

VITÓRIA OU MORTE



Official Organ of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola



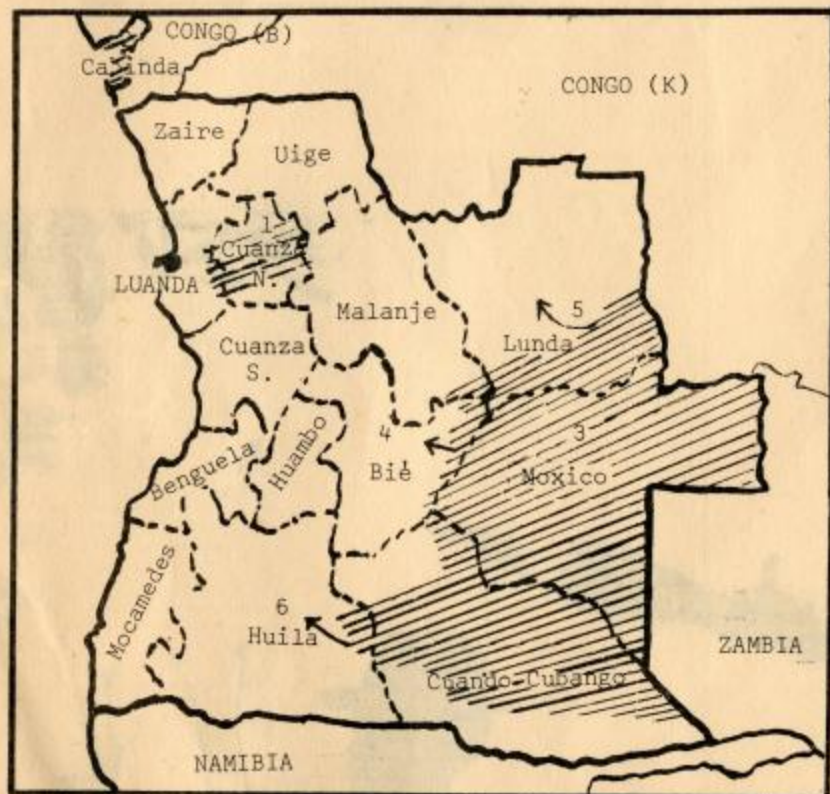
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^{*}(Victory or Death)

Carta



▨ Semi-liberated areas → Penetration zones

Publication of MPLA's official English language bulletin, *ANGOLA IN ARMS*, has been temporarily suspended. Until publication is resumed, LSM Information Center will be translating and reproducing MPLA's French language bulletin, *VITÓRIA OU MORTE*.



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LIBERATION SUPPORT
MOVEMENT

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President Neto's Speech to the Oslo Conference **Thirteen Years of Warfare**

The Angolan people have always opposed colonial undertakings and our history is a continuing succession of struggles against foreign forces on its soil. Nor will the colonial powers ever dare to test their presence in Angola by a plebiscite. The results of colonialism are well-known: pillage, dispoiling of wealth, exploitation of human beings to the point of total exhaustion and death, illiteracy, flagrant injustices, arbitrary arrests, hateful crimes, and finally, a war of genocide.

One of the greatest ills of colonialism is cultural aggression, which is aimed at the depersonalization of the African, the crushing of his culture and his moral values, in a word, complete alienation. African languages are rejected and downgraded to the rank of inferior dialects. It is only now, after hasty reform measures, that it has become possible to use African languages in a radio station for the black people, but existing legislation provides that African languages can be used in school only as a vehicle for learning Portuguese. The fascist Government of Lisbon, after having signed the United Nations Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights, infringes their most elementary provisions at every step and makes a mockery of the resolutions of the United Nations and the very existence of this institution.

The resistance war of the Angolan people has entered into its thirteenth

year. There have been twelve years of sacrifices, but also twelve years marked by vast successes that enable us today to control more than one-third of the national territory, and to build a new life there. Such a record would never be possible without the enthusiastic support of the people of Angola. A recent agreement on the unification of the Angolan fighting forces has strengthened the determination of our people and expanded further the gap which divides it from colonialism.

The Angolan position, therefore, is very clear; on the one hand, the aggressive and exploiting colonialism and on the other hand, the determination of the Angolan people to win. The recent decision by the United Nations, legally establishes, at the international level, the illegality of the Portuguese presence in Africa as well as the right of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies to be exclusively represented by their respective liberation movements. On the colonialist side, the war in Angola is characterized by a defensive strategy designed to safeguard colonial privileges at all costs. This strategy uses the criminal tactic of the massive use of defoliants, herbicides and arboricides; the use of napalm; and the bombardment of peaceful villages by mop-up operations by commandos, which primarily attack the civilian population. In brief, this is an all-out war tactic designed to create a

vast region extending to the centre of the country, so that it cannot be inhabited. More and more, the Portuguese army is hiring puppet Angolans to fight other Angolans.

On the nationalist side, the military situation is typified by effective control of more than a third of our national territory; by the use of new forms of struggle on the base of larger military units; the use of more powerful and more modern equipment; and by the consolidation of the rear guard as a means of attack against other regions, which are still under enemy control.

In economic terms we note an increasing imbalance between the monetary sector and the traditional sector of the economy, and also between the various regions of the country. We also note a vast series of Western investments in diamonds, petroleum and certain manufactured goods. This reflects ruthless exploitation of the working masses and the ruination of the peasants, which is accentuated by the pure and simple theft of the best lands and cattle.

In social terms, two converging tendencies have emerged; firstly, there is the strengthening of the colonial structures by increasing the gap between the European and African communities and by a systematic policy of crushing the Angolan people. Secondly, there is the creation of a privileged layer of corrupt Angolans, for the obvious purpose of diverting the people from their major objectives and distorting the sense of the liberation struggle.

Lastly, at the political level, side by side with the advance of this alienated level of society, police methods, which can only exist in a colonialist and fascist state, are used. These consist of continuing searches, arbitrary arrests, assassination of war prisoners and nationalists, and terror.

Against all of this, our people under the guidance of our movement, are building in the controlled regions a new life, with the greatest respect for the principles of justice and democracy. People elect their action committees, which are bodies that guide every aspect of life at the local level. The movement is setting up schools and hospitals. Vast areas condemned to abandonment by five centuries of colonialism thus are seeing modern progressive institutions for the first time. In schools and elsewhere, we stress patriotic training and culture, based on national and scientific values, and the application of democratic principles.

According to official figures, Portugal, which has a per capita income of about 700 dollars, undertakes to spend 16.5 billion escudos or more than 7 per cent of its gross national product, on a filthy colonialist war, which is a lost cause. It set out too late to industrialize its own country and it now wishes to align itself at all costs with the expanding European community. But colonial wars and the archaic structures of Portugal itself compel it to demand favourable conditions if it is to join the European Common Market. The acceptance of these conditions shows to what degree the West is ready to sacrifice itself in order to help Portugal in its genocidal undertakings in Africa.

Despite the fact that the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations have recognized the liberation movements as the only movements

representative of the peoples under the Portuguese domination, these Great Powers continue to have all kinds of relations with the Portuguese colonies. These relations include trade, tourism, investments and the sale of war materiel, even though the MPLA has continually stated that one single year of economic boycott would suffice to stop the war.

Indeed, the boycott of the Portuguese colonies is the most effective means for putting an end to the bloodletting. Some people claim that the boycott would be too cruel a weapon against the African peoples, but let them not deceive themselves. In truth, the Angolan people derive no benefit from foreign trade and the halting of the war would be a much more valuable and definitive gain.

We are witnessing a flagrant act of opposition between words and deeds. And these deeds include the spreading of the activities of large international companies in Angola, particularly in the mining industry; the rapid advance of Angolan sales in the West; the modernization of the Portuguese army, above all with criminal weapons of herbicides and arboricides. The result of all of this is the increased exploitation of Angola and its people and the intensification of genocide.

Western countries should not continue to help Portugal while voting for us. Everyone must know that to buy coffee is to suck the blood of the Angolan people; to invest in Portugal or to give it foreign exchange in the form of tourism is to release Portuguese capital to finance the war. In this connection, we would like to pay a tribute to the attitude of Holland which has stopped the purchase of Angolan coffee and petroleum.

Some countries think that they are very clever in camouflaging their relations with the Portuguese colonies behind others, such as South Africa, Rhodesia and Spain. The practice of this camouflage must be put to an end, and private business should no longer invest in the colonies when their Governments speak out against colonialism. If the Portuguese cause is a lost cause, we must hasten its downfall and establish new relations based on justice and equity with the independent people.

The MPLA has won great international victories within the last few years. In 1969, it participated in the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Lusaka, where the liberation movements were accepted as observers. Again in 1970 at the Rome conference, the liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies were recognized as having the right to represent their respective peoples. At the end of that Conference, the President of MPLA, the Vice-President of FRELIMO and the much-esteemed Secretary-General of PAIGC, Comrade Amílcar Cabral, were received in audience by His Holiness, Pope Paul VI. Following these great historic events, the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations have granted observer status to the liberation movements. We believe that the problem of the Portuguese colonies should be tackled at the European Security Conference.

But despite all the success we have achieved, there are sometimes some setbacks, as at this Oslo Conference, where the delegates do not represent either their Governments or the liberation

(continued on p. 6)

Anguish

of the Fascist Portuguese Regime

Since 1961 Portugal's fascist regime has been caught in a great crisis which deepens as time goes by. The development of the national liberation struggles in Angola, Guiné-Bissau and Mozambique have exposed the contradictions facing Portugal's colonialist and fascist regime for the last 40 years. These contradictions result from the unjust distribution of wealth, the discontent of the Portuguese masses and the firm opposition of the youth to war and colonial repression perpetrated by the Lisbon Government.

Today, along with a struggle for democratic rights within Portugal, a vast campaign is developing against the colonial war and in support of the liberation movements, a campaign which has culminated in the armed actions of the democratic forces. This is one of the reasons why Rui Patrício, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, declared at the beginning of this year that "the primary objective of Portuguese diplomacy is and will always remain the uncompromising defense of the overseas empire." Why this decision?

In December 1972 an agreement was signed in Kinshasa between MPLA and FNLA, to unite all the people in the Angolan national liberation struggle and at the same time to develop the armed struggle against the colonialist occupation forces.

The fascist Lisbon Government -- once again preparing to present to the world its farcical "parliamentary elections" -- has set in motion all the machinery of its Corporate State in order to respond to the pressure of the liberation movements in Angola, Guiné-Bissau and Mozambique. At present the press, television and other means of propaganda are at the service of Mr. Caetano for the "election year."

In any case, 1973 is no calm year for the Caetano regime. It is a year of violence and contradictions in the very heart of the fascist apparatus, and the liberation struggles in Africa are at the root of these contradictions. In January Angola and Mozambique were granted -- in the language of Caetano's demagoguery -- the "honorary title of States."

Sa Carneiro, ex-deputy of the Portuguese National Assembly, who considered the amendments unconstitutional, had no choice but to resign, since he considered "unfortunate the rejection of another series of proposals which included the guarantee of freedom of assembly and association." But the fascist disgrace did not end there. In early February another ex-deputy, Miller Guerra, renounced his seat, declaring: "I am profoundly disillusioned. I had hoped for developments towards progress; I see only continuity and monotony. I had hoped for liberalization; I see only authoritarianism. I had hoped for a political program in harmony with our ideals of freedom, equality and peace; I see the opposite." These arguments are not new but they become more significant when voiced by people previously trusted by the fascist regime. A strange land,

Portugal, in which according to Guerra, "The National Assembly is an ornamental appendage of the government."

In the meantime the anniversary of the launching of the armed struggle in Angola was celebrated with heavy attacks by MPLA forces against colonialist troops. Innocent young men, sons of the Portuguese people, died from the bullets of the nationalists. For whom did they die? The Portuguese colonialist fascist regime refuses to learn from history and defies present international trends. During March and April it saw several of its planes disintegrate over Guiné-Bissau when hit by missiles of PAIGC armed forces. It is clear that the Machiavellian maneuver of the Lisbon Government -- assassinating Amílcar Cabral -- did not attain its objective, the destruction of PAIGC. Portugal's administration is finally yielding to reality; it now recognizes a "state of war" in Africa.

During April the Portuguese democratic opposition met in Aveiro and drew up a general plan to make their presence felt as much as possible in Portugal, particularly during the electoral period. International public opinion could not ignore the existence of so many young men and women who -- under a dictatorial regime where torture is a method of practising justice -- dared raise their voices to shout: "Liberty! liberty! liberty for the Portuguese people and liberation for the peoples of the colonies."

In Oslo representatives from many European, African and Asian States met at a conference organized jointly by the UN and OAU. They defined, in the presence of African liberation movements, a program to accelerate the liberation of countries still subject to colonial and imperialist occupation. The liberation movements participated on the same level as independent countries and once again proved their maturity by their contribution to the proceedings. The movements from the Portuguese colonies played a very important role.

During this time political struggles have increased in Portugal. Masses of demonstrators protested in the streets with slogans against inflation, rising cost of living and the colonial wars -- while the Human Rights Commission denounced the atrocities committed by the Portuguese occupation forces in Angola, Guiné-Bissau and Mozambique.

The colonialist fascist regime could not remain indifferent to all this. It had to answer; but how? In May it organized a congress of the so-called Popular National Action (a new name for the National Union). There were no young people at this congress and no participation from the masses. To fill the gap, a new congress had to be called. This time fascism didn't worry about form. It had nothing to hide. The Portuguese OAS showed up in the city of Porto under the title "Congress of Overseas Veterans." The Portuguese people, who are tired of being told that the Portuguese troops were engaged only in "police actions" in the colonies, are now aware that violent combat takes place between the Portuguese forces and the nationalist liberation movements.

Also in May, the African Chiefs of State met in Addis-Ababa. Their solemn declaration of general policy said: "Today more than ever we are convinced

that armed struggle constitutes the main form of liberation. We reaffirm in the name of all African peoples our determination to develop moral support and material aid for our brothers engaged in combat for the common ideals of justice, dignity and independence." Thus, the whole of Africa says with one voice that armed struggle is liberating. This confirms the practice of the liberation movements.

In June the UN Committee for Decolonization met to evaluate recent activities of the liberation movements, which for the first time were present as observers. At this meeting the liberation movements did not hesitate to denounce the collusion of the British Government with Portugal's fascist regime mainly because they considered the invitation to Caetano to visit London -- for the 600th anniversary of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance -- as an act of political indiscretion and a flouting of international public opinion.

But the anguish of the fascist Portuguese regime continues. Defying international opinion, Caetano went to London where he was received with eggs and tomatoes while the mass-media told of massacres perpetrated in Mozambique by the colonialist troops in the name of their leader.

International public opinion expressed its indignation and anger. Only the governments allied with fascism kept quiet. Then in June, Caetano's friends, the members of Popular National Action (ANP) -- the only legal party -- decided to hold what they called a "meeting of liberals," at which Caetano declared: "It is evident that the country's number one problem was and continues to be the overseas territories." The contradictions with which the fascist regime is struggling are such that even the colleagues of the "theoretician of Portuguese corporatism and master of colonial rights" are forced to dissociate themselves from his policies in view of the coming elections in which, the problem of the African colonies will be the center of attention. But the year is not over yet and Caetano's anguish, in his role as leader of a decaying regime, responsible for the misery of the Portuguese people, has not ended.

The regimes supporting fascist repression within Portugal and oppression and pillage in the colonies now know that the Portuguese people and especially the youth have rejected the values of "Western Christian Civilization" and the "Free World." Will these countries dare continue their support of a decaying regime? They should seriously consider it since, according to the fascist Magalhães Mota: "It is impossible to maintain indefinitely a situation which is rapidly deteriorating."

News Flashes

The Dutch newspaper "Groene Amsterdam" of last July 11 published a secret Portuguese report in which the fascist Caetano government admits the increasing influence of the MPLA among the Angolan masses and its importance as a national

liberation movement.

The report indicates that in 1970 there were 2,518 actions against the Portuguese colonialists, of which the overwhelming majority were carried out by the most important liberation movement in Angola, the MPLA. Following is the casualty report for 1970, as given by the Portuguese colonialists:

- Portuguese soldiers put out of combat: 4,195
- Portuguese soldiers missing: 2,655
- Portuguese soldiers killed: 355
- Portuguese soldiers wounded: 1,242.

The same confidential document confirms that MPLA is very active throughout the whole country, thanks to the unconditional support it receives from the masses, including the people of Angola's capital (Luanda), who are ready to take up arms to expel the Portuguese colonialists.

In Canada support for the African liberation movements is gaining ground. Recently people sympathizing with our people's struggle against Portuguese colonialist oppression launched "Operation Angola," which aims to mobilize the broad Canadian masses in active support of our struggle.

The boycott of Angolan coffee is one of the objectives of this operation, which includes lectures, film showings and seminars. A liaison bulletin has already appeared. Numerous posters and slogans with appropriate pictures are being widely disseminated. The Angolan people thus find themselves encouraged by another people far from Angola, who have understood the justice of our struggle.

In addition, the Liberation Support Movement, also in Canada, has undertaken a printshop project for MPLA, with the aim of modernizing our printing operation.

Traveling from Lusaka to participate in the 10th anniversary celebration of the Congolese revolution, the president of MPLA visited Lubumbashi and Kinshasa, where he met and exchanged views with the president of the FNLA.

At the Conference of Oslo, held last April, our comrade, Agostinho Neto, President of MPLA, was elected Vice-President of the Conference.

The Second International Conference against the War and for Solidarity with Vietnam was held in Tokyo. On August 5 this conference sent a resolution to the Portuguese Embassy in Tokyo protesting the massacre of Mozambican people by the troops of Portuguese colonialism. In the same resolution they criticized Great Britain and the member nations of NATO, which share responsibility for Portuguese aggression in Africa, and which are at the same time allies and principal supporters of South Africa and Rhodesia.

MPLA PIONEERS AT THE WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL IN GDR

At the end of last school year our Organization of Angolan Pioneers (OPA) received a fraternal invitation from the Organization of Pioneers and Youth of the German Democratic Republic to participate in an international meeting of pioneers.

In July, therefore, a delegation of our pioneers took off by plane for the GDR, where they spent more than a month. We reproduce below the impressions of the leader of our delegation.

"The forty days our delegation spent in the GDR were very successful and gave us vivid impressions of the enthusiasm of the pioneers of the GDR and other countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America.

"The participation of MPLA pioneers in this festival of youth was active and positive. We collaborated in a common program with sister delegations of pioneers from Mozambique and Guiné-Bissau. For the first time we had the opportunity to get to know better the pioneers of these two countries and peoples in an atmosphere of genuine fraternity. In addition, our delegation met in friendship and solidarity with organizations and delegations of pioneers from Vietnam, Finland, Poland, France, the GDR and the USSR, among others. The results of these meetings were most satisfactory; our pioneers enjoyed the warm hospitality of the GDR.

"In the political sphere there was great sympathy from the pioneers of other countries, who expressed their solidarity with the youth of Angola and their support for the struggle of our people against Portuguese colonialism. They condemned the barbarism with which the Portuguese colonialists treat African youth in Angola, Mozambique and Guiné-Bissau.

"All pioneers at the conference condemned the Portuguese colonialist and imperialist regime, which continues in mid-twentieth century to maintain the people of Angola in slavery, in a society without dignity for Africans, in which children have no rights, no possibility of education, no guarantee of their future, no joy.

"Large demonstrations were organized against the massacres of children, young people, the elderly and women, perpetrated by the Portuguese colonialists in Angola, as well as against the latest massacres in Mozambique.

"An outstanding example of the international solidarity of the pioneers with our struggle is the International Appeal issued in defense of the rights of children, which was adopted at a seminar organized by the International Committee of the Movement for Children and Adolescents (CIMEIA). The delegation from Angola, Mozambique and Guiné-Bissau participated fully as members of the CIMEIA. The Appeal was adopted by more than forty countries, and stipulates the rights of children in our countries. It will be sent to the United Nations for further action.

"A second example of solidarity is the very positive position taken by the delegation from Finland, who sent a vigorous note of protest to their government against its policy of cooperation with the Portuguese colonialist government and demanded an immediate break in its political, economic and commercial relations with Portugal.

"In the field of education, we had the opportunity to exchange impressions and experiences with other delegations and officials of Free German Youth. These officials were told about the organization and education of our pioneers.

"In the matter of cooperation, collaboration and aid, the assurances obtained are encouraging. The seventeen international pioneer organizations with which our delegation had fraternal meetings and conversations promised to intensify their activities through correspondence, exchange of delegations, and material support for our struggle.



TENTH SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF THE

Declaration on territories under Portuguese domination.

OAU

The Tenth Summit Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the OAU approved at Addis-Ababa a solemn declaration of general policy giving special attention, among the crucial problems of our continent, to the struggle for liberation. Following are a few passages concerning decolonization:

"From the time of the founding of our organization, we, the heads of state and government of the independent African nations, have given very special attention to the liberation of Africa in its entirety.

"As we are entering our second decade, we are obliged to note that African countries have suffered through the years, and continue to suffer, the most abject colonialism and the most degrading oppression. On this historic occasion, we reaffirm our unconditional and unequivocal commitment to the struggle against colonial and racial domination of the continent, which remains the greatest challenge to African unity."

DECLARATION ON THE TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE DOMINATION

"The armed struggle for national liberation against Portuguese colonialism, commencing in 1961 in Angola, and later in Guiné-Bissau and Mozambique, has won great victories thanks to the courage and sacrifices of the valiant freedom fighters.

"Today, vast regions have been liberated in these three countries. In the framework of new structures representing national sovereignty, the work of reconstruction is being organized in all aspects of social life, education, health, and production. The armed struggle is constantly reaching into new zones, now seriously threatening the economic and strategic interests of colonialism.

"In Mozambique, FRELIMO has opened a new front in the central province of Manica e Sofala. In the liberated regions of Guiné-Bissau PAIGC has led the people in holding free elections for a National Popular Assembly. In Angola, besides the great victories won on the battlefield, the agreement on unity reached last December between the MPLA and the FNLA represents a great victory for Angolan nationalism as a whole. At São Tomé and Príncipe, resistance is being organized and developed under the leadership of the MLSTP.

"On the international level, the liberation struggles against Portuguese colonial domination find growing sympathy in all sectors and in all currents of opinion; in governments as well as in political, religious and labor organizations, both national and international.

"This solidarity has led to recognition by the United Nations both of the legitimacy of the armed struggle of the liberation movements, and of these movements themselves as the sole legitimate representatives of their peoples.

"These national and international successes are the result of the efforts of

all of united Africa, and more particularly of the movements of national liberation, whose courage and determination we salute. Their victories help consolidate the independence and unity of the African states.

"Incapable of arresting the progress of the struggle, the Portuguese colonial regime relies more and more on the aid of its allies. Rhodesian and South African troops are intervening directly in Mozambique and Angola.

"In order to associate its Western allies more integrally with its colonial war, the Portuguese government grants increasing privileges to these nations for the exploitation of the resources of the dominated countries. This is the case with the Cabora Bassa Dam project (Mozambique) and the Cunene Dam project (Angola), both of which are intended to perpetuate colonial domination and to identify the interests of international financial circles with the survival of Portuguese colonialism.

"In an attempt to prevent its increasing diplomatic isolation (attested by the unanimous condemnation of Portuguese colonialism by the UN Security Council), the Portuguese colonial regime is presently engaged in a campaign designed to consolidate its present alliances and create new ones.

"The tightening of bonds between Great Britain and Portugal, using as a pretext the 600th anniversary of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance, must be viewed in this framework, as must the efforts to rally certain Latin American states to Portuguese colonial policy.

"Thanks to the massive aid of its allies, particularly the United States, France, Great Britain, the German Federal Republic and Japan, the colonial regime pursues its war and intensifies its criminal repression, multiplying arrests and murders, detaining millions in concentration camps, spreading defoliants and mercilessly bombing people and their possessions.

"In a vain effort to put an end to the struggle, it has recourse to maneuvers designed to deceive international opinion, using such terms as 'autonomy,' 'free elections' and 'Africanization of the war.'

"Portugal even stoops to assassination of political leaders of the liberation movements, valorous combatants and eminent sons of Africa, like Amílcar Cabral.

"Portugal resorts to frequent provocations, threats, acts of subversion and aggression against the independent African countries, especially those bordering on the territories under its domination.

"That is why Portuguese obstinacy constitutes a very grave threat to peace and security in Africa.

"The experience of the armed struggle over the past ten years confirms that this has constituted and will continue to constitute the principal form of struggle of the peoples under Portuguese colonial dominations, and that the end of this domination depends on the intensification

of this combat.

"The African states decide, in consequence, to reinforce their moral and material support to the struggle for national liberation, both through the OAU and by stimulating bilateral aid, so that the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies will be able to carry out the immense tasks of armed struggle and national reconstruction.

"Considering the tasks to be accomplished by the national liberation movements of Angola, Guiné-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, and taking into account the broad responsibilities they assume in the administration of the populations, the African states decide to integrate the liberation movements into the study and resolution of the problems of our continent, primarily by having them participate in all the activities of the OAU.

"The African states decide, in addition, to publicize more widely among their peoples the liberation struggle and its successes, in order to assure more complete solidarity.

"On the international level, the African states decide to intensify their efforts in favor of UN resolutions condemning Portuguese colonialism.

"The African states decide likewise to continue vigorously, both collectively and bilaterally, their representations to the governments and peoples of the countries allied with Portugal, with a view to putting an end to the many types of aid which these countries grant Portugal, aid which constitutes the major obstacle to the liberation of the colonized territories.

"The African states invite all countries of the world and international organizations, both governmental and non-governmental, to grant more effective moral, diplomatic and material aid to the national liberation movements, so that these movements may pursue even more vigorously their armed struggle towards final victory. Likewise, they invite those specialized agencies of the UN which have not yet done so, to grant assistance to the liberation movements for their programs of reconstruction in the liberated zones, in conformity with the resolutions of the UN General Assembly.

"The African states salute the success of the recent Oslo Conference and renew their commitment to all forces opposing Portuguese colonialism, and grant them all the assistance necessary until final victory."



Marcelo Caetano in London:

a reception worthy his rank
as a gangster leader.

Marcelo Caetano was received in London like the outlaw that he is. Knowing that the presence of this butcher in London, his hands red with the blood of African peoples, would raise a storm of indignation among the British people as soon as he set foot in the city, the government deployed security forces unprecedented in the history of England.

In addition to troops, about one hundred special agents were placed at his disposal. The government posted men everywhere to control the demonstrations against the Caetano government's policy of genocide. Numerous demonstrators protested the barbarous massacre at Wiriyamu in Mozambique and other crimes of Portuguese colonialism. Repeatedly the police intervened but failed to break up the demonstrations.

Why did the Heath government protect so thoroughly Marcelo Caetano, condemned throughout the world for his odious crimes in Africa? Because he guarantees the continuation of Portugal's neo-colonization by England. 25% of foreign investment in Portugal is British. The telephone and telecommunications systems are British. The Beralit Tin and Wolfram Co., Portugal's largest tungsten manufacturer, was British until 1966. In Portugal there are seven assembly plants for British trucks. The Coats Batons textile company which employs 1600 workers is British. It is the same for Sona Sugar States, which produces 7% of Mozambican sugar. Great Britain is Portugal's largest customer, buying 23% of its exports. Over the past 40 years British investment in Portugal has increased 700%.

It is obvious, then, why Marcelo Caetano was so well protected by agents of the British government and why the Heath government supports Portuguese colonialism. But for the British people Caetano is an international criminal. That is why they welcomed him as he deserves.

Message from MPLA to the Congolese Labor Party

In commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the Congolese Revolution, Comrade Agostinho Neto addressed the following message to the Congolese Chief of State, Commander Marien N'Gouabi:

"At this celebration of the 10th anniversary of your Revolution, we pay our respect and friendship, through you, to all comrades of the Congolese Labor Party. Our participation during these three days of celebration has permitted us to better share the enthusiasm and hope of your people and your Party in the victory of the Revolution. All MPLA militants are deeply thankful to you.

"True, ten years is a very short period for a people such as the Congolese whose history goes back for centuries. Yet, how many struggles and trials did you not live through and overcome in those ten years: Struggles for improvement in the living conditions of the masses; struggles in building the revolutionary and State Party; struggles to defend revolutionary principles. The lives of cadres and militants have been sacrificed so that the fruits of the Revolution shall never be taken from the workers...

"Comrades, during this decade we have learned to appreciate your revolutionary internationalism. Under the clear-sighted leadership of your Party, the People's Republic of Congo has become an irreplaceable bastion of peoples' liberation struggles in southern Africa and of the total liberation of our continent.

"We are proud that you never forgot in your difficult struggle the priorities of the revolutionary movement as a whole. This fact is an honor to Africa and brings you the admiration and respect of all revolutionaries in the world.

"To celebrate the anniversaries of your glorious Revolution will always remain the duty of all those struggling for the liberation of Angola."

War Communique

Cuando-Cubango

Last May 23rd our guerrilla forces operating in the zone between the Kuito and Kubango Rivers attacked a group of colonialist police quartered in the strategic village known as Mbandanda Matias, located 80 kilometers from Serpa Pinto, the district capital. Besides inflicting heavy casualties, our combatants recovered radio equipment abandoned by the enemy.

On June 14th air-borne colonialist troops from Serpa Pinto, dropped on the banks of Munhona River, a tributary of the Kuito, in the district of Cuando-Cubango, were attacked by our valiant combatants. In this action the enemy suffered an unknown number of dead. On the 16th of the same month a company of colonialist troops flown in from Serpa Pinto, undertaking an operation in the same zone, landed directly in two minefields. Our guerrillas ambushed the returning survivors killing an unknown number of enemy troops.

Eastern Front

On the 24th of June our combatants operating in the zone of Kazombo sabotaged a bridge over the Luteno River, on the left bank of the Zambezi, along the Kazombo-Lumbala road. The same day another bridge on the Lunache River, another Zimbezi tributary, was destroyed by a guerrilla unit. On June 27th a column of Portuguese colonialist trucks transporting food and materiel to supply the military post at Chitume ran into mines placed by our combatants. The lead truck was completely destroyed and all occupants killed or wounded. On June 30th a motorized enemy patrol was attacked by our forces between Gago Coutinho and Mussuma. One truck was destroyed by an explosive device. Enemy casualties were six killed, including a captain, and one wounded. On August 19th, between Lutebo military post and Luvuei, a truck load of colonialist troops set off a controlled explosive device placed by our combatants. The enemy suffered several dead and wounded in this action. The survivors later received air support. On August 20th an enemy patrol in the same zone entered a minefield. The explosion caused the total destruction of a truck and resulted in several dead and wounded. On the 22nd of the same month, in the same district, between the barracks at Jimbe and the Jimbe River in the zone of Kazombo, a Unimog truck transporting 15 colonialist soldiers set off a land mine. The truck was completely destroyed; nine soldiers were killed and four seriously wounded. On the same day an Angolan traitor, attempting to carry out an espionage mission, set off an anti-personnel mine

and was killed. Its movements under constant surveillance, the Portuguese colonialist army has great difficulty supplying its soldiers in their remote camps. The enemy tries to move only at night. Last August 9th, on the Mikonje-Sanga Planicie road, a column of trucks carrying colonialist soldiers from Mikonje-Sanga Planicie was attacked with intensive fire by a guerrilla unit. The enemy offered weak resistance.

Continuing the armed struggle for national liberation, a unit of MPLA armed forces, on 21 March at 17.45 hours, attacked NINDA barracks with heavy artillery.

A considerable part of the barrack installations was destroyed and the Portuguese colonialists suffered heavy losses.

The next day at 8.45 hours, the enemy reacted in a desperate way with a PV-2 plane dropping several bombs in the surrounding area.

No casualties or losses were suffered by the fighting forces of MPLA who successfully carried out this attack on NINDA barracks.

On the 25th March at 18.00 hours, in memory of fallen heroic fighters, a courageous group of MPLA guerrillas ambushed Portuguese colonialist troops on the right bank of the KUEIO River, in MOXICO District. The enemy suffered 67 dead and 64 wounded.

The MPLA fighters captured:

- 7 FAL
- 2 G3
- 2 radio transmitter-receivers TR-23A2
- 6 grenades FRGRFL-84
- 24 rucksacks
- 24 tents
- 4 pairs of boots
- 744 tins of food

There were no losses amongst the MPLA fighting forces who participated in the ambush.

On June 2nd at 7:45 a.m. an MPLA infantry unit ambushed a column of Portuguese military vehicles transporting "marines" of Special Detachment No. 10 towards the barracks at Lumbala. MPLA's intelligence services had indicated that a large concentration of "marines" was operating at Lumbala, preparing to launch on June 25th a large-scale encirclement of certain zones liberated by MPLA. This operation was to be preceded, starting June 22nd, by land and river patrols.

Alerted, the MPLA armed forces took necessary steps to assure the failure of the Portuguese plans. Several ambushes were laid along the roads leading to Lumbala barracks. The convoy consisted of four transport vehicles. All vehicles were destroyed.

Among the dead were:

Daniel Palmeira de Souza Machado, soldier, born January 7, 1955 at Cahala, Angola;
Viriato Sebastião Lampreia Neves, "marine," born July 13, 1947 at Salvador Beja, Portugal;
Mario Lamas, soldier, No. 543-70 SPM 8296, born at Feira Avelro, Portugal;
Mario de Souza Neves, "marine," born July 13, 1949 in Portugal;
Joaquim Antonio Ramos Trindade, "marine," born February 23, 1923 at Cidades Evora, Portugal;
Paulo Alfino, soldier, born April 10, 1949 at Nova Cai, Portugal;
Jose Antonio Caetano Placido, "marine," No. 720-70, born October 8, 1949 at Arraiolos,

Portugal;
Antonio Joaquim da Silva, "marine," No. 720-20, born December 1, 1949 at Terrugem, Elvas, Portugal;
Vasco Branco Morais Cachão, "marine," born at Chaves, Portugal.
The following equipment was recovered:
Four automatic rifles G3; one machine gun MG 42; numerous cartridge clips for the G3; various military equipment: boots, uniforms, belts, thousands of 7.62 cartridges, watches and transistors, canned goods, etc. Our armed forces suffered no losses.



(continued from p.2)

movements, but simply are participating as individuals. This Conference is designed to support the victims of colonialism and apartheid, but how can it support them without definitely breaking with colonialism? As far as the Angolan people are concerned, since 1961 war appeared to be the only means to put down colonialism.

Recent talks regarding the unification of the fighting forces of MPLA and FNLA under the aegis of the Organization of African Unity should also be noted as a great success, particularly as the principle of unity has always been a continuing feature of the policy of the MPLA. . . . Despite its blind obstinacy, the Portuguese Government has finally understood that its regime is near collapse. It is seeking, therefore, to deceive public opinion, and particularly international public opinion, by reforms like the transformation of the former legislative council into a so-called legislative assembly, not even half of which is elected. The assembly has no real power and can be dissolved at any moment by the Lisbon Government. Many of its members are made up of the colonists.

It is not for this purpose that the Angolan people have taken up arms. Although we are weak in numbers, underdeveloped and without experience in modern warfare, the Angolan people in 1961 took the historic decision to wipe out colonial domination. Armed with all kinds of instruments, it set out courageously on the path of struggle against a European army which was a thousand times more powerful. Today, after almost 13 years of bloody warfare, the Angolan people cannot be satisfied with pseudo-reforms which do not even equal those achieved by former colonial powers in the years between 1940 and 1950.

Our goal remains the same as ever - total and complete independence. After independence, we are ready to establish relations and co-operation with all countries of the world, including Portugal. To achieve this, we rely firmly on the assistance of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

17th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FORMATION OF THE MPLA

December 10, 1956 - December 10, 1973

The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) celebrates today, December 10, its 17th anniversary.

The creation of the MPLA, in 1956, was the culmination of a long period of Angolan nationalism (characterized by the existence of several clandestine organizations) and represented a qualitative step forward for the national liberation movement. It was an advance as the major political organizations merged into a single group: the MPLA. It was also a qualitative step ideologically, for the manifesto announcing MPLA's formation proclaimed without ambiguity that the only route possible for the liberation of the Angolan people was through revolutionary struggle: "Portuguese colonialism will not fall without a struggle. That is why the Angolan people will liberate themselves only through revolutionary struggle."

"The struggle will be won," continued the manifesto of 1956, "only through the creation of a united front of all the anti-imperialist forces of Angola, without regard to color, social situation or religious beliefs; it will be won through the formation of a vast popular movement for the liberation of Angola."

The founders of the MPLA thus guaranteed all Angolans who desired national liberation, whatever their sex, age, ethnic origin, religious beliefs, place of birth or residence, the possibility of joining the struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

These two concepts, revolutionary struggle and national unity, were to be the guiding principles of every MPLA action. From the end of 1956, MPLA has devoted itself to intensive propagation of the ideas contained in its manifesto for mass mobilization, and to clandestine organization in the cities and countryside.

In 1959, the Portuguese colonialists reacted, alarmed by the activity of the MPLA militants. A wave of repression struck Luanda, and more than one hundred patriots, including some of the leaders of the MPLA, were arrested, sentenced and then deported to the Cape Verde Islands. The secret organization of the Movement, however, resisted this aggression and continued to develop. With the arrest (1959) and the public trial of its militants (1960), the MPLA had won a first political battle: recognition by Portuguese colonialism of the existence of the Angolan national liberation movement. In fact, until then, the Portuguese colonialists had claimed that there existed no nationalist demands on the part of the Angolan masses. The trials of 1960 proved the contrary.

In 1961, the clandestine leadership of the MPLA considered that the objective conditions existed for moving on to a new phase of the revolutionary struggle: people's war for national independence. The outbreak of armed struggle took place in a series of dramatic actions in Luanda, the capital; an attack on the military prison where the political prisoners of the 1960

trials were being held, attacks on police stations and on the prison of the political police - PIDE. These actions galvanized the entire people and destroyed the morale of the colonial authorities. For the colonialists the prisons were a symbol of their unshakable power, just as, for the people, they were a focus of their hatred, the symbol of colonialist oppression.

The events which followed are well known. The Portuguese responded to the attack of the nationalist forces with ferocious repression: 3,000 persons were killed on February 5 and 12. The leadership of MPLA faced up to the new situation and withdrew a large number of its militants from Luanda. They moved into the North and one month later people's war broke out in that region, which was to become MPLA's First Politico-Military Region.

Since that time, the people's war of national liberation has developed continuously, despite the efforts of imperialism to destroy MPLA. In 1963, people's war spread to Cabinda (Second Politico-Military Region), then, in 1966, to Mexico and Cuando-Cubango in the East (Third Politico-Military Region). In 1968, the struggle reached Luanda in the Northeast, (Fourth Politico-Military Region), and in 1969, Bie in central Angola (Fifth Politico-Military Region).

The armed struggle has been accompanied by the total liberation of some regions from Portuguese colonialism. The MPLA thus confronted the task of national reconstruction in these regions; a task just as important as that of the military struggle. This meant organizing agricultural production, creating schools and health clinics, politically organizing the masses so that they could exercise their right to political control of the liberated zones and organize themselves to develop the struggle for final victory.

The struggle for national liberation has thus become a genuine people's struggle, in which all social classes in Angola participate. The people have enthusiastically joined the struggle. MPLA has become the politico-military vanguard of the entire Angolan people.

Peoples all over the world have become progressively aware of this truth, and international solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of our people, under the leadership of MPLA, is increasing at a steady rate. The isolation of Portugal, on the other hand, continues to increase, despite powerful support from the imperialist countries.

After 17 years of existence MPLA has consolidated its position inside the country. As a result, our movement has been internationally recognized as representing the Angolan people and as the defender of the legitimate interests of the most exploited masses of the country. But the struggle is not over; new obstacles will be encountered on the road to total liberation of the country. The enemies of the Angolan people are not yet disarmed. But thanks to the unshakable



support of the masses, thanks to the revolutionary experience which it has acquired during its 17 years of struggle against colonialism and imperialism, thanks likewise to the solidarity of all peoples devoted to peace and progress, the MPLA is sure to win!

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

December 10, 1973
Representation of the MPLA in Algeria