were doing several study trips and became advisors to Holden, like a certain John Marcum, professor at the Lincoln University of Philadelphia. Other agents recouted from anticuban circles in the USA were sent to help Holden. In the same way certain trade union transferred advisers to him. Israel, which delivered weapons to Portugal (machine gun UZI) is helping him to form "technical" cadres. A trade union, the so called "General Ligue

of Angolan Workers" (LGTA) was established on the paper.

The puppet governments in Kongo-Kinshasa (IO) forbid the MPLA's presence under pressure from the imperialistic USA thus rendering difficult the provisioning of MPLA's first military region. Marcos Kassanga, chief of UPA's so called general staff didn't hesitate, at a pressconference on the 3rd of March 1962 in Leopoldville, to confess that more than 8.000 militants and sympathizers from MPLA had been massacred by Holden's troops in the northern part of the country. It is clear that this puppet-group, instead of fighting against the Portuguese colonialism, has been formed in the purpose of fighting first of all against MPLA thus sabotaging our people's struggle. The list of MPLA militants who have been murdered by CIA-Holden's butchers is long. It is a real chase on MPLA militants living in Kongo-Kinshasa. Responsibles from OMA (The Angolan Women Organisation), members of the steering committee, young people and students have been eliminated by the puppet-government or have been kept in jails in the military base of Kinkouzu (Kongo-Kinshasa). UPA has become a filial to the Portuguese embassy and the Congolese government.

Its defeat on the battle-field where it has pretended to engage itself is due to the fact that they haven't been able to perceive the people's great hope when it worked out its plan for inside politicing and gave it a structure built on tribe solidarity. Crises arose inside this group of puppets and the dissolution was emphasized with Jonas Matheires Savimbi's "retirement". He was by this time "foreign minister" in the puppet-government.

This ambitious opportunist imitates Holden by also become an agent for CIA (II) and for the enemy to be able to better guard the imperialism's interests. At order from the imperialists he resigns his "resignation" to GRAE and appear in Katanga, in Zambia and on the east front there our movement just (1966) had opened its third political-military division (districts of Moxico and Cuando-Cubango). In order to oppose the presence of MPLA in this region, Svambi, who was financed by the Anglo-Saxons and USA, tried to make people believe that he had 3.000 men and that he already controlled half Angola by using some guns.

Thanks to the affluence of his patrons he imitated Holden, making another tribal group of puppets, which he pompously



calls "Union National pour l'indépendance Totale de l'Angola" (Nation Union of total independence of Angola, UNITA). His principal object was to systematically sabotage the struggle of our people, trying to demobilise the fugitives in Katanga and Zambia with tribalism and low racial slogans quite contrary to the correct orders of MPLA in the same way that Holden did and inspired by the same persons.

That's why he is looking for reactionary friends in newspapers of Zambia who are going to be his mouthpieces. The Angolan puppet students of UPA who are financed by the COSEC-CIE-CIA change course and become allies of Savimbi. The journalists are sent to Zambia, where they make a tour and make films about the guerilla in Zambia.

In 1967 he was expelled from Zambia by the government because of his activities so disastrous to the Zambian and Angolan people.

He tried to deceive the progressive opinion in the world by publishing false declarations, fantastic and startling news, communiqués about military victories of MPLA, diffused by the English milieux of Lusaka and the massmedia of Paris and London. Certain newspapers and reviews on the left have not hesitated to be mouthpieces of Savimbi, who has become a marxist-lenist (I2) in exile, looking for sensations while being mixed up with the conflict between China and USSR.

The desperate act, however, is falling through owing to the interior plans and Savimbi cracks, on the paper that is a so called "government of the republic of Soviet of the guerilla" and he is humbugging the central bases of the staff-officers about a ridiculous magazine, which has made the skeleton of the false propaganda in capitalistic Europe. These institutions and other communiqués have had no reason for our resolving upon continuing our interieur struggle and for being the only legitimate representative for our people.

By and by you can see, in fact, that the defeat of his policy has made our people and MPLA refuse to play the game of imperialism once more. The defeat of "UNITA" is the defeat of a bluff, which our people by its revolutionary actions have unmasked. "UNITA" has gone into bankruptcy just like the activity of "UPA" in the north and has been smarting defeat for the contrarevolution and for imperialism.

Other political carcass, a lackey "minister", who also comes from the late "FNLA" is Alexandre Taty, ex-minister of justice and defence of Holden (I3). He also manoeuvred by the imperialists in order to sabotage our struggle in the 2nd political-military region (the district of Cabinda). Deriving his origin from FNLA he makes, in 1965, a puppet movement and sends arm and baggage on behalf of the Portuguese colonialism in order to organize unitary of the contra-guerilla, called "special groups", incorporated with the Portuguese army. He was even made a colonel in the very bosom of the Portuguese army! Today he is put in a Portuguese prison.

But the English puppets are condemned to defeat verywhere. Standing up against the Portuguese army and the puppets, the liberation forces of MPLA have succeeded in mobilizing the masses and in fighting the bands of Taty. In this way we have been able to break the plot of sabotage against our struggle in the 2nd political-military region (the district of Cabinda).

These three agents of imperialism, Holden-Taty-Savimbi (I4) brought much trouble upon our people, but they have not been able to stop MPLA from continuing the battle and from appearing as the only and authentic force of vanguard carrying the liberation-battle on in Angola.

What does the Portuguese Colonialism mean to Angola?

The Portuguese colonial-fascist government carried on a war on three fronts. The war of Angola is the most important one because of the strategic-military and economic facts. In Angola the Portuguese government concentrates most of its troops, more than 130.000 men, of which 60.000 soldiers belong to the army, navy and the air force. The rest are puppet soldiers, mercenaries from Katanga (ex-servants of Tshombe), mercenaries, soldiers and pilots of the regular South-African army, political Portuguese police, PIDE, the fiscal guards, the puppet militia and militia of armed colonists, called "Provincial organisation of volunteers for civil defence" (OPVDCA).

Angola has about 6.000.000 inhabitants, of which 400.000 are Portuguese colonists. There is no justification at all for the Portuguese presence in our country: it is only most important for the Portuguese government and its bourgeoisie to command our people at any price and to draw profit from our national wealth.

The Portuguese government has often given prominence to the strategic position of Angola, attending to that the allied from NATO necessarily have to defend the South-Atlantic way



Result of the Portuguese bombing.

whith a view to discern a greater engagement of its power concerning to the plan of "defence" of the South-Atlantic. What the Portuguese government really wants-and it doesn't conceal that - is to receive more military support, with a view to extend its plan of aggressive war in our country. Inside the country it increases the suppression of our people and has built more prisons than schools. Using its deceitful propaganda it tries every time to fool the Angolan masses, at the same time as its aeroplanes and helicopters are spoiling the harvests of manioc, buckwheat, maize and various fruits in our liberated region, using chemical products, which are stripping the leaves off. These products have been given from the partners in Nato.

But the Portuguese government can not master our popular struggle. Thus it organizes in October 1969 so called legislative elections for the national

assembly in Lisbon. Less than 1% of the Angolan population are joining this farce. The 7 Portuguese persons who have come forward as candidates for Angola considered themselves as chosen already before the election-comedy. On the conditions of the colonial Portuguese regime, the Angolans are not permitted to vote. These elections were a real masquerade. It also was a defeat for Caetano and the very beginning of his famous liberality, a "dismal cookery" which fooled nobody.

MPLA knew very well the cynical manners of the Portuguese colonialism and has asked our people not to participate in this action. The result made known afterwards has been another victory for MPLA, turning towards, in the right direction.

In 1969 hundreds of Angolans were arrested in Luanda, accused of having collaborated with the first political-military region of MPLA. Some of them were deported to the island of Cap Verde and others into concentration-camps in the south of the country. Their only crime is that they want our country to be independent and the Portuguese colonialism to be completely brought to an end on our ground. Facing the determination of our people, the Portuguese colonialism intensifies its allied with South-African and Rhodesian racists at the same time as they propose a dialogue with certain countries in Africa, officially asking the members of Nato to organize military bases in the Angolan territory and to place the ports of Angola at the disposal of the navy of the NATO-countries.

Facing the smarting defeats according to the political plan, violent military offensives from our armed forces have forced the enemy to take more support from the South-African forces, at the same time as they try to provide himself with most modern material of war. They multiply the purchases of helicopters, armours, aeroplanes etc. Today more than 59% of the national budget of Portugal is devoted to war expenses. The number of desertions is increasing in the enemy ranks. The Portuguese government executes its plan concerning constructions, new strategic routes, modernizes and extends the ground for the aviation (Serpa, Pinto, Luanda for example) with a view to admit more mobility to its armed forces, which since 1970 are provided with helicopters PUMA and guns US M16.

The military operations during the dry season, such as "ACUCENA", "HORA H" and others are so organized that they are counterbalanced by the defeats. The enemy are forced to abandon the barracks at the same time as they discontinue the administrative and civil activities in these regions. Our armed forces have made progress on various fronts. At the end of 1970 we have crushed the Portuguese position of defence, established on the plateau of Bié and Malanje, crossing the Cuanza river. The enemy begin more and more to show indications of weakness. In 1971, the enemy have succeeded in organizing no offensive operation during the dry season.

The opposition is increasing in Portugal, especially among the students and the young workers in Lisbon and Coimbra. The enemy is profiting from arresting Angolan students in Portugal on pretext of their being members of MPLA (among these is the president of honour of MPLA, the reverend Pinto de Andrade) accused for wanting to separate Angola from the so called Mother-Country. They are organizing an process in the view of applying imprisonment during one to four years, followed by taking steps of safety-measures for an unlimited period.

Isolated from the international point of view and longing to give their services to the imperialism, the government of Caetano draws together, organizes and finances mercenary com-

mands in order to attacking Guinea-Conakry and instal a reasonable puppet government. The attack on the 22nd of November 1970 fails and Portugal has been declared an assailant of Guinea-Conakry by a resolution given by the security council of the United Nations. In July 1971 the Portuguese colonialist have made efforts to attack also in Zambia, but they failed in their undertaking, thanks to the determination of the African people to defend their independence.

MPLA as a vanguard irreplaceable to the armed Angolan people

Wherever there is a Colonial-Empire oppression the resistance has necessarily to be organized by a vanguard movement. Under these circumstances MPLA has succeeded in organizing, in our country, the popular power, fullfilling its historic role as a vanguard organization on the ground of the political-military battle.

The inhabitants living in these liberated regions are organized under guidance directly elected by the people. This is very important. The people are, as a matter of fact, taking part of the right of democracy and independence by the voluntary training. The committees of action are occupied with the production, with organizing the self-defense of every village as well as the administration of justice.

The organizations of the masses are also active: the organization of women in Angola (OMA), National Union of Angolan workers (UNTA), Popular Youth Movement of the Liberation of Angola (JMPLA), of which the organization of pioneers (OPA) is one branch and the Union of Angolan Students (UEA) is another.

In the fields of education, we have built elementary schools in the liberated zones. The teaching and the practical work is adapted to the conditions and practice of our country. We created the Revolutionary Education Center (C.I.R.) in order to achieve the practical education of the militants. For ideological orientation we created the study ideological groups to implement and orientation for the political debate inside our organisation.

In the field of Health assistance settled the Medical Assistance Service (SAM), to give the necessary help to the wounded fighters and to overcome the diseases. The Angola Red Cross have been created in order to assure the contacts and received support from their brother organisations, according to the Geneva convention.

Military situation

The offensives of the MPLA are now carried out in the framework of spreading the struggle all over our country. At the same time we are consolidating our control in the liberated areas, doing away with the traces of colonialist regime. This is done by mobilizing the masses giving them better national consciousness. The colonialist troops are now scared thinking that they have already lost the war. Our guerillas are now causing the colonialists ever greater losses in all regions. The fact that we are spreading our

struggle all over our country has framed our eliminating of enemy soldiers as well as mercenaries. They still use methods of terror, genocide, forced resettlement, etc. against our people. In our liberated areas there are still some enemy garrisons which are attacking. The enemy can't move with infantry any more. Shut-up in their garrisons they have to wait for support from aeroplanes. The enemy has been forced by our artillery to evacuate many garrisons: Monteiro, Samaria, Luatamba, Karipande, Lumbale etc. The enemy is now politically and militarily finding himself in a defensive position. The armed forces of the MPLA continue their attacks against the enemy in order to defeat him finally and in order to liberate our country and the people in the "strategic hamlets" (in Angola usually called "ndandandas").

More than 1/3 of our country (500 000 km²) has been liberated. In this area there are about 1 000 000 inhabitants. This is the biggest area that any African liberation movement for the time being has been liberating. Our liberated areas constitute a secure refuge to those Angolans who are still living in areas controlled by our enemy. In those enemy areas the colonialists are inflicting institutionalized violence. They are making crime into a legal thing and they are committing genocide in order to be able to stick to their positions in Africa. Slavery, corruption and violence are everyday things in the areas controlled by the Portuguese colonialists. And in the streets of Lisbon certain officers are walking around decorated with the ears and the fingers etc. of mutilated or killed Angolan patriots.

In spite of this criminal policy our people is understanding that the only way of defeating the Portuguese is a better political consciousness among the freedom fighters as well as the Angolan population.

Our movement is above all getting its support from the peasants (80% of the people), from the workers in the cities and at the countryside and from revolutionary intellectuals. But we are also in the cities mobilizing middle-class people opposed to the colonialists. The political struggle in the cities is a clandestine one, preparing the final stage of our national liberation struggle.

The MPLA has always been in favour of revolutionary unity. To Holden Roberto we have given lots of calls for cooperation in order to strengthen our struggle.

But in vain ... Mobutu denies the militants of the MPLA the right to pass Congolese area, which means that he is breaking against the resolution of OAU in the transit question. His equation: Mobutu equals to Holden minus MPLA is going to be strongly opposed among the Angolans. Our liberation struggle is aiming at the building of a socialist society - which is the right of our people as of other peoples. (15)



Give us
helicopters!

National reconstruction and international solidarity

The development of Angola is revealing that the Portuguese war of aggression is bound to bring about disaster to Lisbon. The shift of power to Caetano couldn't change the fact that Portuguese colonialism is getting to a pretty pass. The only solution is unconditional end to colonialism as well as the aggressive war against our people.

The Portuguese regime has lost every chance to persuading the Angolan people. Marcello Caetano insolently stated (April 1970) that "self determination" by no means could be given by handing over any responsibility to "the wild men of the savannahs". This proves the racism of colonialist ideology. The forces of the MPLA are meeting the colonialist tricks by intensification of the armed struggle. This is elevating the struggle into more advanced levels. The leadership of the MPLA categorically has refused that false "independence", which the Portuguese regime wants to introduce in Angola in order to give way to a new Rhodesian-styled regime. The steering committee of the MPLA on February 4 1971 made the following historically important statement: "We have to create suitable structures in order to continue our struggle until our people could achieve complete freedom - complete independence, benefitting all our people. We carry on our struggle."

In fact our people is already working to build a new society in our liberated areas. In those areas the power of the people is practiced in all fields: political, economical, social and cultural. That's why you have to consider our liberated areas as a developing country into which you ought to canalize all aid given.

We are reconstructing our society in the fields of medical care, education, agriculture, handicraft and small scale industry. Several journalists (16), film directors, foreign correspondents, delegation of international organizations and military research teams of the OAU (Organization of African Unity) have been visiting some twenty or thirty villages, situated at a distance of many miles from each other, in our liberated zones. They have enjoyed the traditional hospitality of our people and they have seen the enthusiasm shown by our people and our guerrilla to fulfil their tasks of reinforcing the people's power, of working in the agricultural field, of educating themselves politically and militarily and of teaching children as well as grown-up people to read and to write. They have also seen the colonialist oppression and the unmeasurable suffering of our people.

Our reconstruction is guided by the principle of relying upon our own forces. In that way every day life of our people is thoroughly transformed. The power is taken from the colonialists, given to the MPLA and then to the people. That's how our movement has become the legal representative of the people of Angola.

International solidarity means a lot to the acceleration of our victory and of our national reconstruction. Politically, diplomatically, materially and morally this support facilitates the solution of different practical problems that are great obstacles to our people.

Almost everywhere in Europe there are already support groups or committees in favour of the MPLA and the Angolan people. In Europe some support is also given by humanitarian organizations, political parties and some social organizations, mobilizing the opinion of their countries to give some aid for our national reconstruction.

Certain movements, allies of Portugal through NATO are more and more openly criticizing the support granted by NATO to the Portuguese colonial war in Angola. This support, given by NATO explains why the colonialists are still able to suppress our country.

Foreign policy of the MPLA

The struggle of our Angolan people against Portuguese colonialism is not an isolated one. Portuguese colonialism has been condemned everywhere and is now getting isolated. It's important to stress the peculiarities of our struggle, but still that struggle is part of the common struggle of all peoples of the world against colonialism, neo-colonialism (headed by US-imperialism). The MPLA considers as necessary the building of a broad united front of all peoples, combatting imperialism, trying to stop the war schemes of imperialists and racists, trying to win independence, peace and social progress.

In Africa the imperialists are using Portuguese colonialism as a means of exploiting our national resources. The war waged by Portugal in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau constitutes an important element in the global strategy of imperialists.

We vigorously support the struggle of our brothers in Mozambique. The FRELIMO is guiding the Mocambiquan struggle against our common enemy: Portuguese capitalism in Southern Africa. We also support the struggle of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and Cap Verde, guided by the PAIGC. We grant our determined support to the struggle against racism and neo-colonialism in Southern Africa.

In Asia US-imperialism is controlling Taiwan, rightfully the property of the People's Republic of China. US-imperialism militarily is also controlling the Southern part of Korea, is acting aggressively against the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and is impeding the reunification of the country.

In Indo-China the US-imperialists are waging quite openly an aggressive war against the people of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. US-imperialism is using Japanese militarism to expand its attacking projects and its seaching of more puppets willing to be obedient tools of the US-imperialists and their war in Asia.

We vigorously support the national liberation struggle waged by the Indo-Chinese peoples against US-imperialism and puppet regimes. The three peoples of Indochina are united under the guidance of their organizations: NLF and PRG in South Vietnam, FUNC with Norodom Sihanouk in Cambodia and Pathet Lao in Laos. They are constantly defeating the US-imperialists and their lackeys who are getting more and more isolated.

We express our respect for the People's Republic of China, which constitutes a great support to the socialist revolution of the world. We give our strong support to the decision taken by the Chinese people of the liberating Taiwan.

We also express our respect for the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and we vigorously support the eight point program put forward by its government and worker's party in order to reunite

the country and put an end to the illegal wielding of power by the US-imperialists and the Pak Jung Hi-regime.

In Latin America the masses are making preparations against the fraudulent policy of the US-imperialists, using local puppets to maintain their neo-colonial dominance. We vigorously support the struggle for independence and freedom which the peoples of Latin America are waging.

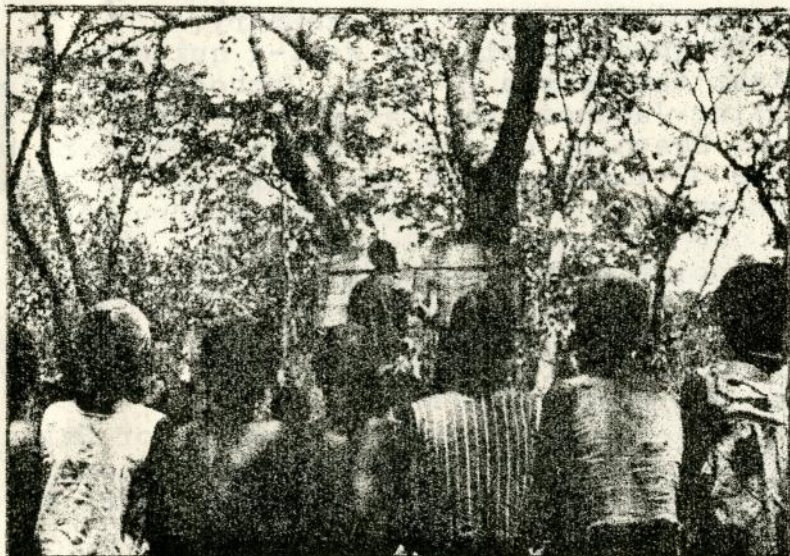
But American imperialism is weakened by its internal contradictions and by the opposition that is growing in the United States as well. We appreciate the struggle of the Afro-American people against the bourgeois, bellicose, racist system which is exploiting the workers - particularly the black workers.

The internal contradictions of imperialism are developing in Europe. The masses of Portugal have a growing consciousness that the war of Caetano is not the war of the masses. They are beginning to understand the causes of their misery and illiteracy, the causes of discrimination and lack of freedom in Portugal. Portuguese workers now have to emigrate and they are being transformed into the most enslaved workers in all developed countries of Europe. At the same time as the workers, the peasants and the students are achieving political consciousness, there is also potent opposition against colonial war of aggression that the Portuguese fascist regime is waging against our people. The people of Portugal is now through armed actions and secret democratic organisations developing the struggle against the war.

We salute those victorious actions as ours, hoping that this kind of actions will be developed from Minho to Algarve in order to paralyse the machinery of war. We support the struggle of the Portuguese people against misery, exploitation and illiteracy in order to arrive at social progress and democracy in Portugal.

We are also supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people in the Middle East. Their right of existing freely on their own ground is obvious. We condemn the Israeli aggression and occupation of Arab territories.

We express our sorrow that the majority of workers in European capitalist countries are not yet conscious of the different weaponry delivered to the Lisbon regime. Panhard-tanks, helicopters models Alouette 2 and 3, SA 330, Sikorsky, Augusta, naval ships and submarines, vedettes, aeroplanes models Dornier Fiat, G 19, machine-guns model Breda etc - all these weapons are produced by workers of West European countries to be delivered to Portugal. We are hoping for an international solidarity campaign against these deliveries of weapons.



The principles guiding our foreign policy are distinct. The MPLA has got - you can't repeat that too often - a program directed against all forms of imperialist, colonial or neo-colonial oppression and exploitation. During our struggle we have always untiringly - despite lots of different difficulties - taken an independent attitude to the benefit of our people. We really appreciate the understanding of this attitude, shown by all true friends.

Our independent policy adapts itself very well to the reality of our struggle. An independent line of our policy and of our positions in regard to international problems and matters of solidarity does harmonize with our international interests.

For the time being the African countries and all socialist countries and some other countries do understand our policy, based on independence and international solidarity. The support for the struggle of our people is growing everywhere, our independent policy is getting more well-known and more respected.

Conclusion

Ten years of armed struggle have brought our people to understand better and hate more Portuguese colonialism and to fight with determination against the "natoization" of its war. Portugal's troops are suffering bitter defeats in its war of aggression in Angola. In the 500.000 square kilometres of liberated areas a new life has emerged and a nation is recovering its dignity in building a new Angola.

The Angolan people are more determined than ever to fight the enemy until final victory.

Victory is Certain!

Notes:

- I. Cf articles by Gilbert Comte, Le Monde Jan. 4-5-6 1972.
2. Articles in Chinese papers (Peking information 4/1971).
3. Cf Perry Anderson "Le Portugal et la fin del'ultracolonialism", Maspero, Paris, pp 164.
4. Vorster has stated that the frontier of South Africa is extending from northern Angola into northern Mozambique.
5. Cf the Cunene project.
6. Malawi, Zaire, Botswana, Lesotho, Ngwame.
7. Cf the program of MPLA.
8. 98 % illiteracy in Angola, Mozambique and Guinee-Bissau, 46% in Portugal.
9. Observer, May 5 1961.
10. Mobutu - growingly Bonaparte-styled - was installed after July 1960, when the US-imperialists under the flag of UN invaded Congo-Kinshasa.
- II. One exiled "representative" of the UNITA Jorge Valentim was an agent of the CIA already when he represented Holden-CIA in Katanga. He has been the "secretary general" of COSEC-CIE (CIA-influenced

organization of students) residing in Leiden (Holland). Thanks to his excellent services there he became the representative of the UNITA in Belgium.

12. Cf "Report of a visit to the liberated areas of Angola" ed by SYL (Finnish organization of students) Febr 14 1971, Helsinki pp 61, Mikko Lohikoski and Börje Mattsson: "...Our visit to the eastern provinces also helped to clarify another important aspect. It is claimed that there are three active liberation movements in Angola: besides the MPLA, the so-called FNLA and the UNITA claim to hold large parts of the country. It was possible for us to verify the accuracy of the claims of the latter, in particular. The UNITA does maintain that it is active precisely in the regions we visited. Our observations about it clearly prove that its propaganda is not based on facts. It has no organised activity in the eastern areas of Angola, nor elsewhere in the country."
13. The MPLA is still combatting every attempt (however imaginative) of counter-revolution. Eg Holden proved his great imagination when he (after the recognition by OAU, May 1963) stated that he had liberated 40 000 square kilometres in Cabinda. Geographically this is impossible as the area of Cabinda measures only 6 000 square kilometres.
14. Neo-colonialism is their common denominator.
15. Interview with president Agostinho Neto, Sunday News, Tanzania, Aug 20 1972: "About the organisation of the economy we say that the Angolan people must have the riches of our country, we must give fair wages to avoid exploitation of the workers, and so on. This is what is normally called the socialist way. It is socialist because we don't intend to allow either Angolans or foreigners to exploit others in the country. This is our orientation, our line. We think that ideologically we follow not necessarily the communist or Marxist line but we follow the socialist line, with justice for everyone."
16. Stefan di Stefano, Basil Davidson, Cécile Huguel, Der Spiegel, etc.
17. Some governments still guide a policy of support that is inconsistent. They are economically, financially and militarily granting their support to the Portuguese regime at the same time as they give humanitarian aid to the MPLA, the FRELIMO and the PAIGC. The two kinds of support of course are incommensurable.



Declaration on Vietnam from the MPLA executive committee

Facing the heroic determination of the Vietnamese people to fight the American imperialists until the final victory, facing the unyielding and successful resistance of the other Indochinese peoples, and also facing a condemnation, that grows stronger and stronger, from peoples all over the world, the president of the United States, Richard Nixon, has been forced to put forward a so called "peace plan" of eight items, to solve the Vietnamese conflict.

Mr. Nixon's proposal does not bring anything fundamentally different to the position already taken by the American imperialists. It is nothing but a smoke-screen to hide, from the American people and the other peoples of the world, the deliberate intention to keep South Vietnam under neo-colonial regime, dominated by American imperialism.

As a matter of fact no date-limit has been fixed for the total withdrawal of the American troops, which is the first condition for a solution of the problem. Moreover, according to the American plan, the elections in South Vietnam would take place in a country in which the detested presence of an intervening army, like a cancerous pest, would prevent the elections from being democratic.

The American peace-plan has no other aim than to gain time, in order to intensify the vietnamisation of the war, increase the political and military puppet-structures, only to create definitely the imperialistic domination of all Indochina.

The character of mendacity of this Nixon-plan has been clearly shown by the Revolutionary Provisional Government of South Vietnam in its declaration of the 2nd of January 1972, which in an objective way makes clear that only the seven points plan of the RPG and the nine points plan of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, can be serious basis when solving the Vietnamese conflict.

The Mpla executive committee brings the total and militant support, from the people of Angola at arms, and from its vanguard, the MPLA, of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, which sets an uncompairable example for the revolutionaries of the world.

The MPLA executive committee supports the peace-scheme put forward by the RPG and by the government of the DRV, underlining the importance of the declaration from the RPG of the 2nd of January 1972.

The MPLA executive committee reassures you its unyielding confidence in total victory of the Vietnamese people together with all the peoples of Indochina, over the American imperialism.



US plane shot down by MPLA armed forces.

The Cunene Project

Why an agreement about the Cunene?

The part of the river running east-west serves as border between Angola and Namibia (South-West-Africa). This is one of the reasons why the racist republic of South-Africa is concerned also about the future of the part under Portuguese control.

In fact, water rights on the Cunene have been a source of dispute since the 19th century. In 1886, the German Emperor and the King of Portugal reached an agreement; but after W.W.I. the dispute flared up again, this time between Portugal and South Africa which had been entrusted by "The League of Nations", with the mandate of the ex-colony of Germany. In 1926, a compromise was reached giving South Africa the right to construct, with or without the participation of Portugal, a dam on the Cunene river to guarantee the water supply of Ovamboland (northern part of Namibia). The negotiations were interrupted and resumed only in 1962.

What are the reasons for the revival of the project?

The outbreak of the armed struggle of the Angolan people the 4th of February 1961, directed by its leading organization MPLA; the intensification of the liberation struggle among the brother peoples of Namibia and South-Africa; and the international public opinion, particularly the United Nations (condemning the Pretoria government for its racist and annexationist policies): these main factors made the colonialist Portuguese and the racist South Africans put aside their previous disputes in their need for rapid action against the liberation movements of that part of Africa. As we shall see further, the Cunene project will contribute, in the present politico-economic context of Angola and Namibia, to the strengthening to the power of the settlers, to increase profits on foreign capital invested in that region, and consequently to the maintenance of the status quo; i.e., never to the socio-economic benefit of the African people. This the defenders of the project cynically affirm.

Despite the presence of common objectives the economic contradictions between Portugal and South Africa delayed the final signing of the contract until January, 1969, although a preliminary agreement was signed in 1964.

The Portuguese colonialists wanted the Cunene negotiations to depend on those concerning the Cabora Bassa project which they held more important because:

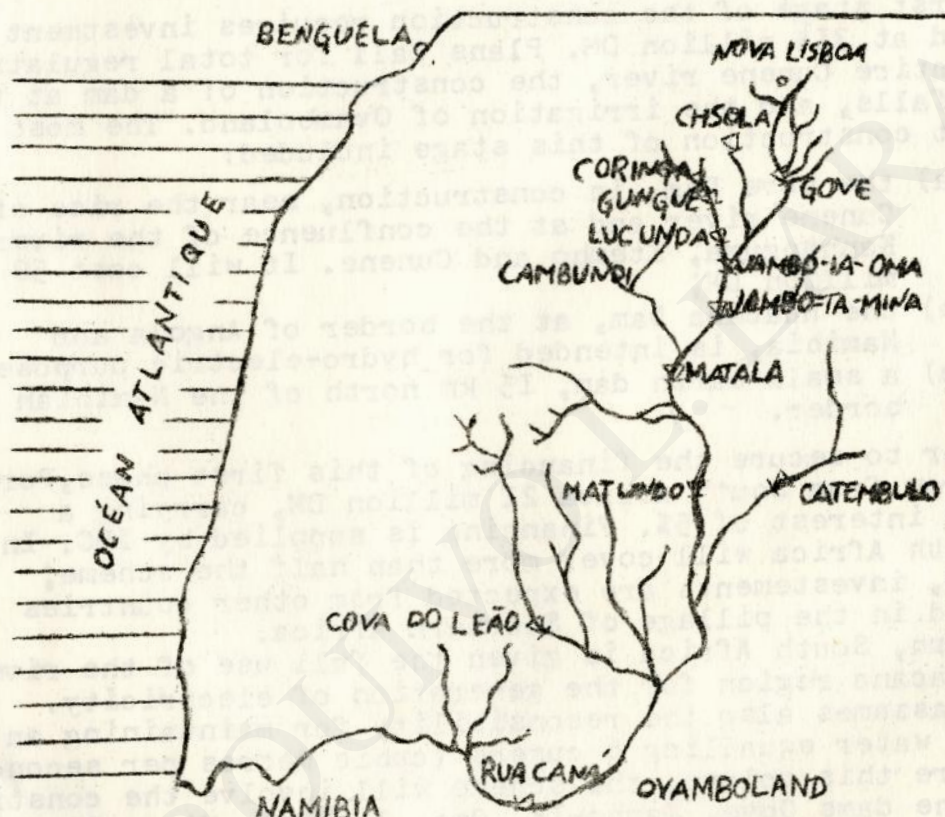
- the Cabora Bassa would be profitable only on the conditions that electric power could be provided on a long-term basis, and
- South Africa, on its side, used Portugal's agreement to the Cunene project as a condition for its import of power from the Cabora Bassa.

Geophysical data

The Cunene river takes its rise in the Huambo region and parallels the coast-line at a distance of about three hundred

kilometers, traversing highlands up to the point where the heights recede to the West. The river-bed then takes a bend towards the Atlantic Ocean, leaving on its way a whole network of intermittent rivers from the nearby veld - some losing themselves in the desolate expanses of the so-called "Salted Pond" to the South-East.

The course of the river is 830 km. It crosses on its way four different zones of rainfall. Firstly, the central region with abundant and regular rains, extending in the North to the Nova Lisboa region; secondly, the precipitation zone of 50-100 mm further to the South; thirdly, the precipitation zone of 25-50 mm covering half of the river's course towards the sea; and finally, the zone pertaining to the desert with a precipitation of less than 25 mm.



The river Cunene.

II. THE PROJECT

General

The entire Cunene scheme will be developed by stages involving the construction of many dams, a number of power plants, and irrigation facilities such as pipelines and canals. The cost of the project is estimated at 17,48 billion escudos, the equivalent of 2,2 billion DM, thus exceeding the Cabora Bassa project in Mozambique by about 700 mill. DM.

Construction and financing

Construction is administered by the "South-West African Water and Electricity Commission" (SWAWEC) which is composed of: the Department of Water Affairs, Windhoek and Pretoria, directing water installations; the Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM), Johannesburg, responsible for the generation and distribution

of electric power, and the Industrial Development Corporation (IDCW, Johannesburg, a semi-state enterprise that will be responsible for the fiscal coordination and financing. The latter has extended credit to Portugal equivalent with the country's participation in the project, that is 50%.

On the Portuguese side, overall direction of the project is the responsibility of the "Gabinete do Plano do Cunene". One of its offices is in Sá da Bandeira, capital of the province of Huila. It is in charge of the work and the studies dealing with the establishing of an agrotechnical research center set up near Rocardas, capital of the district of Cunene.

The first stage of the project

The first stage of the construction requires investment estimated at 314 million DM. Plans call for total regulation of the entire Cunene river, the construction of a dam at the Ruacana falls, and the irrigation of Ovamboland. The most important construction of this stage included:

- a) the Gove Dam, in construction, near the rise of Cunene river and at the confluence of the rivers Kanhanguma, Etembo and Cunene. It will cost 50 million DM;
- b) the Ruacana Dam, at the border of Angola and Namibia, is intended for hydro-electric purposes;
- c) a small earth dam, 15 km north of the Namibian border.

In order to secure the financing of this first phase, Portugal will borrow from South Africa 21 million DM, carrying a long-term interest of 5%. Financing is supplied by IDC. In fact, South Africa will cover more than half the scheme; meanwhile, investments are expected from other countries interested in the pillage of Southern Africa.

In return, South Africa is given the full use of the river in the Ruacana region for the generation of electricity. Portugal assumes also the responsibility for maintaining an amount of water equalling 6 cumecs (cubic metres per second).

To assure this volume, the scheme will involve the construction of the dams Gove, Jamba-Ia, Oma, Jamba-Ia-Mina, Chamingo, Cambundi, Catembulo, Calueque etc. By the constructions of these and others of minor importance the amount of water will be raised from the level of 5 cumecs to 150 cumecs.

South Africa agrees to pay the Portuguese colonialists a compensation of 1.800.000 FF for the lands flooded by the creation of the 10 km long Calueque lake.

Gove Dam

This is the most important dam of the first phase of the project (about 80 million FF). The dam was designed by a Portuguese engineering office and a Portuguese firm started work in 1969.

Situated 100 km from Huambo (Nova Lisboa), it will be 58 m high, and will create an artificial lake 178 km long holding 2,6 million m³ of water. It will also increase the output of electric power of the Malata Dam, which actually supplies electricity to two cities, Sá-la-Bandeira and Mocamedes. The latter serves as the loading place for iron ore from Cassinga (I) mines exploited by the "Companhia Mineira do Lobita" (CML).

A high-voltage line and the necessary transformers will

be built from Malata-Jamba to Tchamutete to supply this mining center with power. The Portuguese colonialist authorities, by the intermediate "Junta Provincial de Electrificacao de Angola", have granted a loan of about 12,5 million of FF for the execution of the project. Presently, thermo-electricity is used at the Cassinga mines.

The Gove Dam, thanks to a network of pipe-lines, will provide water for framing and cattle ranching over an area of 80.000 hectares as well as the irrigation of an additional 20.000 hectares of arable land between Quiteve and Humbe. The establishment of plots of 60-180 ha are planned for the Quiteve-Huambo region. The Portuguese colonialists hope to increase the number of settlers in Cunene by putting up 33 settlements between 400 and 1.200 hectares each.

The Ruacana Dam

This dam will have a generating capacity of 240 to 300 megawatts per hour at 125 cumecs with a 134 m fall. High-voltage lines are planned to the mining centres of Tsumeb and Grootfontein, and to Walvis Bay, centre of the fishing industry. For the project to be profitable, it is scheduled in the contract, that the racists of Pretoria will pay their accomplice an indemnity for the surplus water, i.e., in addition to the minimum KWh fixed by the contract.

The Calueque Dam, located 40 km to the north of Ruacana is designed to control the flow of Cunene and to divert water for use in Ovamboland. Construction has started on a pipe-line and a power plant capable of 2,5 MW, both destined to supply a pumping station for diverting water (6 cumecs) to the northern region of Namibia.

According to the Portuguese colonialists, the completion of these works was scheduled for the end of 1971. It represents 50% of the estimated production.

Two pipelines of 1,5 m diameter and 2.500 m long will bring the water to a pond and from there to the border of Namibia by 12,5 km canal. This sandy-soiled region of 5,6 million ha is at an attitude of 600 meters and has a population of 270.000. Its green landscapes are suitable for ranching; but, the water shortage prevents large settlements, since under present conditions the cattle must frequently move from one pasture to another.

The rivers forming the border to the North, Cunene, Okavango, Kuando as well as the Zambeze on the Caprivi strip, and Orange to the South, can provide a constant supply of water. Consequently, during the 8 months of dry season, the farmers have^{at} their disposal only the water reserv from the Oshana, filled in the rainy season. Water, previously flowed naturally to the area from Angola is becoming more and more scarce as the natural water courses (Oshanas) have been clogged with silt. Thus construction of canals.

The remaining phases of the scheme

The general plan for hydroelectric development involves the construction of 12 dams to the north of Calueque with a total capacity of 227,5 MW, totalling annually 1006,36 W.(2)

In the agricultural sector, development of the following regions is scheduled thus: Malata (3.000 ha.), Matuno (92.800 ha.), Katembulo (13.800 ha.), Chibia (1.000 ha.) and Cova de Leao (17.900 ha.) for a total of 128.500 ha.

Finally, the project will create favorable conditions for

large scale cattle ranching, especially in Matuno, Katembulo and Cova do Leao, over an area of about 350.000 ha. As for ranching and meat production, Angola would become another Argentine.

III. THE CUNENE SCHEME AND THE IMPERIALIST STRATEGY IN

SOUTHERN AFRICA

As mentioned, the Cunene scheme is closely related to the common strategy of Portuguese colonialism and the racist régime of South Africa in their struggles against the liberation movements of the African territories they occupy. However, this scheme, together with that of Cabora-Bassa, cannot be separated from the stragedy of imperialism for Southern Africa; its economic, political, and military support (e.g., sale of arms) has become a prerequisite for the existence of Portuguese colonialism as well as the racist régimes of this part of Africa.

Therefore, to strengthen this holy alliance, we find in Angola, as in Namibia, the undertaking of projects which directly strengthen the economic power of the colonialists and racist minorities on one side, and on the other side the development of the economic sector under the control of foreign capital; American, English, West German, French etc. And now, let us look at:

South Africa

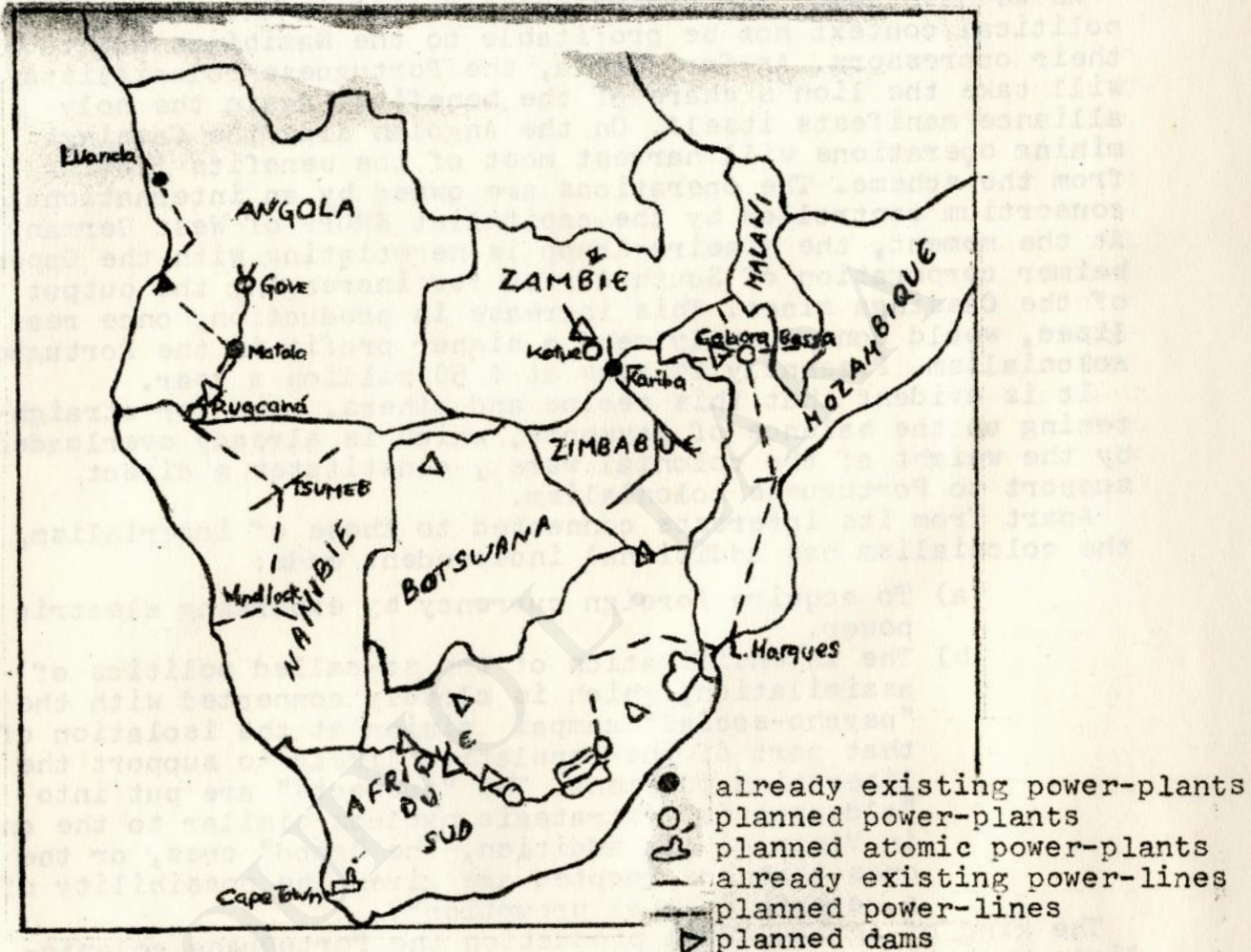
Apart from the common interests of the apartheid régime and the Portuguese colonialists in strengthening their political alliance and giving it a solid material basis, Pretoria has separate political interests in the Cunene scheme. By granting South Africa the mandate over Namibia (South-West Africa) in 1946, the intention of the United Nations was that South Africa, as soon as possible, should "create for South-West African population the political, social and economic conditions necessary for the realization of its rights to self-determination". But the racist régime, according to ultra-colonial strategy, held a "referendum" among the white population serving as the "juridical basis" for the annexation, formally brought about in 1949. Until now South Africa has ignored all criticism from the U.N. Shamelessly it continued the economic integration of the territory so as to establish - against the international public opinion - as a *fait accompli* its right to maintain its rule over Namibia. In this sense the Cunene scheme serves the economic interests of South Africa; it is a concrete contribution to the policy discussed above.

As for the economic development attributed to the construction of the project, it is nothing but a smoke screen behind which hides the imperialist defenders of the scheme in its present political context.

For example, the irrigation facilities and the economic development planned leave, at first sight, the impression that the scheme, when completed, will mean the socio-economic promotion of the African people of Namibia, the majority of which are peasants. In fact, the entire population of Namibia will no doubt profit, to a certain extent, from the increased supply of water from Angola. But this criterion, more emotional than rational, cannot serve as the basis for our analysis. We must consider the benefits to all concerned parties. The scheme, for example, does not include the power stations in South Africa. It is also clear that the settlers and the foreign companies engaged in cattle-ranching stand to benefit the most. Like the

TSUMEB Co. Ltd. which owns, in the district of Grootfontein, farming and cattle-raising enterprises covering an area of 59.850 acres (app. 24.300 ha).

WATER POWER RESOURCES AND ELECTRIC POWER IN SOUTH AFRICA.



Who will benefit the most from the electric power ?

Even if short of water, Namibia is a country rich on minerals. Today, several companies mine and export diamonds (de Beer Consolidated Mines, Marine Diamond Co. Ltd., Consolidated Diamond Mines of South-West Africa Ltd. etc), copper, lithium, vanadium, germanium (Tsumeb Co. Ltd. which is a subsidiary of American Metals Climax, South-West Africa Co. Ltd. etc) and uranium (Rio Tinto Zink on a contract with the British Atomic Energy Authority and the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa).

In fact, the shortage of electric power represented a serious obstacle to the further development of the mining industry. The projects of Cabora Bassa and Cunene will mean new sources of power for the mining enterprises of Namibia and South Africa. This electric power as well as the African's cheap labour to the extraction of great profits by the foreign monopolies (3), to an even greater exploitation of masses of workers, and consequently to the strengthening of the racist, anti-democratic and anti-human régime. These are the present - and future -

characteristics of the Pretoria government, even if it will be forced to raise the wages of the African workers (4) or to adopt other measures of "liberalization" in order to stimulate the internal market.

The Portuguese interests

As we have seen, the Cunene project will in the present political context not be profitable to the Namibians but to their oppressors. As for Angola, the Portuguese colonialists will take the lion's share of the benefits. Again the holy alliance manifests itself. On the Angolan side the Cassinga mining operations will harvest most of the benefits flowing from the scheme. The operations are owned by an international consortium controlled by the capitalist KRUPP of West Germany. At the moment, the Mineira-Krupp is negotiating with the Oppenheimer corporation of South Africa for increasing the output of the Cassinga mines. This increase in production, once realized, would consequently mean a higher profit in the Portuguese colonialism. Presently it runs at \$ 50 million a year.

It is evident that this recipe and others, used for straightening up the balance of payments, which is already overloaded by the weight of the colonial wars, constitutes a direct support to Portuguese colonialism.

Apart from its interests connected to those of imperialism, the colonialism has additional independent ends:

- a) To acquire foreign currency by exporting electric power.
- b) The intensification of the so-called politics of assimilation, which is closely connected with the "psycho-social" campaign aiming at the isolation of that part of the population likely to support the liberation movement. The "suspects" are put into "aldeamentos" (strategic hamlets similar to the ones in Vietnam). In addition, the "good" ones, or the ones that are coopted are given the possibility of a certain "social promotion".

The kind of agricultural production the Portuguese colonialists hope to establish in the 128.500 ha areas of Matunto, Cova do Leao etc. as in the other areas that drain into Cunene river, fits these ends well.

The UN report A/7623, annex 3, of the 25/9/69, page 59 and the Portuguese colonialist press give more details about the subject. The press affirms that the settlement plans for the above regions make provision for the "installation" of 6.233 land families, each on a 20 ha farm growing corn, wheat and cotton; the "fixation" of 37.000 people and the "utilization" of 73.000 workers.

It should be noted that the creation of farms of 20 hectares would require the total amount of land available to provide 6.233 "land families" with farms. The rest would receive no land at all. The explanation for this is contained in the above UN document, where the Portuguese term "fixacao" is used for the regrouping of the African people and the term "instalacao" refers to white settlers. Also in the Angolan press, the Portuguese colonialists affirm their intention to create in the Quiteve-Humbo region, plots of 60-180 ha each.

As with all imperialist-capitalist companies, the calculations were made without considering the people concerned, in this case the Angolan people. Shamelessly, the Portuguese colonialists affirm that for the development of the land they will

apply their experience acquired from other projects such as Cele and Matala. So, that will mean an even heavier exploitation of the masses of Angolan peasants to the benefit of the Portuguese, Italian, Rhodesian and South African settlers.

Therefore, in the supreme interest of the national liberation struggle of the Angolan people, the MPLA will find suitable ways and means to oppose and defeat all suc- colonialist and imperialist manoeuver, aiming at perpetuating their exploitation.

Victory Is Certain!

Notes

(1) The Cassinga iron mines are situated in the Cunene district. The resources are estimated at 120 million tons of haematite with a proportion of 62-66% of iron. We must add billions of tons of ore of a lower quality. "Companhia Mineira do Lobita" (CML), theoretically a Portuguese government enterprise, is in reality controlled by an international consortium headed by KRUPP.

This consortium has invested 100 million dollars since 1967, i.e., the largest capital investment undertaken in Angola. In order to increase production at Cassinga, the company has obtained loans of 560 million escudos. Two loans were provided by a West-German consortium, the Deutsche Union Bank of Frankfurt/Main and the Hamburgische Landesbank for a total of 420 million escudos. The remaining 140 million escudos for the project came through a loan from an international consortium headed by Bankers Trust Company of London and including, Lavora Bank A.G. of Switzerland and Monte dei Paschi di Sierra of Italy.

The production of high-grade iron had reached 5,6 million tons in 1969. The mining port of Saco, "Port Salazar" has been enlarged in order to receive ships of 100.000 tons. Works are being done to make it possible for ships of 200.000 tons.

(2) IGW=10⁹ W

(3) The above mentioned companies are not owned by the Namibian people.

(4) The pretended "dialogue" of South Africans with the African countries aims at the weakening of the national liberation movements of Southern Africa. From the economic point of view, it aims at the conquest of new markets as a alternative to the raising of wages. Yet, the short respite the Pretoria régime gains from such a move, will in the longer run contribute to the erosion of the system of apartheid.

Dams:	Gove.....	25,0	MW
	Jamba-Ia-Oma.....	39,0	MW
	Chivondua.....	15,0	MW
	Jamba-Ia-Mina.....	81,5	MW
	Matundo.....	50,0	MW
	Chissola.....	06,5	MW
	Gungué.....	04,0	MW
	Lucundu.....	06,5	MW
	Cabundi.....	14,5	MW
	Catembulo.....	05,0	MW

Bibliography:

MPLA Information, 4/71, Alger.

N.R.E., 2/71, Heidelberg.

AfricaAsia, 43/71, Paris.

W.R. Skinners, Mining Year Book, London 1970.

Publications by the MPLA representation in Sweden.

IN THE UNITED NATIONS

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY



/without reference to a Main Committee (A/L.680 and Add.1-3)/

2911 (XXVII). Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Equal Rights

The General Assembly,

Recalling the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,

Noting with satisfaction the progress towards national independence and freedom made by the national liberation movements in the colonial Territories of southern Africa and in Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde both through their struggle and through reconstruction programmes,

Conscious of the need of the peoples and the national liberation movements of those Territories for assistance and support in their struggle to achieve freedom and independence,

1. Appeals to the Governments and the peoples of the world to hold annually a Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa and Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Equal Rights and proposes that the Week should begin on 25 May, Africa Liberation Day;
2. Recommends that, on the occasion of the Week, meetings should be held, appropriate materials should be published in the press and broadcast on radio and television and public campaigns should be conducted with a view to obtaining contributions to the Assistance Fund for the Struggle against Colonialism and Apartheid established by the Organization of African Unity.

2078th plenary meeting
2 November 1972

72-22020

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

/without reference to a Main Committee (A/L.678 and Add.1 and 2)/

2909 (XXVII). Dissemination of information on decolonization

The General Assembly,

Having examined the chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to the question of publicity for the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, 1/

Recognizing the importance of publicity as an instrument for furthering the aims and purposes of the Declaration and the need for the Office of Public Information to intensify its efforts to acquaint world public opinion with all aspects of the problems of decolonization,

Bearing in mind the important role being played in the widespread dissemination of relevant information by a number of non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization,

Recalling its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and its resolution 2621 (XXV) of 12 October 1970, containing the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration,

Recalling further its resolution 2879 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971 concerning the dissemination of information on decolonization,

Conscious of the urgent need to arouse world public opinion with a view to assisting effectively the people of the colonial Territories to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence and, in particular, to intensify widespread and continuous dissemination of information on the struggle for liberation being waged by the peoples in the colonial Territories in Africa guided by their national liberation movements,

Taking into account the suggestions of the Special Committee as well as the views of the Office of Public Information on the implementation of these suggestions, as reflected in the relevant chapters of the report of the Special Committee,

Noting with satisfaction the arrangements made by the Special Committee with a view to assisting the Office of Public Information in the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee relating to the dissemination of information on decolonization,

1. Approves the chapters of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples relating to the question of publicity for the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization;

2. Reaffirms the vital importance of urgently effecting the widest possible dissemination of information on the evils and dangers of colonialism, in particular the continuing struggle for liberation being waged by the peoples in the colonial Territories in Africa, as well as the efforts being made by the international community to assist in the elimination of the remaining vestiges of colonialism in all its forms;

3. Requests the Secretary-General, having regard to the suggestions of the

Special Committee, to continue to take concrete measures through all the media at his disposal, including publications, radio and television, to give widespread and continuous publicity to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization, to the situation in the colonial Territories and to the continuing struggle for liberation being waged by the colonial peoples and, inter alia:

(a) To intensify the activities of all information centres, particularly those located in Western Europe, and also to establish additional information centres where appropriate, especially in southern Africa;

(b) To maintain a close working relationship with the Organization of African Unity by holding periodic consultations and a systematic exchange of the relevant information with that organization;

(c) To enlist, from the non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council and from those non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization, support in the dissemination of the relevant information;

4. Requests Member States, in particular the administering Powers, to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General in the discharge of the tasks entrusted to him under paragraph 3 above;

5. Invites all States, the specialized agencies and other organizations within the United Nations system and non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council, as well as other non-governmental organizations having a special interest in the field of decolonization, to undertake or intensify, in co-operation with the Secretary-General and within their respective spheres of competence, the large-scale dissemination of the information referred to in paragraph 2 above;

6. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Committee, to collect and prepare on a continuous basis, for redissemination by the Office of Public Information, basic material, studies and articles relating to various aspects of the problems of decolonization;

7. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Special Committee on the implementation of the present resolution;

8. Requests the Special Committee to continue to seek suitable means for the effective dissemination of information on decolonization and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

2078th plenary meeting
2 November 1972

There are two churches in Angola: the one suffers from the situation, while the other praises it. There is the martyred church and the one which collaborates.

Waldo Garcia, a priest of the Holy Ghost Congregation, was for several years a professor at the Major Seminary in Nova Lisboa and one of the directors of the Catholic Institute of Angola.

His attitude of no-collaboration with the Portuguese political police earned him his expulsion from the country. He now lives in Barcelona.

I should like first to state that my situation as regards Angola is a situation related to the Church.

I belong to the Angolan Church, which is a real church of silence, on the one hand hounded and victimised by the situation and, on the other, sold out to that same situation, in short, a church which is not fulfilling its mission.

I have never engaged in political activities and I have always acted in accordance with the standards which should guide the activity of the church in Angola. Yet I have been expelled for political reasons, although upholding the truth transcends politics.

TO REMAIN SILENT IN THE FACE OF GENOCIDE

One evening a Portuguese Catholic in a desperate situation came to see me in search of spiritual comfort. He was on the verge of suicide as a solution to his problems. Why was this? Owing to a series of circumstances (which he did not wish to go into for fear of subsequent reprisals) he had to cooperate with the political police (PIDE) in the interrogation of detainees. He told me how the torturers hung up Africans head downwards, cut open their stomachs with razor blades, poured alcohol into their entrails and set fire to them.

To give another concrete case: Portuguese settlers who are members of the "civil defence corps" (and, I must sorrowfully say, among them are Catholics who go to daily mass) have told me that when they went out on patrols in Baixa de Cassanje — one of the most populous regions in the country — they shot all the eldest sons of the African families they found there, in order to "counter" the propaganda of the nationalists, who claimed that their fetishes protected them against Portuguese bullets. These killings, according to them, showed the blacks the true effectiveness of whites!

MY EXPULSION

I was expelled by the Portuguese authorities, who acted very subtly, however, through the church hierarchy. Unfortunately, the latter collaborates fully with the author-

ities. I was not expelled by the church authorities, but by the political police which manipulated them, by the same police which subjected me to all kinds of pressure, which interrogated me countless times on such wild accusations as my being a member of the Italian Communist Party, by the same police which took me to the aeroplane and finally stole from me records which represented three years of work at the Higher Catholic Institute.

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO BE A PRIEST IN ANGOLA

From the time of my arrival in Angola, I devoted myself to my mission as a Christian priest.

The Portuguese police considered this subversive. The first thing I was told on my arrival was that it was forbidden to speak about the "Pacem in Terris" encyclical in Angola.

My first "subversive" act was to refuse to collaborate with the police, to refuse to act as an informer, a practice which is requested of all white priests. It must be said, unfortunately, that many priests are involved in such collaboration.

Similarly, my work as a director of the Higher Catholic Institute gave rise to problems with the authorities. The first book in our "Coloquios" edition, entitled "The Universal Church in Angola", was seized. In the Portuguese empire one does not speak about the universal church either. A number of events organised by the Institute, seminars and lectures, and including a "youth mass" we wanted to hold in 1968, were simply banned, or else there was PIDE intervention.

But what actually motivated my expulsion was the holding of a series of seminars in which we wished to face the truth in the manner of Christ. The two Portuguese priests who were directing this programme with me — the Reverend Fathers Jorge Sanches and Antonio Fernando dos Santos Neves — were also expelled from Angola, as was Pastor Lawrence Henderson of the Evangelical Church, who was also a director of the Institute.

THERE ARE TWO CHURCHES IN ANGOLA

There are two churches in Angola. The one suffers from the situation, while the other praises it. There is the church which is martyred by the situation and the one which collaborates because it has sold out to it. Portuguese priests in Angola are paid a salary which amounts to about 18,000 dollars out of the



budget of the colony's administration.

We would therefore say without fear that there are two churches in Angola, the black and the white, the Portuguese and the African, and this division starts with the congregation, because in Angola, as in South Africa, there are separate churches for whites and blacks. There are parishes reserved exclusively for whites, while blacks go to what are known as missions.

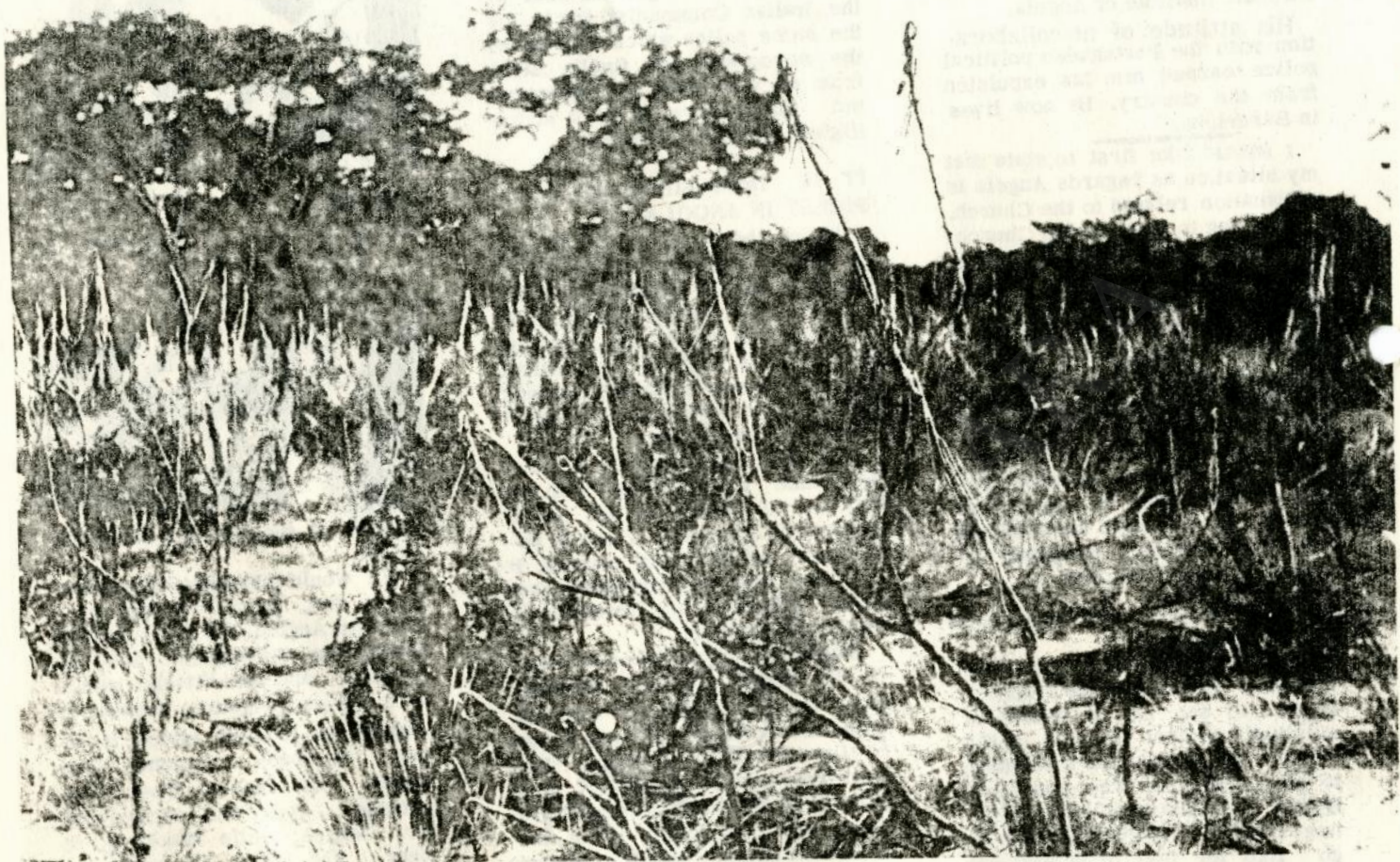
This segregation continues in the hierarchy, since African priests are kept out of all responsible positions. The only black bishop, Monsignor Muska, is merely the auxiliary of the Archbishop of Luanda, totally under his control and without any real possibility of doing anything.

If further proof were needed, what can be said of all the black priests who are persecuted, detained and the victims of arbitrary acts?

WALDO GARCIA

NOTE: According to the testimony of the Reverend Malcolm McVeigh of the American Methodist Mission, after the repression unleashed by the Portuguese authorities in 1961, of the one hundred and sixty-seven pastors and teachers in the existing missions in the Luanda region, only eleven have been able to return to their posts. Twenty-one, at the lowest estimate, have been killed, and eighty-six have been reported "missing".

PRESS CUTTINGS



EFFECTS OF THE DEFOLIANTS IN LIBERATED AREAS OF ANGOLA

nnnn
waf455 epd776
2020 : plane :

brassaville, jan 17 reuter -- nationalist guerillas claim to have shot down a portugese army plane in south-west angola, killing all aboard, it was revealed today.

the guerillas say the c-123 tactical transport aircraft was brought down as it sprayed poisonous matter on the river luele in the cuando region on january 4.

members of the movement for the liberation of angola (mpla), which is campaigning against portugese control of angola, said there were a dozen people on the plane.

reuter at jed

LUCIA LARA

EX
TELEX

PORTUGAL ANGRY WITH RHODESIA

By BRUCE LOUDON
in Lisbon

PORTUGAL is showing distinct signs of irritation with Rhodesia over "unduly alarmist" assessments of the military situation in Mozambique made by Rhodesian officials.

This has emerged following the surprise visit to Lisbon by the Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr Ian Smith.

Details of the hour-long conversation he had with the Portuguese leader, Dr Caetano, remain secret, but it is clear that the southward thrust of attacking guerrilla forces in Mozambique figured prominently in the exchanges.

Since the talks the Portuguese have lost none of their obvious annoyance with the gloomy view of the situation taken by Rhodesian authorities.

One Portuguese official said to me: "To my way of thinking, the Rhodesians are being alarmist in an attempt to affect our strategy. We believe any such alarmist reports are unjustified."

It is known that the Rhodesians are preoccupied by the southward movements of guerrilla forces in Mozambique towards two vital Rhodesian outlets to the sea—the railway and the road linking the Rhodesian junction town of Umtali with the Mozambique port of Beira.

Insurgents moving south from the area of the Cabora-bassa dam are now operating just to the north of these two vital Rhodesian outlets. But neither their actions nor their location have yet placed them in a position to pose any direct threat.

Ideal country

The Rhodesian view as reflected in Lisbon and Mozambique is that the largely unpaved and sandy road is ideal country for the minelaying operations on which the insurgents rely very heavily, and that the railway is also "wide open" to the guerrillas. A strike at either, they believe, could have grave consequences.

Most independent observers with recent experience of the military situation in Mozambique would doubt that the guerrillas pose any kind of immediate threat to the links.

Some senior Portuguese Army officers do not conceal their resentment of Rhodesian assertions that unless something is done soon the guerrillas will be active in the heartland of Mozambique, affecting Rhodesian supply

routes.

They point out that only a handful of insurgents are operating in an area considerably to the north of the road and railway. They also say insurgents are involved in little more than "shoot and scoot" minelaying or ambush operations.

There is little doubt that the tone of the Rhodesian assessments is affected by the fact that the country relies heavily on Beira outlets to overcome sanctions. Any guerrilla threats to the routes would pose new complications.

"TIMES"

remember that consignments for secondary education should be addressed to:

**DEC/MPLA
B.P. 2353
Brazzaville
Peoples' Republic of Congo**

Other consignments can also be sent to:

**DEC/MPLA
P.O. BOX 20793
Dar es Salaam
Tanzania**

APPEAL

In carrying out its education programmes, the MPLA has already been able to count on the active solidarity of a number of individuals and institutions. However, the magnitude and complexity of the tasks to be fulfilled force us to appeal for further manifestations of solidarity, especially in meeting the following needs:

- 1 The construction of a school complex, including five blocks (hostel, primary school, secretariat and kitchen), with an approximate total number of 50 rooms.
- 2 Equipment for physics, chemistry, zoology, botany and minerology laboratories, including wall maps.
- 3 Four Land Rovers (or their equivalent), one of them a van.
- 4 Typewriters with a minimum 50 cm carriage and a keyboard adapted for typing in Portuguese.
- 5 Duplicating machines of the Gestetner type, and accessories.

- 6 Equipment for a hostel: sheets, camp beds, blankets, towels, cutlery, plates, mugs, cooking pots, kettles, tents and rucksacks for 500 persons.

- 7 School material: exercise books, pencils, ball point pens, erasers, coloured pencils, satchels, drawing cases, rulers, set-squares, protractors, and compasses for use on blackboards.

- 8 Equipment for agricultural work, including seeds.

- 9 Sports equipment (football, volleyball, basketball, athletics and chess).

10. An offset litho press and accessories.

- 11 Three-speed tape recorders.

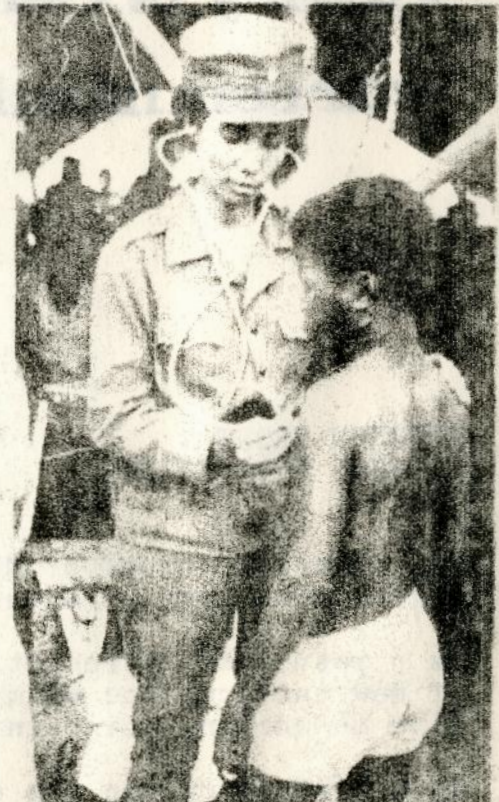
- 12 16 mm cine cameras and appropriate projector's and screens.

- 13 Slide projectors.

14. Two generating sets.

- 15 Supplementary foodstuffs for children (milk, wheat flour, oil and tinned food).

In considering our needs, we request our friends to



MPLA Medical Cadre

MPLA and the European Common market

STATEMENT ADDRESSED BY THE MPLA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY BRUSSELS -- BELGIUM.

We note with indignation the proposal by the European Commission to the Council of Ministers Meeting on the 24th of April to accept further Portuguese demands concerning commercial tariffs.

We wish to remind you of the decisions of the European Community concerning countries with colonies, as in Portugal.

All economic agreements with Portugal are indivisibly tied to her situation as a colonialist country. We hope you will reject the Commission's proposals. The position taken could affect future relations with independent Angola.

MPLA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Lusaka 27.4 1972

Victory Is Certain! war communiques



EASTERN FRONT
NORTHERN SUB-REGION

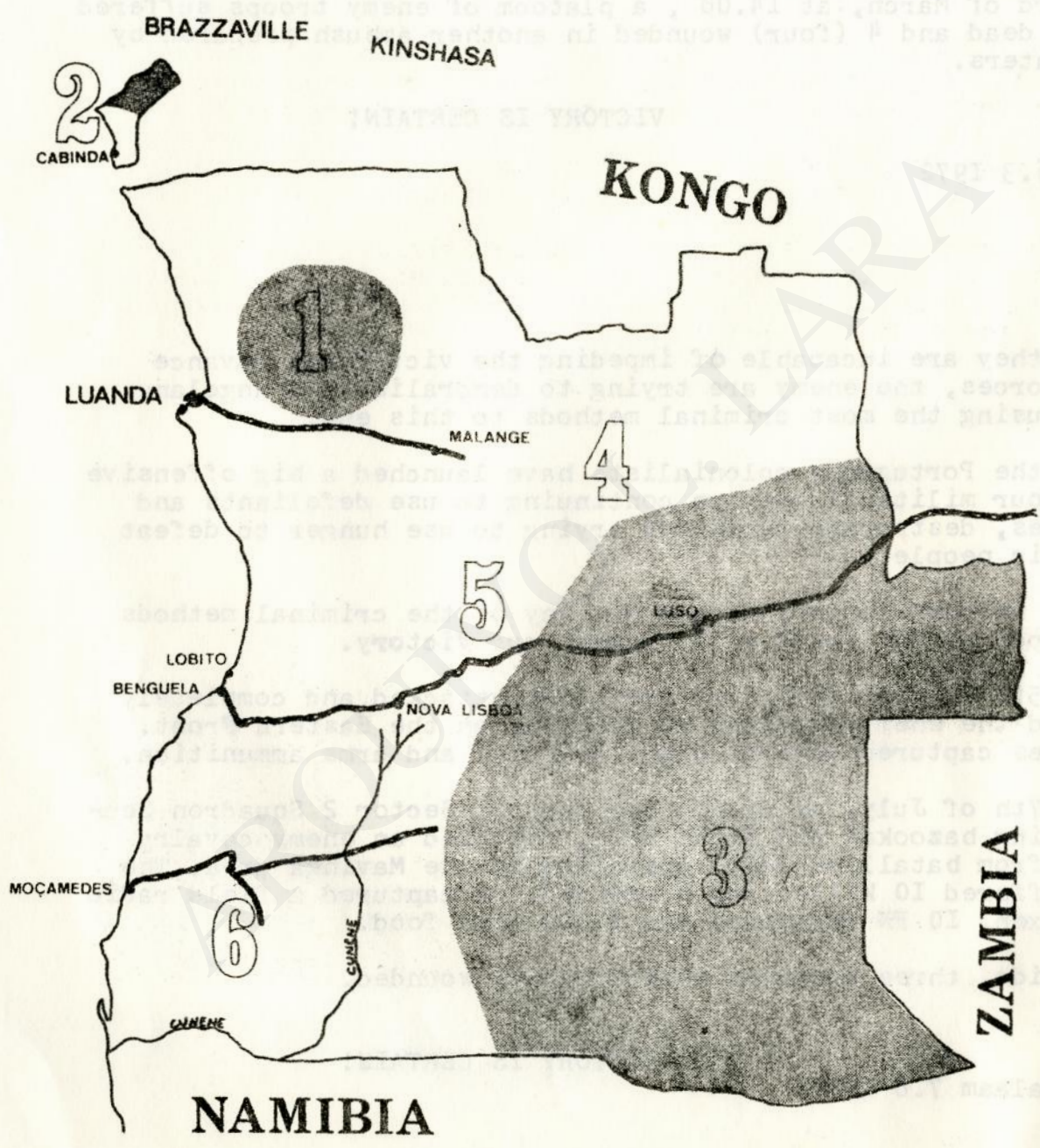
21 (TWENTY-ONE) ENEMY SOLDIERS
PUT OUT OF ACTION IN TWO AMBUSHES.

The fighting forces of MPLA continue to harass the Portuguese colonialist army in areas where its presence is felt.

As a result of introduction of new fighting methods and the use of new tactics, the enemy forces are losing more and more initiative in action, maintaining the most defensive positions.

At 9 o'clock on the 4th of February, the historic date which 11 years ago marked the beginning of the armed struggle in Angola, a platoon of Portuguese colonialist troops on the way from LUSO felt into an ambush prepared by MPLA fighters, near the MUANGEGI river. The enemy forces suffered 7 (seven) dead and 5 (five) woun-

Angola



■ Liberated areas

Continuing to carry out the MPLA's command to "generalise the armed struggle in the rural territory" important events have been reported, especially in Caxito district since the popular liberation there in January this year, which has already been reported. The firmness of the position and demands of the people of Caxito district have recently led the Portuguese colonialist to abolish some of the taxes it previously imposed and to reduce the obligatory payment known as "sovereignity tax" from 300 to 15 escudos.

ded, without having the slightest possibility of reacting to the attack.

On the same day, the presence of MPLA fighters on the banks of the KASSAI river, caused the disgraceful and confused flight of the enemy forces. The radio operator of the colonialist armed forces was lost in the bush due to his quick escape from the ambush, and he was later recovered and taken away in an ALLOUETTE 2 helicopter.

On the 3rd of March, at 14.00, a platoon of enemy troops suffered 5 (five) dead and 4 (four) wounded in another ambush prepared by MPLA fighters.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Lusaka 26.3 1972

Because they are incapable of impeding the victorious advance of our forces, the enemy are trying to demoralise the Angolan people, using the most criminal methods to this end.

Indeed, the Portuguese colonialists have launched a big offensive against our militants and are continuing to use defoliants and herbicides, destroying crops and trying to use hunger to defeat our heroic people.

However, neither hunger, napalm nor any of the criminal methods seized upon by the enemy will prevent our Victory.

On the 25th of July 1972, our guerillas attacked and completely destroyed the enemy barracks at Lumbala, on the Eastern Front. Our forces captured several enemy vehicles and arms ammunition.

On the 27th of July, at 15.00, the Zone D, Sector 2 Squadron Section, using bazookas and light arms, attacked an enemy cavalry company from battalion 2870, operating in the Mavinga area. The enemy suffered 10 killed and 6 wounded. We captured a field radio set, 8 oxen, 10 FN magazines and 8.000 tins food.

On our side, three comrades were slightly wounded.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Dar es Salaam 7.8 1972

Continuing to carry out the MPLA's command to "generalise the armed struggle throughout the national territory" important events have been taking place in Angola, especially in Cunene district since the popular insurrection there in January this year, which has already been reported. The firmness of the positions and demands of the people of Cunene district have recently led the Portuguese colonialist regime to abolish some of the taxes it previously imposed and to reduce the obligatory payment known as "sovereignty tax" from 380 to 75 escudos.

On the other hand, in an attempt to stop the advancing development of the political-military activity of MPLA on other fighting fronts, the colonialist armed forces once again resorted to the use of defoliants and herbicides. Since the 29th of March the Portuguese colonialists have intensified their bombing raids and dropped chemical products, especially in the MPLA's Fourth Political-Military Region in CAZAJI area, along the Benguela Railway line.

The criminal genocidal act, condemned by international conventions, has been accompanied by heliported troop movements in different places along the frontier between Angola and Zambia. These had the primary objective of stopping the entry of a mandated delegation by the UNO Special Committee on Decolonisation, as a result of its Lusaka Meeting with the national liberation movement of South Africa, which took place between the 17th and the 21st April 1972.

According to information received from the EASTERN FRONT, the following military operations took place between the end of February and the beginning of April:

28.2.72 - At 4.40 p.m. 3 groups of heliported troops, with the cover of 7 (seven) ALOUETTE and PUMA helicopters, proceeding from GAGO COUTINHO, encircled a guerrilla group from KAVUNGA Section of DR I Squadron.

As soon as the MPLA fighters broke the encirclement they had a direct encounter with other group of enemy troops, which suffered several losses, including a Captain.



3.3.72 - Two military vehicles proceeding from GAGO COUTINHO and carrying enemy troops, entered an anti-vehicle mine-field prepared by MPLA sappers near a bridge on the LUNGUEVUNGO river.

The vehicles were completely destroyed and all their occupants killed.

9.3.72 - At 1.30 p.m., on the banks of the CHIKULUI river, a group of the MPLA guerrillas of the DR I Squadron was engaged in combat with the Portuguese colonialist troops from CHIUME post.

The enemy forces suffered an unknown number of losses in the course of the battle which lasted 10 minutes.

On the same day, at 2 p.m. a group of Mpla fighters were coming down the right bank of the CHIKULUI river surprising a group of a so-called G.E. (Special Group) puppets, who suffered 2 (two) dead and 1 (one) wounded.

10.3.72 - At 11.40 a.m., a group of MPLA fighters belonging to the DR I Squadron, suspecting the presence of Portuguese and the so-called G.E. troops at the CHIKULUI river, went out to find them.

Coming nearer they discovered that the enemy troops were preparing to leave the place and tried to cross the river. In the attack carried out there the enemy suffered heavy losses.

On our side we deeply regret the death of Comrade MAUINJE, group leader of Sector 5, Zone C.

On the same day, 3 (three) Unimogs proceeding from SESSE carrying enemy troops fell into an ambush near to the MUSSUMA river. The Unimogs were totally destroyed and all the occupants killed.

II.3.72 - A group of MPLA fighters destroyed a bridge on the XONGA river, on the road between LEWA and XAFINDA.

17.3.72 - A group of enemy troops proceeding from SESSE, tried to make a raid with the intention of attacking some of our bases. They fell into an ambush prepared by MPLA sappers. 5 (five) enemy soldiers were killed.

On the same day, a group of colonialist troops coming from GAGO COUTINHO on a mission to discover MPLA detachment fell into another ambush. 10 (ten) enemy soldiers were killed and further 7 (seven) wounded.

18.3.72 - An Unimog truck carrying enemy troops on the route from NINDA to GAGO COUTINHO hit one of the antitank mines prepared there by MPLA sappers. The truck was completely destroyed and all its occupants killed.

Also on the same day, another troop laden lorry fell in another mine-field near to the MUSSUMA river, on the road between MITETE and GAGO COUTINHO. The lorry was totally destroyed and all its occupants killed.

20.3.72 - At 6 p.m. the MPLA squadron called MUKIMBICHI, using mortars and bazookas, completely destroyed the LINYONDE barracks, which had been present certain difficulties in reaching the Fifth political-military region.

The enemy troops suffered 30 (thirty) dead and 18 (eighteen) wounded.

As reprisal for the defeat they had suffered, the Portuguese colonialist troops took the chiefs of LINYONDE and PHIMBILI as prisoners to KUETE post. They had previously participated in the construction of these barracks.

The next day, 5 (five) of the population were barbarously murdered by colonialist soldiers.

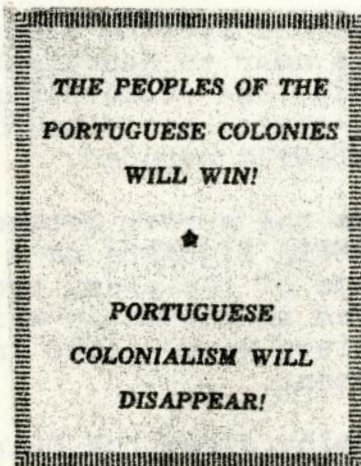
29.3.72 - A group of enemy troops fell into a field of anti-personnel mines and suffered an unknown number of losses. This made the enemy carry out patrol flights along the border.

31.3.72 - A group of heliported Portuguese colonialist troops, proceeding from LOUVA post, coming on a patrol mission to the former NYAMUVUANGA area, set off an anti-personnel mine-field and suffered an unknown number of losses.

- 1.4.72 - At about 1 p.m., one of three military vehicles, coming from KAIANDA set off an anti-tank mine and was totally destroyed, killing all its occupants.
- 6.4.72 - Another Unimog lorry carrying enemy troops from MASSIVI to KAIANDA set off another anti-tank mine. It was completely destroyed and its occupants killed.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Lusaka 6.5 1972



- 8th April, 1972: A group of MPLA guerrillas of Chanda Section, attacked a boat laden with enemy troops that was going from Luyana post to Luvunga. As a result of the bazooka and machine-gun attack the boat sunk. The Portuguese colonialist soldiers managed to reply to the fire for a few moments with some bazooka shots, the shrapnel of which unluckily caused the deaths of 2 (two) of our fighters (Lenhewe and Kandonga) and slightly wounded 9 (nine) others. The enemy suffered a number of losses the exact number of which is not known.
- 21st April, 1972: At around 3 p. m. a large scale group of Portuguese colonialist troops who tried to cross the border between Angola and Zambia so as to stop the expected entry of the delegation of the Special Committee on Decolonisation, fell into an ambush prepared by MPLA fighters. As far as could be confirmed, 30 (thirty) enemy soldiers were killed and 5 (five) others seriously wounded. Several helicopters came later, on three occasions, to look for the dead, but were unable to find them because the grass had caught fire and burned the bodies. One MPLA fighter was slightly wounded.
- 22nd April, 1972: At 10.30 a.m. a group of Portuguese colonialist soldiers was surprised on the right bank of the Hangana river by 2 groups of MPLA guerrillas. The enemy suffered heavy losses, and the bodies were later carried away by helicopters.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Lusaka 18.6 1972

Since April the Portuguese colonialist armed forces have intensified the movement of heliported troops on the Eastern Front, with the intention of surprising and stopping by every possible means, the likely visit of the Delegation from the UN Special Committee on Decolonisation, which was meeting in Lusaka from the 17 to the 21 April.

In the fact of such exaggerated movements the MPLA fighters replied with increased military action in all areas and particularly where the heliported troops made their presence felt.

KNOWN ENEMY LOSSES: 82 soldiers put out of action
MPLA LOSSES: 2 fighters

- 4.4.72: At 4.22 p.m. a group of MPLA of Tchingona Section prepared an ambush for a group of enemy troops near to Kambandakata village. Subjected to fire from bazookas and rocket-launchers from MLPA fighters, 27 (twenty-seven) enemy soldiers were killed and 8 (eight) others seriously wounded.
- 17.4.72: Heliported enemy troops tried to cross the border between Angola and Zambia. A small group of MPLA fighters on a reconnaissance mission discovered some of the enemy troops. The MPLA fighters immediately prepared an ambush in which 5 (five) Portuguese colonialist soldiers were killed including a second lieutenant and sergeant.
- 22.4.72: At 9 a.m. a group of enemy troops coming along the Mulai river surprised a group of OMA (Organisation of Angolan Women) militants who had gone to Vuhito lake for water accompanied by MPLA fighters of the 3rd Section. In the ensuing combat the enemy suffered an unknown number of casualties. Two helicopters came three times to recover the dead and wounded. On our side we deeply regret the deaths of the courageous guerrilla fighters Ataque and Kambangaji.
- 30.4.72: At 3.30 p.m. a group of Portuguese colonialist troops fell into an ambush prepared by MPLA fighters near to lake Massunza. 23 (twenty-three) enemy soldiers were killed and 14 (fourteen) others wounded. The survivors ran away in disorder and passed a harrassed night before being recovered and carried away by three helicopters at dawn next day.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Lusaka 20.6 1972.

EASTERN FRONT
Northern Sub-Region

Since April the Portuguese colonialist have increased their operations, especially by the movement of heliported troops. Their first intention was to stop the entrance of the Delegation of the UN Special Committee on Decolonisation, and later to try to find in order to try to destroy, MPLA bases.

In spite of all the material that the Portuguese armed forces used and the efforts they made, the MPLA fighters have been resolutely continuing their political and military activities, so causing the failure of the enemy's initiatives.

According to information received from the fighting fronts, during the months of May and June the following operations were carried out in certain areas:

- 1.5.72 - At 20.00 hours, a group of MPLA fighters ambushed two military vehicles - a Unimog and a Mercedes - on the road between LUSO and SAURIMO, near to the KALOMBA river. The two vehicles were completely destroyed and the enemy troops suffered considerable losses.
- 12.5.72 - A group of enemy troops coming from LUMEGE post tried to approach one of the MPLA bases. It was repelled by our guerrillas and the enemy forces suffered the loss of 2 (two) soldiers and 3 (three) wounded.
- 5.6.72 - A group of MPLA fighters attacked the strategic hamlet of SAKAZEMBA. They took the G.E.'s ("Special Forces") camp by assault and the later rapidly dispersed. The buildings were destroyed and variety of military equipment was recovered, including 2 (two) radio-receiver-transmitters.
- 8.6.72 - A convoy of military vehicles on its way from MAXIVI to KAIANDA entered an anti-truck mine field, near to the KOLU river. The first vehicles was completely destroyed and all its occupants killed. After this explosion the enemy soldiers tried, on foot, to find the other mines. 4 (four) of them set off anti-personnel mines, which resulted in the deaths of 4 (four) and the wounding of several others. A few hours later, attempting to continue their journey, a second vehicle exploded another anti-truck mine. The truck was destroyed and its occupants killed. Our fighters recovered parts of the military vehicles.
- 12.6.72 - A group of Portuguese colonialist soldiers, on their way from KAIANDA post going towards the Zire Republic, fell into an ambush prepared by MPLA fighters. The enemy suffered 4 (four) dead and 5 (five) wounded.
- 23.6.72 - A group of Portuguese colonialist troops fell into an ambush prepared by MPLA guerrillas near the KASSUMUNA river. The enemy forces suffered 15 (fifteen) dead and 8 (eight) wounded, who were later transported in helicopters to LUSO.
- 30.6.72 - Near to the XINGULA river the MPLA fighters repelled an attempted incursion into one of our Camps. The enemy suffered an unknown number of losses, which a short time after were transported away by helicopters. In criminal reprisal, two civilian women were killed by colonialist troops.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Lusaka 12th August 1972

Supports Struggle of All Peoples Against Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism

At the October 20 plenary meeting of the U.N. General Assembly on the question of anti-colonialism, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Delegation Huang Hua condemned and exposed the crimes of colonialism, old and new. He also expressed firm support for the just struggle of all peoples against colonialism and neo-colonialism. Following are excerpts of his speech. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

Rely Mainly on Own Efforts

THE present situation is excellent in the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. In the year past, the independent countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have made unremitting efforts and achieved a series of victories in shaking off superpower control, opposing foreign interference, safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty, eliminating the forces of imperialism and colonialism, protecting national resources and developing national economy. The national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions are developing vigorously.

The peoples of the world are forming an ever broader united front in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — this has become the great trend of history which no one can check.

It is very important for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to sympathize with and support each other and strengthen their unity in the struggle to oppose colonialism and neo-colonialism and win and safeguard national independence. However, fundamentally speaking, the independence of a country can be achieved mainly through the unremitting struggle of its people. In other words, they should rely mainly on their own efforts and take foreign aid as an auxiliary. One should never rely on others to end colonial rule, still less should he expect colonialism

and neo-colonialism to show "benevolence" and "bestow" independence on him.

Revolutionary Violence Is Not "Terrorism"

The struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism and for the achievement and defence of national independence is a mass struggle. Victory can be won only by mobilizing and organizing the masses in their millions for unremitting struggles. The form of waging struggles is bound to be varied, but in the final analysis the counter-revolutionary violence of the colonialists can be frustrated only by the use of revolutionary violence.

We have always opposed assassination and hijacking of individuals as a means for waging political struggles and are also opposed to the adventurist acts of terrorism by individuals or a handful of people divorced from the masses. But we definitely cannot agree to the confusion of revolutionary violence with "terrorism." Quite a few representatives touched upon the question of "terrorism" during the general debate at the earlier stage. What calls for attention is that the Portuguese representative has opposed the theory of distinguishing just wars from unjust wars, calling all acts of violence "terrorism" and describing Portugal itself as a victim of "terrorism." The representative of South Africa further asserted that "terrorism" will survive so long as the use of force and violence are condoned. Moreover, the representative of Israel even alleged that the most rampant "terrorism"

today is that which has its root in Arab hostility to Israel, and he slanderously called the Palestine Liberation Organization a "terrorist" organization. These are most remarkable performances at the current session of the General Assembly. The Israeli Zionists and the Portuguese and South African colonialists with their hands stained with the blood of millions of Arab people and African people turn out to be "the greatest humanitarianists" of the present day. This is indeed a fantastic tale. Small wonder that at the current session of the General Assembly one superpower has been making such feverish outcries against "terrorism," while the other superpower has been peddling so energetically the non-use of all force.

We maintain that the United Nations is duty-bound to support the people of various countries in their struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. It is utterly impermissible for the superpowers to suppress or demoralize the national-liberation movement through the instrumentality of the United Nations.

Beware of Newest Type of Colonialism

Particular vigilance should be kept over neo-colonialism of various descriptions. The colonialists' old tricks have been seen through by the people of various countries. The colonialists and neo-colonialists are employing all kinds of new tactics either to maintain their existing colonial rule or to carry out fresh colonial expansion. They either foster agents and buy over traitors to serve them, or incite coups d'etat for subversion or even organize mercenaries for armed invasions. They carry out economic plunder and political control under the guise of investment and loans. It should also be pointed out that they are now trying by every possible means to sow discord and

create disputes among the Asian, African and Latin American countries so as to fish in troubled waters and stage a come-back. What merits particular attention is that a certain superpower is masquerading as a friend of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples by flaunting the signboard of "anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism" and professing to give so-called "aid," while actually it is perpetrating the same colonialist evils. That is a newest type of colonialism.

Self-determination is an important principle in the national-liberation movement. But what kind of stuff is the "self-determination" advertised by colonialism and neo-colonialism? Some are forming the so-called "Bantustans" to sabotage the territorial integrity and unity of a state; some rig up titular parliamentary structures with all powers in the

hands of the colonialist authorities; some openly instigated armed aggression to dismember a sovereign state. They describe all this as self-determination! In fact they are carrying out national oppression and national division under the name of self-determination.

In our opinion, it is not impermissible for the oppressed nations and peoples to have dialogue with the colonialists as a means of opposing colonialism on the condition that it does not impair the fundamental interests of the people. But the Portuguese colonial authorities and the South African white racist regime are feverishly intensifying their reactionary rule, while hypocritically expressing their readiness to hold "dialogue" with the parties concerned. Obviously, such a dialogue is a means employed by the colonialists to sustain their colonial rule, for the purpose of

extricating themselves from their ever greater isolation on the international arena, mollifying the condemnation by the peoples of the world and lulling the fighting will of the local people. It is entirely justified for a large number of African countries to oppose such a kind of "dialogue."

China firmly supports the people of various countries in their just struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

We are firmly convinced that the people of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions will rely on themselves, get united, persevere in struggle and, with the support and sympathy of all the justice-upholding countries and peoples of the world, overcome all the hardships and obstacles on their road of advance and completely bury imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

A letter arrived late in November

Dear comrades,

We, the Swedish Africa Groups assembled for a conference November 18th-19th in Stockholm, want to send you our best greetings, wishing the best success in your just struggle against Portuguese colonialism and against imperialism. Ensuring you of our unconditional support, we assure you that we will with might and main continue our solidarity work in favour of the MPLA, the PAIGC and the FRELIMO.

Our revolutionary greetings

The Swedish Africa Groups

Revolutionary Torrent Pounding Colonial Rule

THE people of African countries who have not yet won independence are valiantly fighting imperialism and colonialism in order to free themselves from criminal colonial domination and win national independence. Combined with the struggle of the already independent African states to safeguard their national independence and state sovereignty, this struggle is turning into a revolutionary torrent violently pounding colonialist and neo-colonialist rule in Africa.

Raging Armed Struggle

Supported by the people, guerrilla fighters in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) won outstanding victories last year. Portuguese colonial troops used every despicable fascist device in their desperate struggle, but still suffered further defeats.

After seven years of armed struggle, guerrillas in Mozambique now control about one quarter of the country's territory. Under the leadership of the Mozambique Liberation Front the guerrillas in 1971 carried out 462 military operations against the enemy, killing 1,045 troops. They liberated 300 "strategic hamlets" and the flames of armed struggle have been spread to the south bank of the Zambezi River.

Persisting in armed struggle for some 11 years, guerrillas in Angola have liberated nearly a million people. Last year as a result of their courageous efforts Portuguese colonial troops were forced to withdraw from many military positions in northern and eastern Angola. The People's Liberation Movement of Angola (M.P.L.A.) reports that guer-

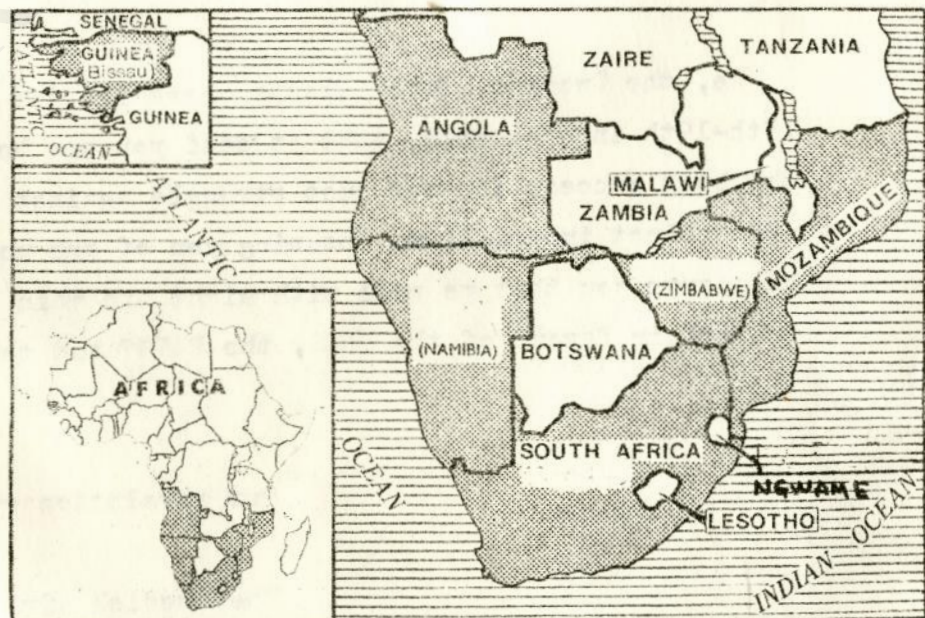
rilla warfare has spread to nearly one-third of the country and large areas are now liberated. Between January and October last year, M.P.L.A. guerrillas killed 480 enemy troops and wounded 800 others. They destroyed 17 enemy military vehicles, shot down two helicopters and captured more than 3,500 weapons.

In Guinea (Bissau), the situation in the people's armed struggle is also excellent. The guerrilla fighters, under the leadership of the African Independence Party of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (P.A.I.G.C.), last year launched 779 attacks and ambushes against the enemy, killing 912 Portuguese colonial troops and wounding 1,500 others. They destroyed or damaged 137 military vehicles, sank 35 boats and shot down 7 aircraft. They also captured large quantities of military equipment. After nine years of hard struggle, they have liberated about two-

thirds of the nation's territory. Local revolutionary power has been set up in the liberated areas.

Enemies Not Reconciled to Defeat

Unreconciled to their defeat in Africa, the Portuguese colonialists, however, doggedly continue their colonial wars in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau), with strong military and financial backing by U.S.-led imperialism. The United States and Portugal signed a new agreement last December under which the former is to provide Portugal with a credit of 435 million U.S. dollars in exchange for the continued use of the air and naval bases on Portugal's Azores Islands. The Portuguese colonial authorities introduced troops of the South African and Rhodesian minority white racist regimes into Mozambique and Angola to help suppress the African guer-





Mozambique patriotic armed forces celebrate the liberation of a stronghold in Cabo Delgado.

rillas. In 1971, the Portuguese and Rhodesian troops conducted a number of joint operations in the areas where Mozambique borders on Rhodesia. A road linking Angola's Luanda and South Africa's Pretoria is being jointly built by the Portuguese and South African regimes. This road is intended to further facilitate joint action by the Portuguese colonialists in Angola and the South African racists to stamp out the revolutionary flames of the Angolan and South African peoples. Their last-ditch struggle and plots, however, cannot save them from inevitable defeat.

Vigorous People's Movement

In Namibia (South West Africa), Zimbabwe and Azania, the people's liberation movement is vigorously developing.

Last October students and teachers in six Namibian colleges and middle schools went on strike against South African white racist domination, demanding the immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia. From December 13, a

mighty strike struggle started on the railways, at the ports, in the mines and among African building workers. It spread rapidly to all of Namibia's other industries, involving tens of thousands of workers. The strike virtually brought factories, mines and commerce run by South African and foreign monopoly capitalists to a standstill, and compelled the reactionary South African authorities to sign an agreement on January 20, accepting the workers' demands for wage increases and permitting them to choose jobs and employers freely. It was a demonstration of the Namibian workers' militancy and raised the political consciousness of the people to a new high.

Following the agreement between the British Government and the Rhodesian white racist regime on the so-called "settlement of the Rhodesian independence dispute," the Zimbabwean people staged large-scale protest demonstrations against the "agreement." Tens of thousands strongly denounced "the agreement" as a plot to legalize the minority white racist regime and suppress the African nationalist forces in the country.

In close co-ordination, the people's armed struggle and widespread people's movements in Namibia, Zimbabwe and Azania are developing in depth. From last March to December, the Namibian guerrillas carried out 34 military operations in South West Africa, killing a number of enemy troops including a South African colonel. Chief Minister of Ovamboland Bantustan Ushoua Shiimi, notorious traitor, was killed by the Namibian people. Guerrillas in Rhodesia and South Africa have frequently raided police posts and captured weapons.

Irresistible Historical Trend

The just struggle of the African national-liberation movement is supported by the peoples of Africa and all over the world. At the African Heads of State and Government Meeting in Addis Ababa last June, a resolution was adopted strongly condemning the imperialist scheme for a "dialogue" with the minority racist regime of South Africa. The summit conference of East and Central African countries in Mogadishu last October 7 declared: "There could be no compromise or concession made about freedom, dignity and respect of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa. Consequently, the only alternative left to Africa is to use all means available to them to change the abominable and hateful policies of apartheid, colonialism and racialism." The African Liberation Committee decided not long ago to increase the African countries' support to the African liberation movements and enable them to achieve greater victories in the coming year.

Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution. This is an irresistible historical trend in today's world. Persisting in protracted armed struggle and strengthening their unity, the African people who have not yet attained independence will certainly achieve final victory in their struggle for national liberation.

DOCUMENTS



William P. Rogers -
the foreign minister
of the United States

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

December 9, 1971

Dear Mr. Minister.

I refer to the series of discussions that have taken between our two Governments designed to enhance our political, economic, and cultural relations and in particular to the discussions that have centered on Portugal's development programs in the fields of education, health, agriculture, transportation, and science.

As a result of these discussions, the United States agrees, within the limitations of applicable United States legislation and appropriations, to help Portugal in its development efforts by providing the following economic assistance:

1. A PL-480 program that will make available agricultural commodities valued at up to \$15 million during FY-1972 and the amount during FY 1973. The terms of the agreements under PL-480 will be 15 years at 4 1/2 percent interest, with an initial payment of 5 percent and currency use payment of 10 percent.

2. Financing for certain projects of the Government of Portugal, as follows. The two Governments have reviewed development projects in Portugal valued at \$400 million and the United States Government declares its willingness to provide, in accordance with the usual loan criteria and practices of the Eximbank, financing for these projects.

3. The hydrographic vessel USNS Kellar on a no cost basis, subject to the terms of a lease to be negotiated.

4. A grant of \$1 million to fund educational development projects selected by the Government of Portugal.

5. \$5 million in "drawing rights" at new acquisition value of any non-military excess equipment which may be found to meet Portuguese requirements over a period of two years. The figure of five million dollars is to be considered illustrative and not a maximum ceiling so that we may be free to exceed this figure if desired.

As soon as the Government of Portugal replies to this letter, discussions shall be initiated to implement the details of each of the individual items listed herein.

Sincerely yours,

William P. Rogers

His Excellency
Rui Patrício
Minister of Foreign Affairs
of Portugal

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

1. P.L.-480 Program - In FY 1972 and again in FY 1973 we will provide agricultural commodities valued at \$15 million. The COP will use the funds generated by the program for economic and social development.
2. EXIM Bank - Subject to review of individual loan requests, we have agreed to make EXIM financing available for various development projects.
3. USNS Kellar - This hydrographic vessel will be loaned on a no-cost basis to the COP and will be used for oceanography.
4. \$1 Million - This sum is being furnished to assist the COP in educational development programs.
5. Non-Military Excess Equipment - Drawing rights for some \$5 million in non-military excess over a two year period are established.
6. Waiver of MAAG Support - We will waive the \$175,000 support payment for MAAG Lisbon for a two year period.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

December 9, 1971

Dear Mr. Minister.

During the recent discussions between our two Governments regarding possible participation by my Government in the plans which your Government has drawn up for the economic and social development of your country, Portuguese and American technicians have reviewed various Portuguese proposals with a total value of some \$400 million. These included, inter alia, projects for airport construction, railway modernization, bridge-building, electric power generation, mechanisation of agriculture, harbor construction and town planning, and the supplying of equipment for schools and hospitals.

I am pleased to inform you that the United States Government is willing to provide, through the Export-Import Bank of the United States, financing for U.S. goods and services to be used in these projects, in accordance with the usual loan criteria and practices of the Bank. Applications for loans or preliminary commitments covering specific projects may be submitted to the Bank through the Portuguese Embassy in Washington or directly at any time and will receive expeditious handling.

Sincerely yours,

William P. Rogers

His Excellency,
Rui Patricio,
Minister of Foreign Affairs
of Portugal,

No to the Secret Diplomacy

by Antonio Neto

As far back as anybody can remember "war" and "peace" and other forms of gangsterism organized by the imperialist states on an international level have a label: secret diplomacy. Unequal agreements, "peace treaties", "treaties of alliance", "stated agreements", "doctrines" and other forms of secret bargaining (1) have decided the fate of millions of people on this planet. These agreements have been reached after having been prepared carefully by a handful of imperialist masters who continue to believe that they can decide over the sun and the rain. It is up to the revolutionary and anti-imperialist organizations to denounce publicly the permanent scandal that the secret diplomacy is.

A GHASTLY TRUTH: THE LETTER FROM WILLIAM ROGERS TO HIS VALET.

As we all know, the diplomatic trick of the United States towards Southern Africa in general and particularly the Portuguese colonies is full of qualitative and quantitative reactionary principles (2). You can find on page 44 and 45 one more proof of the close cooperation between the Portuguese government and the government of the United States. It is a letter from Mr. William Rogers to his docile valet-de-chambre, the so called minister of foreign affairs of Portugal, Rui Patricio. This correspondence is a scandal. How can one believe the United States when they assure that they are "on the side of the African people" fighting against colonialism? This correspondence shows that the US claims to defend the freedom in the Portuguese colonies is a forgery. What can we learn from this?

US IMPERIALISM: OMNIPOTENT DISPENSER OF FOOD-STUFF, CANNONS AND MISERY.



*child wounded by napalm
made in the United States*

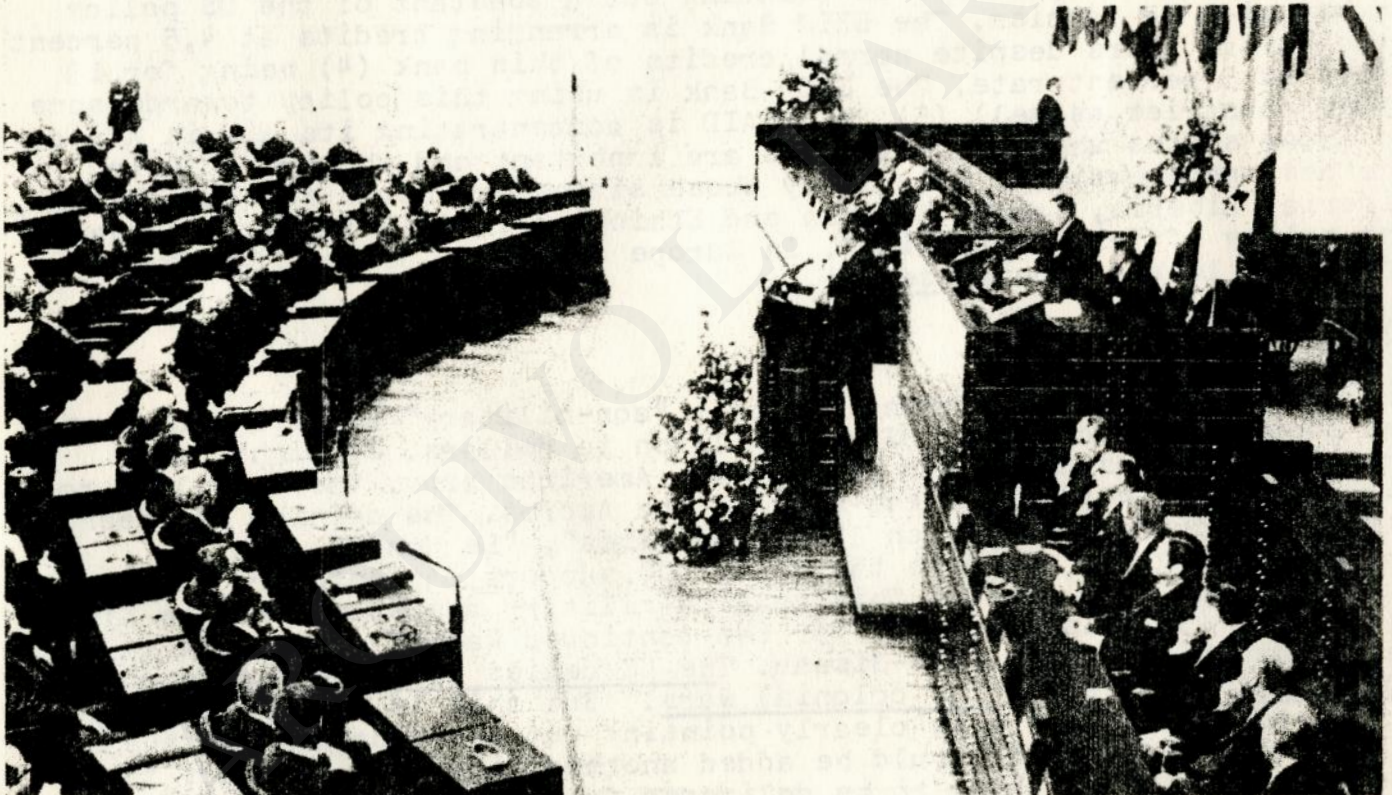
The small colonialist Portugal wages in our time the three most important aggressive wars of its history. Why does Portugal receive American aid? Which are the conditions to be fulfilled in order to receive this aid? "The principles of the foreign economic assistance", edition 1965 Washington, p.20, points out that: "Aid of support is granted in order to contribute in achieving the urgent aims of the United States' national security and foreign policy in cases where the ordinary criteria for development loans are lacking". The United



the smile of the giver

States also practice other forms of "aid". Mr. Rogers quotes in his letter the PL 480 or "law on aid and development of trade with agricultural products". The receiver country must practice a domestic and foreign policy in favour of the United States; the country should have a "friendly" attitude towards the USA and "share the opinion of the USA on the world crisis" (3).

A US agency for so called international development, "AID", is undertaking to prepare the climate for favourable investments; it has specialized particularly in "non-military" aid, in "development loans", in "loans for sector, plan and programme". - A fourth kind of "aid" is the loans given by the Export-Import Bank of the United States (EXIM BANK) under Rockefeller control. The experts of this bank, in order to study the project in loco, carry out economical espionage on behalf of the US government. But there are also interdictions. The Law 480 forbids to grant loans and subventions in national currency for fabrication of goods which directly or indirectly might compete with US goods. This goes also for the Rockefeller bank.



NATO: the permanent conspiracy against our people.

A fifth kind of "aid" guaranteed by several states is the so called "multilateral aid". The giver countries are in fact organized like genuine Trade Unions acting in favour of the imperialist exploitation. This aid often includes hideous tricks like the one percent of the GNP for the so called developing countries who come to beg for this one percent as if they were at the wall of whining. This "multilateral aid" is often well camouflaged and can have a regional character. The result is the same - capitalist exploitation by a fraction of world imperialism. In the case of Portugal and other receiver countries such "aid" often implies imperialist contradictions inside of NATO, EFTA, the European Common Market etc. The goal to be reached is to prevent the capitalist economic system from falling into pieces. Portugal being ruled by a narrow-minded government with fossilized theories, fulfills all the conditions for receiving a substantial "aid" granted by imperialism.

a) ACTA EST FABULA

According to the letter of Dec 9 1971 the programme 480 foresees the deliverance of US agricultural commodities at terms of agreement: 15 years and repayable in dollars. So Portugal is going to buy this consumer goods using foreign currency of which it is disposing as it has opened up the colonies (especially Angola and Mozambique) to systematic exploitation of raw materials.

It's well known that Portuguese agriculture being short of manpower is not "competitive". This is due to the protectionist policy of Salazar-Caetano, which favours the agricultural bourgeoisie. The capitalist economy is now enforcing the exportation of manpower to the rest of Europe (France, West Germany) thereby depopulating the Portuguese countryside. At this point Rogers intervenes with his aid setting up an economic and social "development" programme which in fact is only aiming at the mechanisation of the agriculture of the big estates (e.g. that of Caetano in Alentejo) at a cost of \$ 15 million. The bourgeoisie is hurrying to aid the bourgeoisie.

Rogers's correspondence is pointing out a constant of the US policy in relation to fascism. The EXIM Bank is arranging credits at 4,5 percent rate for 15 years despite normal credits of this bank (4) being for 13 years at 5 percent rate. The EXIM Bank is using this policy towards some other countries as well (5). E.g. "AID is concentrating its aid in Africa to those states where US interests are important and who are offering the best perspectives" (6). Today those states are South Africa, Tunisia, Nigeria, Liberia, Zaire, Algeria and Ethiopia. In Asia there is already the policy of "vietnamisation". In Europe Portugal, Greece, Turkey and Spain are looked upon as secure.

b) PURCHASE FROM US

Mr Rogers is clearly pointing out that "non-military" surplus and services should be bought from US, 5 million in dollars. It might be a question of goods no longer used by the American army. The servility to the US isn't only due to the base of the Azores. The opinion has been cheated by guides of opinion like "The Times", "Le Monde", etc.

The US is going to waive the \$ 175 000 support payment for MAAG Lisbon for a two year period. This means a military assistance to the Lisbon regime which is important for the continued war of aggression in Angola, Mozambique and Guinee-Bissau. The US denies that one single dollar is going to be used in the colonial wars. But this is a blatant lie! The letter of Mr Rogers is clearly pointing out the contrary. To the above-mentioned amount should be added another titbit of the war: the ship USNS KELLAR is going to be delivered freely to the Portuguese regime. Of course it's going to be used in the war, because there is a great need for ships and aeroplanes for the transports of troops and weaponry. (E.g. it's proved that the ship CARVALHO DE ARAUJO is transporting troops.) It could be that the American government has now decided to sell its surplus ships.

c) MILITARIZED EDUCATION

In his letter Rogers says that the amount appropriated for the puppet regime in Lisbon is going to be used for projects like construction of airfields, modernisation of railways, construction of harbours, etc - fields of great importance to the war, demanding modern technology, big capital and technicians. In the letter it's not precisely pointed out where those projects are localized but knowing the vital needs of the Portuguese regime one suspects of course that some of this amount is going to be used in the colonial war. Portugal has to make a choice bet-

ween a policy of economic and social development and the continuation of aggressive war which is stepping up the militarization of the economy. If the Portuguese opposition calmly witnesses the policy of the Portuguese regime of adapting the country to the European integration, the socialism pursued during 40 years by the opposition will once again be postponed. Caetano's liberalisation is a myth, distrusted even by the US regime. Still the American government is granting one million dollars for education in Portugal. Caetano, that hypocrite professor, former lawyer of CUF (Companhia União Fabril), now prime minister thanks to the bourgeoisie, is preparing to shut down schools and the School of Technology because of "subversion". He is planning the militarization of the university education to educate officers and others for the army, the air force and the navy. It's useful to compare what is required of candidates for entrance to the navy school of Lisbon today and what was required 10 years ago! The demands give entrance to another sort of students today than 10 years ago. One thing is easy to understand: the guys of dad have deserted and are gone abroad.

d) DRINKING-BOU AT FORT BRAGG

Lisbon doesn't hesitate to send officers to Fort Bragg, US, to be educated in psychological and anti-gerilla warfare. In 1968 107 soldiers were sent to US at a cost of \$ 120 000. In 1969 and 1970 US formed more than 226 officers and soldiers. In 1970 33 Portuguese officers were educated for psychological and anti-gerilla warfare at Fort Bragg. This course was also attended by some puppets from Latin America and Asia. These soldiers can be seen as expensive imports to Portugal from the US paid by foreign currency. There are other programmes as well, with France and West Germany. And didn't the "crown-prince" of Portugal train the driving of Alouette helicopters before leaving for Mozambique? In France the conditions to get the French base on the Azores are passed over by silence. But the deal was good as Lisbon has now quite a number of Alouette II, III, Puma, Super Frélon, frigates, sub-marines, etc. The bourgeois press, lead by Decraene, Gilbert Comte and equals (7) doesn't say a word about this. It isn't just because of \$ 500 million for "charitable purpose" that the Lisbon-clique has exposed the economically profitable colonies (Angola and Mozambique) to imperialism. Due to childish ignorance of those facts some leftist persons look upon the war in Angola as a "baby-war". Other persons are babbling about the luzo-afro-brasilian community going to be realized through gaullist-styled dialogue. Others look upon the war as a fight between two men.

CONCLUSION

In fact it is above all a struggle for national independence against a decadent, mouldered, absurd and rotten colonialism, safe-guarded by NATO and the frenetic Nixon-doctrines. Portugal wouldn't any more be on the African stage without the support of France, Belgium, Italy, US and South Africa. Those are the veritable filibusters at work!

Portugal is now in an impasse. There is no other possibility to get out of the problems caused by colonialism than a radical change of the political structures. And the outmoded rigidity of the Lisbon politicians prevents them from guiding their country in the direction of peace and democracy (8).

Our people and its revolutionary vanguard, the MPLA, are going to expose all imperialist intrigues to attain our objective. We are going to smash the enemy and conquer complete independence.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Footnotes

(1) E g "Treaty of Tordesilhas", "Conference of Berlin" (1885), the well known Monroe doctrine concerning Latin America, "the agreement" of Bret-

ton Woods, the agreements of Versailles on the League of Nations and the agreement of Rome to organize Europe in favour of capitalist monopolies, secret decisions on the veto of the five members of the Security Council of UN; the conventions about neo-colonial cooperation and countless resolutions of UN concerning the Portuguese colonies, Santo Domingo, Rhodesia and Palestine; resolutions that did not matter at all in practice.

(2) Observers often speak about "the Nixon doctrine" concerning southern Africa, aiming at status quo in the Portuguese colonies and in South Africa, which is now the police of international imperialism in Africa. As for other African countries US is using qualitative and quantitative pressure to get them on the road of "real development" - which means capitalism. This applies to Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho, Madagascar and Zaire ("in spite of" French imperialism). But this list doesn't seem completed. The US wants to form other states as well. This is done through economical blackmailing, military intervention and military support to Portugal. This applies to the republics of Zambia, Tanzania and Congo, looked upon as "red" (!) because of their support to the liberation movements MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC.

In 1957 Nixon stated that "the development in Africa can be decisive in the conflict between the forces of freedom and the forces of communism in the world" (US Aid, ed by Grant Maclellan, N Y 1957, p 202).

(3) Cf Principles of the foreign Economic Assistance - Aid, Wash, 1965

(4) Cf Principles of the foreign Economic Assistance - Aid, Wash, 1965

(4) This bank was founded in 1934. Its objective financing the expansion abroad of the US monopolies.

(5) State Department is giving the name of "instrument for US foreign policy" to the EXIM Bank. (Dep of State Bulletin Dec 3 1944, p 668).

(6) Cf Proposed Mutual Defence and Development programmes F Y 1965 AID

(7) Ibidem

(8) Cf articles by Comte, Africa "expert" in Le Monde Jan 4, 5 and 6 1972 Dec 7-11 1965 there where articles signed Marcel Niedergang about "le Silence du Portugal", that doesn't mention the selling of French weaponry to Portugal. In Figaro April 5 and 6 1967 François Chavrel is continuing those articles. The message from Hugo Belver in Lisbon is exposing the scandal of the bourgeois French news media. E.g. they have refused to publicise articles by the MPLA, the FRELIMO and the PAIGC.

(9) Declaration by the Steering Committee of the MPLA, Jan 1 1972.



Cooperation Nixon - Caetano

NEWS:

- KINSHASA: An agreement has been reached between MPLA and FNLA concerning the unity of the Angolan nationalism.
- TIMOR: Guerrilla movement started in September 1971 in this Portuguese colony situated in Asia. The Portuguese authorities have kept silent about this.
- NEW YORK: Comrade Manuel Jorge, representative of MPLA in Italy, addressed to the Security Council debate on the Portuguese colonies. This happened in November on the debate were also representatives from FRELIMO and PAIGC.



Our publications:

- Angola in arms (in English), P.O.Box 20790, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania.
- Vitória ou morte (in French), B.P. 2353, Brazzaville, Congo.
- Flash sur l'Angola (in French and English), P.O.Box 1595, Lusaka, Zambia.
- Victoire est Certaine (in French), 38/40 rue Didouche Mourad P.44 D^c Algiers, Algeria
- MPLA News (in English), published in Stockholm
- MPLA Bulletin (in Danish)
- MPLA Informations (in French)
- MPLA Informaçoes (in Portuguese)
- SÄGERN ÄR SÄKER (in Swedish)

Publications from FRELIMO:

- Mozambique Revolution (in English), P.O.Box 15274, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania.
- Revolution Mozambique (in French), 26 rue de la Liberté, Algier, Algeria.

Publications from PAIGC:

- PAIGC Actualités (in French), P.O.Box 298 Conakry, Guinea Republic, and B.P. 2319 Dakar, Sénégal.

SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE
 SUPPORT THE MPLA - POSTGIRO 201005-6, Stockholm
 MAKE A SUBSCRIPTION AS A FORM OF SUPPORT !
 Price of annual subscription: 10 Swedish crowns
 (or equivalent)

7569
EA-05-C63

NEWS:

I SUBSCRIBE TO MPLA — NEWS

Name:

Address:

Postaddress:

Telephone:

Country:

Subscription for one year: 10 S. Cr. or equivalent.

Price of one issue: 3 S. Cr. or equivalent in dollars
or pounds.

Support subscription: 50 S. Cr. or equivalent (you
will then receive brochures
and other material published
by the MPLA representation in
Sweden as well).

Our address:

Angolas representation/MPLA
Fack
I04 32 Stockholm I9
Tel. 08-210495

Telex: ANGOLAR No. II7I5
STOCKHOLM

Telegramaddress: Angolbefrielse
STOCKHOLM

Transfere the money to:

Postgiro 201005-6 - STOCKHOLM

Vu d'un hélicoptère militaire, l'un des camps où les Portugais enferment la population autochtone pour la « protéger » des tentations de la guérilla.



Pix Storn

P.21-13 75/85