

MPLA



is the people

LUCIO LARA

KEY DATES

MPLA is the people

CONTENTS

Key Dates	Page 4
Introduction	Page 5
The Road to People's Power	Page 7
To Produce is to Resist, speech by Comrade Lopo do Nascimento at the first Seminar of Steering Commissions of MPLA	Page 11
MPLA Political Programme	Page 22
MPLA Statutes	Page 28
Angola Solidarity Committee	Page 35

Published by Angola Solidarity Committee
c/o 30 Romilly Road, London N 4.
February 1976

KEY DATES

- c500 AD Influx of peoples with farming and rearing as well as hunting skills.
- 500-1000 Formation of tribal units and kingdoms.
- c1300 Rise to power of the kingdoms of Kongo, Ndongo (whose king or queen was known as the Ngola, whence comes the name Angola).
- 1483 Arrival of Portuguese in estuary of Zaire river.
- 1500 Portuguese settle Sao Tome.
- c1550 Rise of the slave economy in Brazil. Beginning of the slave trade.
- 1642-9 Queen Zhingá of Ndongo leads a war against the Portuguese.
- 1665 Battle of Mbwila: destruction of power of Kongo.
- 1750 Height of power of the Lunda Empire of E Angola.
- 1866 Beginning of intellectual unrest at Portuguese rule in the western seaboard.
- 1878 Beginning of the contract labour system.
- 1890 Dembos uprising.
- 1890-1920 Wars of colonial conquest.
- 1902, 1904, 1907, 1913 Rebellions against Portuguese rule.
- 1926 Salazar comes to power in Portugal.
- 1956 Formation of MPLA
- 1958 Formation of UPA (later FNLA), a tribalist organisation based upon the Bakongo people.
- 1960 Massacre of Icolo e Bengo.
- 1961 Launching of armed struggle by MPLA.
- 1966 Jonas Savimbi breaks from FNLA to form UNITA. MPLA opens Eastern Front.
- 1968 North-East Front opened in Lunda and Malange; Bie district reached from the East.
- 1974 Fall of Caetano regime in Portugal (25 April).
- 1975 January. Signing of Alvor Agreement.
March-June. FNLA offensives against MPLA.
July. MPLA proclamation of Generalised Popular Resistance.
August. Beginning of South African invasion.
11 November. Proclamation of the independent People's Republic of Angola.

INTRODUCTION

This pamphlet is published at the moment when the People's Republic of Angola has finally been recognised by a majority of countries around the world. The long struggle of the Angolan people for independence seems to be over. But is it?

The South African army still poses an open threat to the territorial integrity of Angola and there is no doubt that, fearing to lose its grip on illegally-occupied Namibia, it will do everything in its power to undermine and destroy the MPLA government and thus support for SWAPO. There is no guarantee that the American government, through the CIA, will not attempt to re-activate - with injections of cash, weapons and personnel - the discredited and defeated FNLA/UNITA movements. Application of the 'destabilisation' technique has reached sophisticated levels. And all these dangers are on top of the massive problems inherent in the task of reconstructing the country and society after five hundred years of Portuguese colonialism, fifteen years of guerrilla struggle and the final war of foreign intervention.

Although the MPLA has won the war inside Angola, the propaganda war abroad continues. The major theme is the suggestion that the MPLA has won a 'civil war' by defeating two rival 'liberation movements' purely because of outside assistance from Cuba and the Soviet Union, and that as a result Angola will become a client state; the conclusion is that the South African regime, by invading Angola, was defending Western interests and must now be seen as a natural ally. These ideas ignore both history and reality, but are used by Western politicians and mass media with the deliberate objective of justifying increased backing for racist minority rule in Southern Africa.

The key to an understanding of events in Angola is an understanding of the MPLA and its policies, and MPLA IS THE PEOPLE is intended as a contribution towards this. A brief history of the movement's development, together with its programme and statutes, and a sample of more recent policy statements, shows that it is not only the basic guiding principles, but also the impressive record of achievement that makes the accession of the MPLA to power an event to be feared and opposed by the imperialist powers and South Africa. These documents show that the MPLA is the only organisation to have consistently fought colonialism, imperialism, tribalism and racism in practice as well as words. They show that victory has been won in Angola by the only movement to have successfully mobilised mass support among the people, without which no amount of weapons can bring success (as the Portuguese themselves found). They show the basis of independence and consideration of Angolan interests on which both domestic and foreign policies are decided. And they offer a perspective on the future policies of the People's Republic of Angola in the difficult phase ahead.

Against this the Western-backed movements FNLA and UNITA have shown their true colours, with their reliance on the CIA, mercenaries, the armies of Spínola, South Africa and Zaire, and appeals to tribal and racial feelings. Their claims as 'liberation movements' vanished long ago, when Holden Roberto (leader of FNLA) went on the CIA payroll in the early 1960s and when Jonas Savimbi of UNITA entered into direct collaboration with the Portuguese colonial army against the MPLA.

The Western powers have decisively shown that when it comes down to it they prefer white minority rule or a safe client state to a genuine independence, and will no doubt try again to help South Africa turn back the tide of African liberation. The need for solidarity with the MPLA, based on an understanding of it, is as important as ever, and will play a role in the campaign for solidarity with all the liberation movements and peoples of Southern Africa.

THE ROAD TO PEOPLE'S POWER

Twenty years ago the MPLA, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, was formed clandestinely in Luanda. The manifesto of the new movement, based on the merging of several existing nationalist parties, set out the evils of colonialism: forced labour for the working class, exploitation of the peasants, suppression of the middle classes and of all possibilities of progress and liberty. The manifesto went on to say:

'However, Portuguese colonialism will not fall without a struggle. The Angolan people will only liberate themselves through a revolutionary struggle. They will only be victorious through building a united front of all anti-imperialist forces in Angola, without regard to colour, social situation, religious or other beliefs of the individual. They will be victorious thanks to the formation of a vast People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola.'

(December 1956)

The new movement combined legal and clandestine methods of struggle. Colonialism responded by strengthening its repressive apparatus, the PIDE secret police. A demand that the right of the Angolan people to independence should be recognised by the Portuguese led to the despatch to Angola in 1960 of large numbers of colonialist troops, the arrest of Agostinho Neto, and the military suppression with many dead and wounded of protest demonstrations. In January 1961 the Portuguese used their air force and napalm bombings to suppress a strike of cotton pickers, cruelly exploited by COTONANG. To this new colonialist violence the MPLA and the Angolan people responded immediately by launching their armed struggle. On 4 February 1961 they attacked the prisons of Luanda, freeing political prisoners kept by the Portuguese.

In its foundation and these early actions the MPLA united all sections of the Angolan people. This was an explicit principle of the movement. Angola is a country with great diversity of population, and numerous tribal and linguistic groupings. There are highly urbanised factory workers, dockers and railwaymen. There are subsistence peasants and agricultural labourers. There are even in some areas people who live by hunting and gathering. The MPLA, alone amongst Angolan political organisations, stood for the interests of all of these peoples and firmly against the interests of the colonial power.

The land to those who work it

Following 4 February the Angolan people, under the leadership of the MPLA, waged a long guerrilla war against colonialism. The breadth of mass support amongst Angolans that the movement was able to draw on can be seen in the diversity of the zones of operation of the freedom fighters. First in the regions immediately surrounding Luanda, then in Cabinda to the north, next in the far eastern regions of Moxico and Cuando Cubango, liberated areas were set up, the colonialist forces were attacked, the people were organised and armed. The enemy fought with great harshness, using all the military techniques and back-up that its NATO allies could provide. Nearly a million rural Angolans were herded into 'strategic hamlets' surrounded by Portuguese barbed wire and overlooked by army watchtowers, prevented from leaving the hamlet to farm for fear they would join the guerrillas. Napalm was used, defoliants were sprayed from the air on the cassava and other crops grown by people living in 'free-fire' zones.

But the liberation struggle continued, because the MPLA had not only the correct political principles, but because its methods of pursuing the struggle meant that the masses of the people themselves, whether or not each individual wielded a submachine gun, were actively engaged in defeating the enemy.

The programme of MPLA spelt out in detail its concept of immediate and complete independence, of the unity of the nation, of the democratic, republican and secular regime that would be instituted in a free Angola, methods of economic reconstruction and development of production in Angola, agrarian reform based on the vital principle THE LAND TO THOSE WHO WORK IT, social policies of justice and progress, abolition of forced labour, elimination of social evils, promotion of education.

But as well as the programmes and principles, the MPLA showed by its actions that it was the only movement fighting for the liberation and progress of the Angolan people. In liberated zones, for the first time ever, schools were set up to teach basic literacy to peasant children. SAM, the MPLA medical assistance service, brought health care, medicines, doctors, vaccinations to the people for the first time. UNTA, the National Union of Angolan Workers, worked side by side with MPLA in the liberated zones re-organising agricultural production along co-operative lines for the people themselves, rather than for the big farmers or the monopoly purchasers of cash crops. Villages ran themselves through action committees. And rifles were given to the self-defence militia formed by the villagers, in readiness for the enemy attacks.

By the end of the 1960s the MPLA had generalised the war throughout the national territory, hitting at the enemy's political, military and economic nerve centres, forcing them to disperse their troops and consolidating, through common struggle, the national unity of the Angolan people. All the peoples of Angola - Kikongo, Kimbundu, Lunda, Chokwe, Umbundu, Luvale, Bunda, Luchaze, Kangala, Nyaneka-Humbi, Helelo, Ambe, Kwangali - were fighting together against the common enemy, under the banner of MPLA. By 1968 the leadership of the movement was based inside the country rather than in neighbouring countries.

A historic plenary of the MPLA Steering Committee held in 1971 in the interior of Angola issued the directives INTENSIFY THE MOBILISATION OF THE PEOPLE and STRENGTHEN PEOPLE'S POWER. The meeting defined the politics of MPLA as 'Complete unity for the fight without pause for total independence, for democracy, and against all forms of oppression or exploitation, external or internal'. Later in 1971 the movement began an essential process of readjustment, which through discussion, criticism and self-criticism was aimed at raising the political level of cadres and improving methods of work in all fields.

Generalised popular resistance

The strains of the colonial war in Angola, together with those in Mozambique and Guine-Bissau, and the struggles of progressive forces in Portugal itself, proved too great for the fascist regime to bear. It collapsed on 25 April 1974. MPLA signed a ceasefire with the Portuguese armed forces on 21 October 1974, after a crucial Inter-Regional Conference which elected the present Central Committee and Political Bureau. The conference declared that an implacable fight against the enemies of the Angolan people would continue: against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism.

MPLA signed further agreements with the Portuguese, with the latter bringing in as signatories the FNLA and UNITA 'movements'. A Transitional Government was established, divided between the four parties, and Independence was set for 11 November 1975. It soon became clear that FNLA and UNITA were trying to install an oppressive and neo-colonialist regime in Angola, while by contrast the MPLA was the only organisation to support the spontaneous bodies set up by the people in regions previously under fascist control.

These included neighbourhood commissions in the shanty-towns and slums around Luanda and other towns, established first for armed self-defence against reactionary settler elements and then, under the growing influence of MPLA, becoming also concerned with political mobilisation, health, education and similar mass

work in the neglected localities. Workers' commissions, likewise, were elected by mass meetings in factories as soon as the threat of the PIDE/DGS secret police was lifted, organising strikes for decent wages and working conditions. In the slogan O POVO NO PODER ('The people to power!') MPLA expressed the aspirations of the mass of Angolans.

FNLA and UNITA attempted to crush militarily these aspirations but the MPLA forces (FAPLA), when they finally responded to continuing and vicious provocations, expelled the FNLA from Luanda and initiated a struggle throughout the country. On 26 July 1975 the Political Bureau of MPLA issued a proclamation of Generalised Popular Resistance. The proclamation sets out the intentions of the enemy, and continues:

'But our people, who have already triumphed over the colonialist war machinery, know that neither cannon, aircraft nor armoured cars can ever overcome their determination. Incapable of understanding that it is impossible to destroy an organisation like the MPLA by force, relying solely on imperialist forces and foreign interests, the FNLA has once again thrown its bands of assassins into a bloody adventure which is doomed in advance to total failure ... Angolan people, comrades, the glorious MPLA, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the legitimate defender of the interests of the Angolan people and their aspirations, PROCLAIMS GENERALISED POPULAR RESISTANCE IN ANSWER TO THE DECLARATION OF WAR BY FNLA LEADERS.'

By 11 November 1975, despite massive outside intervention, it was possible for the People's Republic of Angola to be proclaimed. The MPLA, in forming the government of the People's Republic, continued to hold to the basic principles of opposition to neo-colonialism, racism, tribalism, oppression and exploitation. It is still today what it has remained through the long years of struggle, a broad popular movement of national liberation, pledged to create an Angola where the people themselves will decide their destiny. The militants of the movement are now men and women with long years of experience in struggle and mobilisation. Their ranks are being added to by the best of the Angolans of the towns and villages which had not been freed during the liberation war. The movement has successfully faced practically the whole world in arms. It has been able to do this only because it has always expressed the aims and objectives of the Angolan people themselves. For years to come the MPLA and the broad masses of the people will face a constant threat of intervention, subversion and sabotage from outside. Their struggle will continue. Their victory is certain.

TO PRODUCE IS TO RESIST

Speech by Comrade Lopo do Nascimento at the First Seminar
of Steering Commissions of MPLA

Malanje, September 1975

* * * * *

Comrades

We are here to discuss some of the problems confronting our movement in the present phase of the struggle.

But to understand the problems of today, we must analyse our past experience and know why they arise in this form and not another.

For five hundred years Portuguese colonialism kept our people in a state of oppression characterised by unrestrained exploitation of the labour power of Angolans. It was precisely this exploitation which dragged us into the misery which still exists in our country today. But going beyond economic exploitation, and to facilitate that exploitation, colonialism used other weapons, like the daily humiliation and deliberate degradation of our people, particularly of the social strata in closest contact with the colonial machinery.

Thus our culture was suffocated in its creative aspects and substituted by a way of life which was no more than the image of the exploitation of which the Angolans themselves were victims.

Obscurantism, alcoholism and prostitution were fostered to degrade our people, and consequently to destroy the creative initiative which would lead it to freedom.

On the other hand, the colonialist had a privileged status at all levels, a fact which induced some social strata to adopt his patterns of life and, as a result, to alienate themselves from the reality of our exploited country. Thus, as the inevitable result of the expansion of the capitalist system in Angola, a class of 'assimilados' emerged, cut off from the struggle of resistance to colonialism unleashed amongst the worker and peasant masses.

I am raising this now, comrades, because this is one of the causes of the problems we are going to analyse.

We must remember that the national liberation struggle is also a cultural revolution since through it we will create the new man, free from all that is harmful to our people and which was inculcated into us by the exploiting class.

During the national liberation struggle, we realised that the evils that thrived among our people could constitute a base for our enemies. Racism, tribalism and opportunism are examples of this fact. Through this experience we reached the conclusion that it was essential to distinguish rigorously between that conduct which befitted the enemy and that which served the interests of our struggle, of our people.

After this long liberation struggle the new man will be born in the soil of our land. This new man will be a creation of the popular masses who in the revolutionary process will be transformed.

It falls to the MPLA and to its militants, as the revolutionary vanguard, to guide this process of transformation.

This is why we must insist that every militant of the MPLA be the antithesis of the exploiters, be guided by an ideology that defends to the death the interests of the oppressed masses.

We must insist that, using as his weapon criticism and self-criticism, every MPLA militant begins the revolution in himself in his practice at every level of daily life.

2

The history of man shows us that his way of life, his culture, was changed by the struggle against nature and against all forms of oppression. This shows us that production is the material base of the dynamic of society and so we can say that without production there is no life, no culture.

Production is life itself.

Another of the conquests of revolutionary thought was to perceive the intimate link existing between theory and practice. So we say that without revolutionary theory there is no revolutionary movement. We should always remember too that without revolutionary practice there is no revolutionary movement.

In fact, in order to resolve completely the theory/practice question, it is necessary, starting with theoretical, logical and rational knowledge, to return to social practice, to apply the theory in practice, and see whether it can lead to the desired objective.

SO IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO LAUNCH THE WATCHWORD: TO PRODUCE IS TO RESIST. GENERAL MOBILISATION AND A GREAT EFFORT OF ORGANISATION IS NEEDED IF IT IS TO BE EFFECTIVELY APPLIED IN PRACTICE. It is also in practice that the content of this watchword will be enriched and corrected through our experience.

It is according to these principles that MPLA will develop production. Several times already our movement has pointed out the fundamental and revolutionary content of the production front for our resistance struggle.

Some comrades think it is impossible to spare time for national

reconstruction since the generalised popular resistance requires of MPLA a great effort to organise and mobilise the popular masses for the anti-imperialist war.

These comrades even go so far as to condemn, as a rightist deviation, the watchword 'To produce is to resist' given that state power is not yet in the hands of the working masses.

Comrades, these points of view are wrong. All those that defend them are incapable of understanding that in our revolutionary process the people carry forward an anti-imperialist struggle on a military front, and that an organised economy is needed to support this military front.

Moreover, in the zones controlled by our movement, we must concentrate on improving the living conditions of the workers and peasants, because these are the social strata who are to have a determinant role in our victory. Can the exploited masses continue to resist foreign aggression if they are exhausted through famine and disease? Of course not!

On the other hand, it is also through this national reconstruction effort in the zones controlled by our movement that we will gain the knowledge that will enable us to continue the anti-imperialist struggle when the conditions of this struggle are qualitatively changed (that is, when foreign military aggression is defeated).

So to make the watchword 'Generalised popular resistance' a reality, meeting the most legitimate concerns of our people, we must fulfil certain revolutionary tasks without allowing our objectives to be betrayed.

We all know that there are sectors of our economy which are vital for the advance of the anti-imperialist struggle. For example, it is through the ports that we receive the goods we do not produce and which are essential to the life of our country. It is also through the ports that we send abroad the goods which we produce and exchange for those we need. It is therefore through the ports that our economy breathes, drawing the fresh air necessary to its development.

For these reasons MPLA will not permit economic sabotage. This means, for example, that we will not consent to the strangling of the activity of the ports: BECAUSE IT IS A MATTER OF A SECTOR VITAL TO OUR ECONOMY, WE WILL HAVE THE COURAGE TO BRING TO POPULAR JUDGEMENT THOSE WORKERS WHO, BY PARALYSING ITS ACTIVITY, THREATEN THE OBJECTIVES OF OUR STRUGGLE.

3

Another of the problems we face at the moment is the opportunism of some sectors of the public service.

One of the imperatives of our struggle is the creation of an honest

public administration that should, moreover, be effectively at the service of the people. But to attain this objective it is necessary to purge the state apparatus of corrupt and dangerous elements.

Yet we can see that some comrades of the movement, unable to put into practice our political line, have still not rid themselves of the vices colonialism has instilled into them.

Some of these comrades even took part in the national liberation struggle, but were not transformed through that struggle - they continue to defend and to practise the bourgeois principles they were taught in the colonial schools.

Still there are other comrades who, although up till now good militants, have suffered a process of anti-revolutionary degradation due to their new living conditions. This degradation is fostered in our comrades by our enemies, who are trying to impose their way of life by drawing these comrades further and further away from the popular masses and thus making our movement susceptible to infiltration.

We must also mention here those who, without having participated in the national liberation struggle, and who always had a bourgeois lifestyle, now seek to turn to their advantage the conquests made by the people. These are the opportunists of the right or of the left, who are merely trying to effect a substitution in the positions of leadership, be it at the political level, or the economic, without caring about the radical transformation of existing social relations. These are the ones who want for themselves, the cars, the houses, the glittering salaries of the colonialists, forgetting that MPLA defends the interests of the most exploited classes of our country AND WILL NOT PERMIT THE FORMATION IN ITS MIDST OF A NEW EXPLOITING CLASS.

There are also comrades who consider that their immediate problems should be resolved at once and make this a condition for continuing their activity. We are speaking, for example, of the comrades who refuse to work until their OWN transport problems are resolved.

We remind all these erring comrades once again that THE PRINCIPLE OBJECTIVE OF OUR STRUGGLE IS THE DEFENCE OF THE INTERESTS OF THE MOST EXPLOITED IN OUR LAND.

This means that we must be deeply concerned with improving the living conditions of those broad popular masses who continue to struggle with misery and disease.

So, we are concerned about supplies to the population of the zones with food shortages, with supporting the comrades expelled from areas controlled by the enemy, with solving the problems of employment, housing, transport and sanitation of the people living in the suburban and rural areas, with logistical support for the glorious FAPLA, in short, with all forms of organisation of our people for national reconstruction, for resistance.

This is all the more important when we realise that, because these broad popular masses have nothing to lose by the revolution, on the contrary they have a new country to conquer, it is they who are the driving force of our anti-imperialist struggle.

And because we must show these workers and peasants that the revolution does in fact serve their interests we must make this effort to improve their living conditions. In fact, THIS WILL CONTRIBUTE TO WINNING THEIR ADHESION TO THE REVOLUTION AND MOBILISING THEM FOR POPULAR RESISTANCE.

For all these reasons, comrades, we will ensure that the public administration is effectively at the service of our people's struggle. How are we to achieve it?

In the first place, we must put an end to the parasitism of some public functionaries, by reshaping the organisation so that only truly productive offices and posts remain.

It is necessary, on the other hand, to increase the work timetable of the administration to eight hours a day, so that the services can respond to the problems raised by the exodus of staff and carry out quickly the tasks which the present situation imposes.

The militants of MPLA must energetically combat the opportunism of those workers who are trying to raise their grades to increase their salaries. We are seriously considering freezing the salaries of public employees over 15,000 escudos, because above this sum they are doubtless guaranteed a salary which allows them to live in substantially better conditions than the majority of our people.

From now on we will put an end to the new sinecures, with the accumulation of posts in various departments or state enterprises, by establishing the principle that each employee should only receive the salary he earns in the service to which he belongs.

We will also combat the opportunism of those who, by manipulating the workers, try to get elected to leadership positions solely to further their personal interests, by requiring that members of management or administrative committees continue to earn the salaries they would get if they were not on these committees.

ALL THOSE WHO DO NOT FOLLOW THESE DIRECTIVES, WHICH CORRESPOND TO THE MOST JUST ASPIRATIONS OF OUR PEOPLE, AND THEREBY PLACE AT RISK THE OBJECTIVES OF OUR STRUGGLE, WILL BE RE-EDUCATED BY THE MASSES WORKING IN DIRECT PRODUCTION, IN REHABILITATION CAMPS WHICH OUR MOVEMENT WILL OPEN IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COUNTRY.

4

There is a lot of talk about the problem of the flight of professional cadres, so badly needed for the reconstruction of our country. To analyse this question we must determine its causes and the means of solving it.

Many cadres fled because they felt insecure. But it is not enough to stop at this observation. In fact it seems to me that this insecurity is basically due to the lack of political formation of these cadres some of whom, even, were Angolans.

Our movement has long since reached the conclusion that our struggle requires the recruitment of many intellectuals, who must place their knowledge and experience at the service of the people; although we also made efforts to integrate a great number of cadres, the truth is that this effort was not enough. It was not enough because it reflected many of our problems of organisation.

We have examples of cadres who, through involvement in the struggle at the side of the working masses, were perfectly integrated in our fight and, after hesitation, decided to remain in Angola. This is why we are convinced that, through the correct forms of organisation, we could have avoided the flight of many cadres.

I must emphasise the erroneous attitude of many comrades who, through provocation, have driven many intellectuals, some of whom were progressive, to abandon their posts in companies and services. This attitude in the comrades is only a reflection of a problem I have already mentioned. These mistaken comrades allow themselves to be corrupted by bourgeois ideas, and being incapable of analysing the condition in which our struggle is unfolding, oppose their opportunist interests to the just concerns of our people and try to oust all those who could stand in the way of their rapid professional promotion. So, often using as their weapon racism and petty-bourgeois leftism, these comrades try to drive away from our struggle all those who, through their competence and honesty, occupy posts coveted by the opportunists. Similarly we observe that there are many comrades who want to turn to their advantage the conquests of the workers and peasants of our country, and forget that the anti-imperialist struggle demands the constant broadening of our front; it demands the adhesion to this struggle of ever widening social strata. This is no random or superficial affirmation. We know, and these comrades forget, that at all times our capacity to draw into the anti-imperialist struggle all the forces and social strata in whose interests it is to fight exploitation, is put to the test. This capacity is the precondition of our victory and must be accompanied by a far-reaching campaign to raise the level of consciousness of the people so that this unity does not become

a unity without principles. To avoid endangering the aims of our struggle, we must demand of our comrades the ideological rigour that will enable them to analyse scientifically at all times the content of the people's demands, and to interpret them in the process of social change.

Recognising that each MPLA militant must be an agitator for correct ideas, for the political line of our movement, we must clearly define how the work with cadres, with intellectuals, will be oriented.

Thus, we must begin by criticising those comrades who are intimidated when discussing a work question with a doctor, with a cadre, and start from the principle that because this doctor had access to a better education, he knows more than the people, he must be right. In fact, comrades, we know that the great school for cadres is not the bourgeois university. THE SCHOOL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY IS THE TRADE UNION STRUGGLE, THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE, THE WAR OF LIBERATION.

It is in the just struggle of the workers and peasants against exploitation, in practice, that we drink in the ideological strength that enables us to go beyond book knowledge, transforming it through scientific, materialist reasoning, capable of analysing and changing society. This is why we say that the cadres of liberated Angola will emerge from the popular masses, armed with the experience gained from participation in our struggle.

This is also why we know that the intellectuals must be guided by the popular masses so that, step by step, they may conquer the hesitations and inadequacies determined by their class origins.

So we must recruit intellectuals and place them at the service of our people, if they show themselves to be honest and hardworking and are prepared to bear the sacrifices imposed by the conditions of the struggle. We are prepared to guide these intellectuals, to bring them to a revolutionary consciousness, and to establish correct relations with them.

The working masses must, nonetheless, exert popular vigilance over the newcomers to our movement, to prevent infiltration. But we must avoid being discourteous or divisive and demonstrate that political flexibility is one of the virtues of a good revolutionary. Comrades who behave badly must also be objects of this vigilance. So comrades who show themselves to be elitist and have a petty bourgeois practice MUST BE SEVERELY CRITICISED AND EFFECTIVELY MODIFY THEIR BEHAVIOUR. AND IF THEY PERSIST IN THEIR OPPORTUNISM THEY MUST BE RE-EDUCATED BY THE PEOPLE IN DIRECT PRODUCTION.

It is also very important to encourage our militants of worker and peasant origin to study with perseverance, to raise their cultural level and so better to serve our struggle. IN THIS WAY, WE MUST ENSURE THAT THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS ARE INTELLECTUALS AND

THAT THE INTELLECTUALS IDENTIFY WITH THE WORKER AND PEASANT MASSES.

We will then be ready to carry forward our resistance struggle and the great task of national reconstruction.

5

For many comrades the word discipline is an empty word, devoid of revolutionary content.

We are all familiar with the serious problems that this inability to analyse our political line has caused our movement. The fact that some comrades do not fulfil the tasks allotted to them has led, on some occasions, to defeats for our people. The indiscipline of those who, through the radio or newspapers, have deviated from the line defined by the leadership, gives rise to confusion in the minds of the people and creates easy ground for the manoeuvres of the enemy, by the relaxing of vigilance and by factionalism.

Now, as our struggle advanced and passed to higher phases, those militants who acquired a revolutionary consciousness through it understood that organisation is the principal weapon of the people in their struggle against exploitation. In fact, comrades, it is the organisation of the people in correct forms that turns the popular masses into an invincible force, in which ideological unity is cemented in material unity. We all know that this organised, cohesive force, guided by revolutionary principles, cannot be tackled by imperialist armies. But if our people are to resist imperialist aggression IT MUST BE A REALLY ORGANISED AND COHESIVE FORCE.

Hence, the indiscipline of militants is another weapon in the hands of our enemies, corrupting our organisation and making it impossible to execute our watchwords promptly and correctly. Indiscipline threatens the objectives of our struggle, threatens the victory of the exploited masses of our country. Experience has shown us that, in whatever phase of the anti-imperialist struggle, deviations from revolutionary discipline mean relaxing of vigilance, infiltration of wrong ideas and conduct in our midst, and desertions. These are the factors that can make our movement vulnerable and leave us open to defeat.

Recognising that indiscipline demobilises the people and transforms our movement into an anarchic and barely combative organisation, we say that discipline is the sentry which protects the political line, the organisation and the structures. DISCIPLINE IS A NECESSITY FOR THE REVOLUTION AND A PRECONDITION OF ITS VICTORY.

Every militant must, therefore, ceaselessly fight against disrespect or ignorance of the hierarchies, in short, against all bourgeois, decadent and corrupt tendencies in the ranks of our

movement. COMRADES, WE MUST NOT FORGET THAT REVOLUTIONARY VIGILANCE BEGINS IN OUR OWN RANKS.

Through lively ideological debate, through the struggle against liberalism and indiscipline, we must fight incorrect ideas and resolve the contradictions threatening the interests of our anti-imperialist struggle.

We must always remember that revolutionary discipline is not the same as passivity, it is not blind obedience. Revolutionary discipline demands the understanding, unconditional and active adherence of the militants to the principles guiding our struggle.

To be disciplined, the militant must bear out in practice the principle that every man realises himself in the exact measure in which he succeeds in dedicating his forces to the progress of the exploited masses and of the revolution.

To be disciplined, the militant must be responsible and understand that whatever task is entrusted to him must be fulfilled because it corresponds to the legitimate interests of the exploited masses and of our struggle. Thus all tasks are important, there are no superior or inferior tasks in the revolution.

It is as important for our struggle that the comrades of the FAPLAs be in their posts on the military front, as that the comrades of the DIP (Information Department) distribute information explaining our aims to the people, or that the workers in the factories, the peasants in the fields, guarantee the production of the goods needed to feed our people.

But if our watchwords are to correspond truly to the just aims of the people, all our decisions, at whatever level of the hierarchy, must be the result of in-depth discussion. The watchwords must be formulated by the leadership after analysing the just aims of the people and must be taken to the people so that they support them firmly. The results of this interaction between the leadership and the masses are precisely correct ideas.

Similarly we must always take into account the real degree of political consciousness of the comrades who are to apply these watchwords. Before a decision can be carried out, a campaign of clarification and political mobilisation must take place; an example of this is the effort we are currently making to explain to the working masses of our country the content of the order 'Popular generalised resistance'.

The tasks fulfilled must then be analysed by the comrades so they can synthesise the experience gained in practice and raise the level of political theory and consciousness.

Through these correct methods of work we will at the same time be fighting indiscipline and bureaucratic authoritarianism. This is also an incorrect tendency which reflects the lack of democratic practice in colonial society.

Our statutes uphold the principle of democratic centralism. Now democratic centralism must not be confused with bureaucracy and rigid, stereotyped organisation. It demands the establishment of correct relations between the leadership and the base which I referred to earlier. This is why we say that all comrades should participate in the formulation of our political line and so create conditions for the exercise of a broad democracy and freedom within the limits of revolutionary discipline.

This is one of the reasons why we are at present debating the most important problems of the current phase of struggle.

For our meeting to be productive, the comrades must show initiative and participate actively in this discussion.

Only in this way can we establish correct relations between the various echelons of our organisation and so combat opportunism, factionalism, indiscipline and the bureaucratic spirit.

Comrades, it is, therefore, not through anonymous pamphlets, or individual opportunism, that we will achieve our aim. Nor is it through watchwords imposed in an authoritarian way that we will win the support and mobilisation of the broad exploited masses of our country for the political line defined by our movement. It is through active ideological debate at every level of our organisation that we will win that unity indispensable for the victory of our struggle, that we will combat factionalism and all the manoeuvres orchestrated by the enemy to weaken us. Because we are dealing with a question fundamental to the very existence of our movement we remind the comrades yet again that we will make no pact with incorrect ideas and WE WILL HAVE THE COURAGE TO PUNISH WITH JUSTICE AND SEVERITY ALL THOSE WHO DEVIATE FROM OUR JUST REVOLUTIONARY LINE.

6

I would now like to turn the attention of the comrades to another problem of organisation, which is a consequence of liberalism and indiscipline.

It is the question of the distribution of tasks within the movement.

We have noted that some comrades, unable to fulfil the tasks given them by the movement and of understanding the importance of these tasks, dissipate themselves in a thousand and one secondary activities and do not fulfil the tasks entrusted to them.

Here we are faced with yet another incorrect mode of action. These comrades do not work seriously, do not follow a fixed plan and orientation. These comrades place their personal interests above those of our people and thus undermine our struggle with their liberalism. As they do not fulfil their tasks or do them imperfectly, they threaten the application of our political line and, objectively, play the game of

the enemy.

We faced recently the problem of relations between the trade unions, the central union of the movement - UNTA - and the MPLA Secretary of State for Labour, as the organ of the state apparatus. In our opinion the important question to resolve in this case was that of the precise definition of tasks which fall to each of these organs, according to its characteristics; the fulfilment by the comrades of the tasks consequently allotted to them, and the establishment of cooperative and comradely relations between them.

This is one example, but we could unfortunately point to several more.

The comrades must, therefore, define those tasks which, in the present phase of the struggle, fall to each organ of our movement; they must analyse the questions raised by the execution of these tasks and fulfil them with enthusiasm and honesty.

In conclusion, comrades, we must give greater attention to the questions of organisation and strengthen ourselves ideologically by maintaining close links with the masses and by constant study.

CONSCIOUS AND UNITED BY THE JUST CORRECT LINE WE,
THE MPLA, WILL BE THE DECISIVE FORCE WHICH WILL
TRANSFORM SOCIETY AND DESTROY THE ENEMY.

Long live generalised popular resistance

Long live People's Power

The struggle continues

Victory is certain

Thank you comrades.

MPLA POLITICAL PROGRAMME

MINIMUM PROGRAMME

The creation, as a matter of urgency, of an Angolan Liberation Front which combines in a broad union all political parties, all people's organisations, all the armed forces, all eminent personalities in the country, all religious organisations, all minorities, all ethnic groups, all social strata, and all Angolans irrespective of political tendencies, economic circumstances, race, sex, age, and all Angolans resident abroad, in order to attain the following objectives:

- a) continuation by every possible means of the struggle to eliminate colonial domination and all vestiges of colonialist and imperialist relationships and to achieve immediate, full independence of the Angolan motherland;
- b) the constant and indispensable defence of the interests of the peasants and workers, the two most important groups in the country which together make up almost the entire population of Angola;
- c) alliance with all progressive forces in the world, enlisting the sympathy and support of all peoples for the cause of the liberation of the Angolan people.

MAIN PROGRAMME

Immediate and complete independence

- a) The elimination by every possible means of Portuguese colonial domination and of all vestiges of colonialism and imperialism;
- b) joint struggle with all patriotic forces in a broad people's movement whose objective is the taking of power by the Angolan people and the establishment of a republican, democratic system based on total independence;
- c) the sovereignty of the Angolan State belongs entirely and solely to the Angolan people irrespective of ethnic groups, race, class, sex, age, political tendency, religious belief or philosophic conviction;
- d) abolition of all privileges granted by the colonial system to Portuguese and other foreigners;
- e) the Angolan nation shall have the sacred, inviolable right to determine its own destiny, politically, economically, diplomatically, militarily, culturally and in every other way;
- f) revision of Angola's position in the treaties, agreements and alliances concluded by Portugal without the free consent of the Angolan people;
- g) people's unity in order to end any imperialist aggressive attempt and manoeuvres liable to harm the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Angola;

h) establishment of peace in Angola based on a socially just system and the recognition by other countries of the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Angola.

Unity of the nation

- a) To guarantee the unity of all Angolans; to strengthen unity and fraternal assistance;
- b) resolutely to oppose any attempt to divide the Angolan people;
- c) to create the conditions which will enable all Angolans who were forced to go into exile because of the colonial system to return to the country;
- d) each national and ethnic minority shall have the right to use its own language, to create its own written language and to preserve or revise its cultural heritage;
- e) in the interest of the entire Angolan nation, to foster and develop economic, social and cultural solidarity among all regions in Angola;
- f) to guarantee the freedom of movement of all Angolan citizens throughout the country.

Democratic system

- a) A democratic, republican, secular system for Angola;
- b) guaranteed freedom of expression, conscience, worship; freedom of the press, of assembly, of association, of residence, of correspondence, etc, for all Angolans;
- c) all Angolan citizens, regardless of nationality or ethnic group, of sex, race, social level, cultural level, profession, economic condition, and religious or philosophical conviction, shall have the right to vote as from 18 years of age and the right to be elected as from 21 years of age;
- d) an electoral system based on universal suffrage without distinction and on direct, secret ballot;
- e) the Assembly of Angolan People shall be the supreme legislative organ of the State;
- f) the Assembly of Angolan People shall be elected by free, general elections in which legal political parties shall have the right to present candidates on joint or separate lists;
- g) the Assembly of Angolan People shall draw up the first Constitution of the Republic of Angola;
- h) all members of the Assembly of Angolan People shall enjoy parliamentary immunity;
- i) the Assembly of Angolan People shall appoint a government of national unity which shall effectively strengthen unity among the various social strata and which shall truly express the will of the nation, particularly the most exploited sections of the population,

- in favour of freedom and progress in Angola and against the political, economic and cultural submission of the country to foreign interests;
- j) the government of the Republic of Angola shall be the supreme executive organ of the State;
 - k) the government of the Republic of Angola shall exercise the power conferred by the Assembly of Angolan People and shall be answerable for its policy to the Assembly;
 - l) a policy shall be formulated that will permit the delegation of the country's administrative apparatus to the nation's senior officials;
 - m) all foreigners who observe the laws in force in the country shall be guaranteed protection, in accordance with the Declaration of Human Rights.

Economic reconstruction & expansion of production

- a) Balanced development, in stages; planning of the Angolan economy;
- b) transformation of Angola into an economically independent, industrial, modern, prosperous and strong country;
- c) development of agriculture, the main objective being its diversification and an end of monoculture, the gradual growth of agricultural productivity and the gradual mechanisation of rural labour;
- d) creation and gradual expansion of State commercial and industrial undertakings, of production cooperatives and of buying and selling cooperatives;
- e) gradual creation of heavy and light industries to produce consumer goods for the people;
- f) State exploitation of the country's sources of energy;
- g) abolition of the privileges accorded by the colonial regime to Portuguese and other foreign economic undertakings;
- h) revival and development of traditional African industries;
- i) development of communication media and transport;
- j) protection of private industry and commerce;
- k) encouragement of private industry and commerce which is useful to the State economy and the life of the people;
- l) undertakings run by foreigners must respect the new laws in force in Angola;
- m) protection of economic undertakings run by foreigners which are useful to the life and progress of the Angolan people and which strengthen true independence;
- n) intensive development of economic relations between town and country with a view to improving gradually living conditions in the country and raising the standard of living of the peasant population;
- o) effective implementation of a policy which takes the interests of both employed and employers into consideration;

- p) creation of a State bank and of a national currency; prevention of inflation and stabilisation of the currency;
- q) State control of Angola's foreign trade in the interests of the entire people;
- r) review of Angola's so-called debt to Portugal; Angola's balance of payments deficit must be fought and a balance achieved between the country's income and expenditure;
- s) abolition of the fiscal system instituted by Portuguese colonialism and the creation of a new fiscal system which is just, rational and simple;
- t) adjustment and stabilisation of prices;
- u) struggle against speculation.

Agrarian reform

- a) application of agrarian reform which will eliminate all injustices and the private monopoly of agricultural consumer products and which will realise the principle: The land shall belong to those who work it;
- b) nationalisation of the land of those opposed to the People's Movement for the immediate and complete independence of Angola, of the traitors and of the sworn enemies of the independent and democratic Angolan State;
- c) definition of the limitations to be placed on the extension of private rural property, bearing in mind the agrarian situation in each locality;
- d) after review of land ownership deeds, purchase by the State, at a fair price, of lands which exceed the limits established by law;
- e) distribution of land to peasants without land or with insufficient land;
- f) the beneficiaries of land which is legally divided up and distributed shall not be required to pay anything either to the former owner or to the State;
- g) safeguarding of the rights won by the peasants during the people's fight for the independence of Angola.

Social policy of justice and progress

- a) Protection by the State of the rights of the workers, peasants and all sections of the population which actively defend the independence of Angola, the sovereignty and unity of its people and the country's territorial integrity;
- b) immediate abolition of the system of forced labour;
- c) recognition by the State of the workers' right to organise trade unions;
- d) respect for the effective independence of workers' trade unions and legal organisations;

- e) introduction of the 8-hour working day and gradual application of new legislation on workers' protection;
- f) establishment by the State of a minimum salary for workers and strict implementation of the principle: Equal pay for equal work; abolition of all discrimination based on sex, age and ethnic or racial origin;
- g) protection of churches, places of worship and religious institutions which are legally recognised;
- h) absolute equality of rights for both sexes at all levels – political, economic, social and cultural; women shall have absolutely the same rights as men;
- i) application of social assistance; assistance to all Angolan citizens without resources, or sick, or involuntarily unemployed, or old, or disabled;
- j) gradual elimination of unemployment; guaranteed work for workers, employees, officials and young people finishing their education;
- k) special assistance for all citizens disabled as a result of active participation in the fight for Angolan independence; assistance to the families of those who died for their country;
- l) establishment in the country of efficient, adequate medical and health facilities, free of charge, for the peasant populations; balanced development at national level of medical and health services;
- m) State maternity assistance and assistance for children; protection of unmarried mothers;
- n) elimination of prostitution, alcoholism and drug addiction.

Promotion of teaching, culture and education

- a) Elimination of colonialist and imperialist culture and education; reform of the present educational system in line with the cultural, economic and social reality of the Angolan people; development of teaching, culture and education in the interest of the freedom and peaceful advance of the Angolan people;
- b) a vigorous, swift attack on illiteracy throughout the country;
- c) public education shall be the responsibility of the State and shall remain under its direct guidance; creation, distribution and development of the most modern facilities for social communication, such as radio, television, cinema, newspapers and libraries;
- d) free, compulsory education for a minimum period of 6 years;
- e) promotion of secondary, technical and vocational education as well as university education;
- f) establishment of cultural relations with foreign countries; training and advanced training of the senior technicians necessary for building up the country;
- g) promotion and development of the sciences, technology, literature and the arts;

- h) stimulation of and support for the progressive activities of young people;
- i) encouragement and protection of physical culture throughout the country.

National defence

- a) Creation of armed forces for national defence, of sufficient size, closely linked with the people and commanded entirely by Angolan citizens. Creation of military schools and academies
- b) a properly equipped army which should immediately receive the necessary training and exercise; introduction of new military and political instruction, which should be standardised, by the army; establishment of democratic relations between officers and men; consolidation of discipline; development and strengthening, in the army, of national consciousness and struggle against all divisionist tendencies;

Independent and peaceful foreign policy

- a) Establishment and development of diplomatic relations with all countries of the world based on the following principles: mutual respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs; equality and reciprocity of advantages; peaceful coexistence;
- b) respect for the principles laid down in the United Nations Charter and the Charter of African Unity;
- c) no accession to any military block;
- d) good neighbourly relations with adjacent countries;
- e) protection of Angolans residing abroad.

African unity

- a) Total solidarity with all African peoples fighting for their full independence;
- b) total solidarity with the peoples and political movements fighting against Portuguese colonialism, and establishment in the future of special relations with these peoples;
- d) union of African peoples based on the people's will, freely expressed by democratic, peaceful means;
- e) opposition to any attempt at annexation or oppression of the people;
- f) in the process of achieving the unity of the African peoples, defence of the political, economic, social and cultural gains of the peasant and working classes of every country.

MPLA STATUTES

I. THE MPLA

Art 1. The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) founded on 10 December 1956, is a political organisation made up of Angolans without distinction of sex, race, ethnic origin, religious belief, place of birth or domicile.

Art 2. The MPLA bases its actions on the inalienable right of the people to total and immediate independence.

Art 3. The MPLA holds as its objectives:

- a) struggle in the widest popular unity with all Angolan patriotic organisations for the total liquidation of the Portuguese colonial system and of all colonialist and imperialist relationships, and for the conquest of the immediate and complete independence of Angola;
- b) the defence and realisation of the demands of all the oppressed and exploited social classes of the colonial regime, in particular the masses of peasants and workers who make up almost the totality of the population of Angola;
- c) installation of a democratic regime.

II. MEMBERSHIP

Art 4. Members of MPLA are those in the following categories:

- a) Adherents - all Angolans who accept the MPLA Statutes and Programme, militate in one of its organisations, and undertake to execute through daily practice, under its orientation and control, the policies of MPLA;
- b) Militants - after at least one year of activity conforming to the principles defined by the organisation, the adherent can attain the status of militant. The category of militant is a conquest following on revolutionary practice;
- c) Sympathisers - all those Angolans who accept the Statutes and Programme of MPLA, who regularly assist the MPLA, but who nevertheless are not included in a) or b) above; as well as foreigners married to members of MPLA.

Para 1 Foreigners included in c) who by their political and moral behaviour prove their worth, may be promoted to the category of adherent.

Art 5. Each Angolan over 18 joins the MPLA individually on proposal by two members, and on approval by an Action Committee.

Para 1 Collective requests for adhesion to MPLA shall be directed to the Political Bureau, which shall meanwhile maintain the principle of individual admission established in Article 4.

Para 2 Members of MPLA cannot belong to other political organisations.

Para 3 On the following subjects a decision of the Political Bureau is obligatory:

- a) the promotion, on proposal by the competent organ, of members to the categories in Article 4 above;
- b) the readmission of expelled members;
- c) the admission of candidates coming from other political organisations.

Para 4 Adherents and sympathisers cannot occupy leadership positions.

III. THE DUTIES AND RIGHTS OF MEMBERS

Art 6. The duties of members of MPLA are:

- a) to understand the Statutes, the Programme and the political line of MPLA; to work for their practical application;
- b) to be sincere, honest, loyal towards the MPLA and to all comrades, to have

- a high moral standard, to be modest and not to let the truth be hidden or defiled;
- c) to carry out scrupulously the decisions of higher bodies within MPLA, and to respect its hierarchy;
- d) to raise constantly their political and cultural level;
- e) to abide scrupulously by the discipline of MPLA;
- f) to defend the unity and cohesion of MPLA, and to struggle for the unity of Angolan nationalism;
- g) to protect the secrets of MPLA;
- h) to be vigilant against manoeuvres or provocations inside or outside the movement;
- i) to participate actively in the armed struggle;
- j) in the face of the enemy, or in prison, not to make any statement whatsoever prejudicial to the movement, to the struggle for national liberation, or endangering comrades;
- l) to exercise and stimulate the practice of criticism and self-criticism;
- m) to maintain links with the masses, defending their aspirations, knowing how to listen to and understand their opinions, and to transmit them to the responsible people in their organisation;
- n) to participate actively in meetings of their organisation, and to take an active part in its work;
- o) to recruit new members for MPLA, obeying the principles of rigorous selection.

Para 1 Members in the category of sympathisers are exempt from the duties set out in sections i) and m).

Art 7. Members of MPLA not fully employed on the tasks of the movement must pay dues as fixed by the competent bodies.

Art 8. The members of MPLA have the following rights:

- a) to elect and be elected to the leading bodies of MPLA. However only those totally dedicated to the activities of the movement, and having at least two years of consecutive active militancy, can be elected to higher bodies;
- b) to intervene freely in debates inside the organisations, commenting as they think correct on the work of the movement; in the organisations to which they belong, to criticise the work of higher bodies and the activity of the organisation or of any member of MPLA, irrespective of the office that he may occupy; through the intermediary of the organisation to which they belong, to treat with higher bodies on all questions of interest to MPLA;
- c) not to suffer sanctions without being heard. To appeal to the immediately superior bodies in cases of sanctions that are considered unjust;
- d) to propose the admission of new members.

Para 1 Sympathisers and adherents are not included in a)

IV. METHOD OF WORK

Art 9. The activity of MPLA obeys the following principles:

- a) the election of all leadership bodies from the base to the highest level;
- b) the submission of the minority to the majority. Carrying out of the decisions of the majority by a dissenting minority;
- c) the subordination of lower groups to higher. Lower bodies are obliged to report on their activities to higher bodies. Decisions from there have an obligatory character for the lower bodies;
- d) free discussion inside all bodies. After the discussion, the resulting decisions are obligatory for all its members;
- e) prohibition of factions or any factional activity. Rigorous discipline in deference to the organic principles and statutory dispositions of the movement;
- f) all MPLA bodies have a large scope for initiative provided that their

- resolutions do not disagree with the political line and the resolutions of higher bodies of the movement;
- g) the MPLA adopts the principle of collective leadership from the Central Committee to the base organisations, educating members in the spirit of respect for collective decisions and opinions, and condemning individualistic work and the cult of personality;
- h) collective responsibility of the leadership presupposes individual responsibility and a spirit of initiative by each member. Mutual aid amongst the members of MPLA;
- i) criticism and self-criticism must be stimulated and applied in all organisms of MPLA as the method of improving work, correcting errors and educating;
- j) MPLA must have a policy aimed at forming cadres by being rigorous on the knowledge, selection and promotion of militants, eliminating preferences arising from personal friendship, relationship, tribalism, regionalism, racism, promoting members who are active and modest, faithful to MPLA, who have revealed their capacity, dedication and combative spirit.

V. CONGRESS

Art 10. The Congress is the supreme organ of MPLA, functioning on the national level, and ordinarily meets every four years. The Congress is made up of:

- a) delegates elected by Regional, Zonal, Sector and local assemblies;
- b) delegates of mass organisations allied with MPLA;
- c) all the members of the Central Committee enjoying their full rights;
- d) members of the Central Committee who for one reason or another are deprived of the exercise of their functions.

Art 11. The competence of the Congress is:

- a) to consider, discuss, amend and approve the reports of the Central Committee;
- b) to establish, revise and modify the Programme, Statutes and political line of MPLA;
- c) to elect the Central Committee and the President;
- d) to institute a system of controls at every level of the organisation.

Art 12. The Convening of Congress is the responsibility of the Central Committee which can, whenever it judges necessary, convene an Extraordinary Congress.

VI. CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Art 13. The Central Committee ensures the orientation of the general activity of the movement, within the framework of the MPLA Congress decisions, in the period between Congresses.

- a) The Central Committee elects a Political Bureau from its members, to be its executive organ, with the President as an automatic member;
- b) no member of the Central Committee can be deprived of his functions without a fundamental and democratic decision of an absolute majority of $\frac{2}{3}$ of the members of the Central Committee;
- c) the Central Committee is made up of 41 effective members and 10 alternates;
- d) each vacancy occurring on the Central Committee must be filled by an alternate, as elected by Congress, with the Central Committee deciding by absolute majority which alternate member should take up the existing vacancy;
- e) alternate members of the Central Committee participate in its meetings, but only with a consultative vote.

Art 14. The Central Committee shall:

- a) take care of the implementation of the political line, the laws and the budget

- of the movement, and the conduct of the war;
b) nominate the Steering Commissions of the Fronts or Regions.

Art 15. The Central Committee normally meets every six months.

VII. POLITICAL BUREAU

Art 16. The Political Bureau is the executive organ of the Central Committee, constituted by 10 members including the President.

Art 17. The competence of the Political Bureau is:

- a) to assure the coordination of the functioning of all the departments and organs of the movement;
- b) to be responsible for centralising and distributing inside and outside the organisation of the movement all correspondence to or from the movement;
- c) to keep the central archives of the movement;
- d) to propose meetings of the Central Committee whenever the needs of activities demand;
- e) to convene meetings of the Steering Commissions of the Fronts, Regions, departments or services, whenever judged necessary;
- f) to ratify the strategic orientation defined by the Supreme Council of Defence.

Art 18. Each member of the Political Bureau has the task of coordinating a department or organ of the movement.

Art 19. The Secretariat of the Political Bureau is administered by one of its members, who shall be the Administrative Secretary.

- a) The Secretariat has exclusively administrative functions.

Art 20. The competence of the Secretary is:

- a) to give effect to clause b) of Article 17;
- b) to be responsible for the central archives of the movement;
- c) to keep minutes of the meetings of the Political Bureau;
- d) to keep members of the Central Committee well informed.

Art 21. The Political Bureau normally meets monthly.

VIII. THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF DEFENCE

Art 22. The Supreme Council of Defence is constituted by:

- a) the President of the movement;
- b) two members of the Central Committee;
- c) the Chief of Staff;
- d) the Political Commissar of the General Staff;
- e) two delegates of FAPLA.

Art 23. The functions of the Supreme Council of Defence are:

- a) to structure FAPLA during the organisational period;
- b) to formulate military strategy;
- c) to plan military activities;
- d) to coordinate the activities of clandestine organisations in the interior.

IX. THE STEERING COMMISSIONS

Art 24. The Steering Commissions of Front or Region are composed of at least five members who belong to the Central Committee, and two delegates of the military headquarters or the Region.

Art 25. The Steering Commissions are competent to coordinate and execute all the activities of the movement at the level of Front or Region, as set out by

the Political Bureau.

X. DEPARTMENTS

Art 26. The Departments are: 1 Education and Culture; 2 Cadres; 3 Information and Propaganda; 4 External Relations; 5 Security; 6 National Reconstruction; 7 Health; 8 Political Organisation; 9 Finance; 10 Social Affairs; 11 Mass Organisations.

- a) Each of the Departments of MPLA shall have its own internal regulations, the draft for which shall be formulated by the Political Bureau, and approved and ratified by the Central Committee;
- b) each Department must have written accounts, based on duly ordered and filed documentation.

XI. PRESIDENCY

Art 27. The President of MPLA is a member of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau, elected by Congress.

Art 28. The President of MPLA:

- a) represents MPLA on the political, military and juridical levels, and at national and international levels;
- b) oversees the general activity of the movement in carrying out the laws, principles and resolutions of MPLA;
- c) coordinates the activities of the Political Bureau;
- d) presides over meetings of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau;
- e) has the right to a casting vote in the taking of decisions by the Central Committee, the Political Bureau, and the Supreme Council of Defence;
- f) is the usual spokesman of MPLA, and the natural representative of the Central Committee.

Para 1 In case of a decisive impediment to this, the Central Committee can convene an Extraordinary Congress, taking place within 90 days of the impediment, exclusively for election of the President.

Art 29. In the absence of the President, the Political Bureau is competent to resolve which of its members shall assume the Presidency in the interim.

XII. MPLA ORGANISATION AT DIFFERENT LEVELS

Art 30. The structure of MPLA consists of the following levels, in hierarchy:

- a) national level;
- b) regional level;
- c) zone level;
- d) sector level;
- e) local level.

Art 31. The Assembly is the supreme organ at each level of the movement. It is constituted by representatives of all the organisations at the said level.

Art 32. At the Regional, Zone, Sector and Local levels the executive body is the Action Committee, elected two-yearly by the Assembly of the said level.

Art 33. The Group is the basic organisation of MPLA, and cannot be made up of less than three members. Thus groups of ranch, office, school, plantation, department, etc.

Art 34. The officers of the groups are elected two-yearly by the respective Assembly. The organisations constituted at these levels - Action Committees and officers -

have the following general duties:

- a) to understand the duties of the popular masses amongst whom they work. To take initiatives of a political character within their sphere of action;
- b) to apply the decisions of higher bodies of the movement, and assure the implementation of their own decisions;
- c) to approve the admission of members, proposed following the conditions laid down in these Statutes; to develop the creative spirit of the masses, to dynamise the combativeness of militants, and to develop the national consciousness of the Angolan people;
- d) to develop the practice of criticism and self-criticism, having due consideration for the opinions of members of the movement;
- e) to fight against tribalism, regionalism, racism, and all obstacles to the development of the struggle;
- f) to encourage Angolans to join the ranks of MPLA;
- g) to be constantly vigilant against the infiltration of enemy agents into the ranks of MPLA;
- h) to organise financial and economic aid for the popular masses of the movement;
- i) to meet regularly, to discuss and raise the implementation of the general orientation of the movement, and to maintain a close link with the masses.

XIII. MASS ORGANISATIONS

Art 35. The MPLA must stimulate the organisations of the masses, such as the women's organisation, youth, trade union organisation, sporting organisations, etc., within which the members of MPLA shall press for the application of the political orientation of the movement. In special circumstances, related to the needs of the development of the struggle, the Political Bureau must aim to orient the activity of these organisations.

XIV. DISCIPLINE OF MPLA

Art 36. The discipline of the MPLA is the same for all members of the movement, whatever the tasks they have or to whichever organisations they belong, and is based on the conscious acceptance of the political orientation, the Programme, and the Statutes of the organisation.

Art 37. Those elements of MPLA who distinguish themselves by heroic feats, or other outstanding contributions to the prestige of the movement and the progress of the national liberation struggle, will be honoured.

Art 38. Members of MPLA who behave unworthily, or who in whatever way do not respect the established norms of the life of the movement or the bodies to which they belong, who do not respect the decisions of higher bodies, or those to which they belong, the Statutes, Programme and regulations, shall be subject to sanctions.

Art 39. Sanctions shall be applied according to the responsibility of the members and the gravity of the faults committed. They shall be applied in a spirit of fraternity and justice, so as to correct the faults of the member and strengthen the unity and discipline of the movement.

Art 40. Decorations and punishments shall be established in the General Internal Regulations.

XV. FINANCE

Art 41. MPLA funds are essentially provided by dues and contributions from members, donations, and the result of sales of materials published or produced.

Art 42. The administration of MPLA funds is carried out by the Political Bureau, through the Department of Finance.

XVI. OMISSIONS

Art 43. Omissions in the existing Statutes are resolved according to competence:

a) By the General Internal Regulations or by the Central Committee. The General Internal Regulations are formulated by the Central Committee, and are in force provisionally, until approval by Congress.

XVII. MODIFICATIONS AND DISSOLUTION

Art 44. Only the Congress of MPLA can modify the present Statutes.

Art 45. Throughout every stage in development of the history of Angola, MPLA proposes to develop patriotic action having as its constant objective the defence of the rights of the masses of peasants and workers, and the wellbeing and happiness of the Angolan people.

Only an absolute majority of 4/5 (four-fifths) of the delegates at a Congress can decide on the dissolution of MPLA and the disposition of its property.

XVIII. INSIGNIAS

Art 46. The flag of MPLA is a cloth rectangle divided to make two horizontal bands, the upper red and the lower black. In the centre is a five-pointed gold star, two points on the black and three on the red bands. The dimensions of the flag are as follows: length 120cm; height 80cm; height of each band 40cm; radius of star 20cm.

a) The following is the significance of the colours of the flag:

Red: the blood shed by Angolans during the colonial oppression and national liberation struggle;

Black: the African continent;

Gold: the riches of our country;

b) the points of the star signify: unity; liberty; justice; democracy; progress;

c) the emblem of MPLA is a white oval background containing a green map of Angola, with a superimposed black hand holding a yellow torch with red flame.

Between concentric yellow lines surrounding the oval is the inscription:

MOVIMENTO POPULAR DE LIBERTACAO DE ANGOLA - MPLA.

20p

0319
AB-01