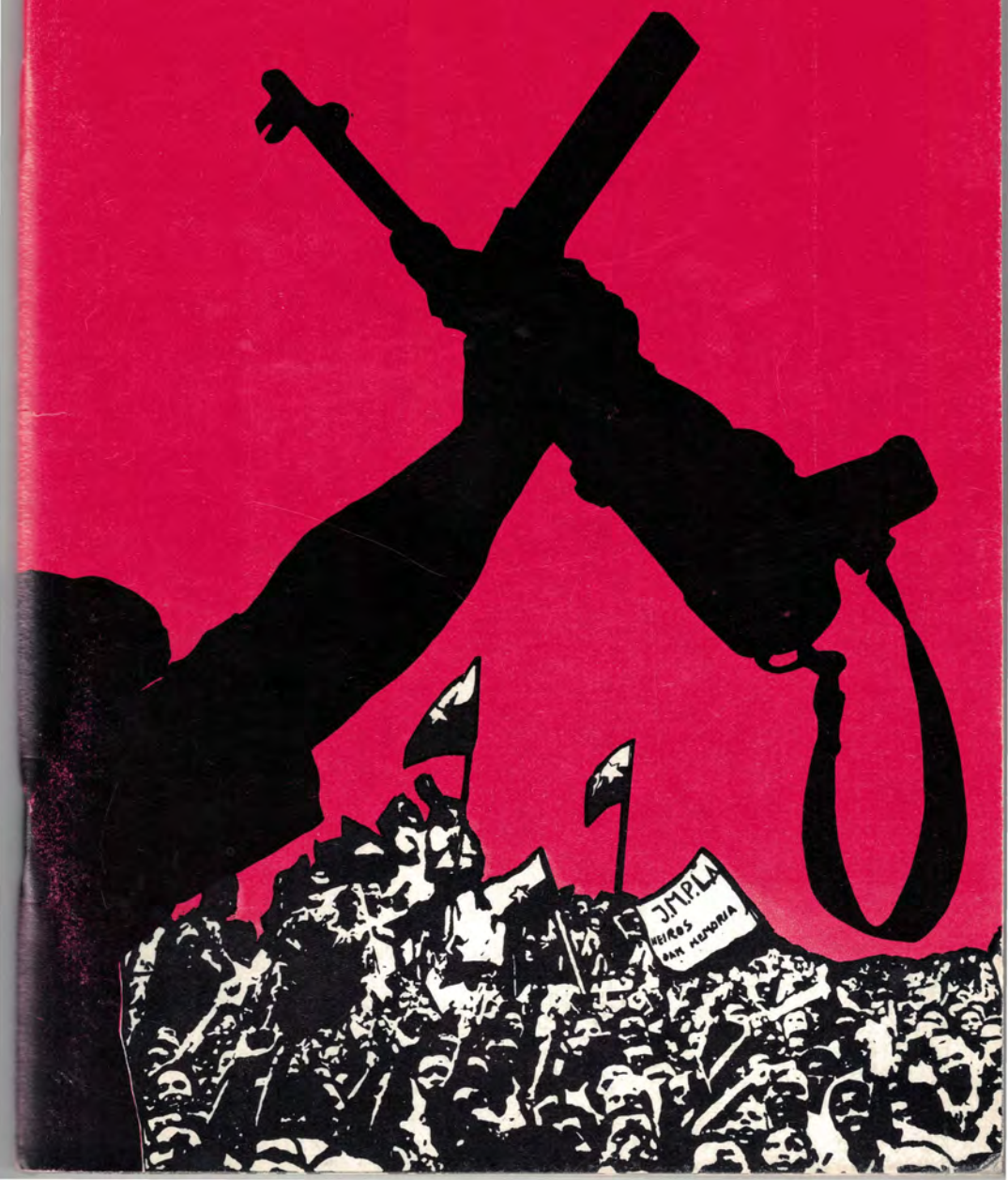


ROAD TO LIBERATION

MPLA Documents on the Founding of the
People's Republic of Angola



LSM PRESS

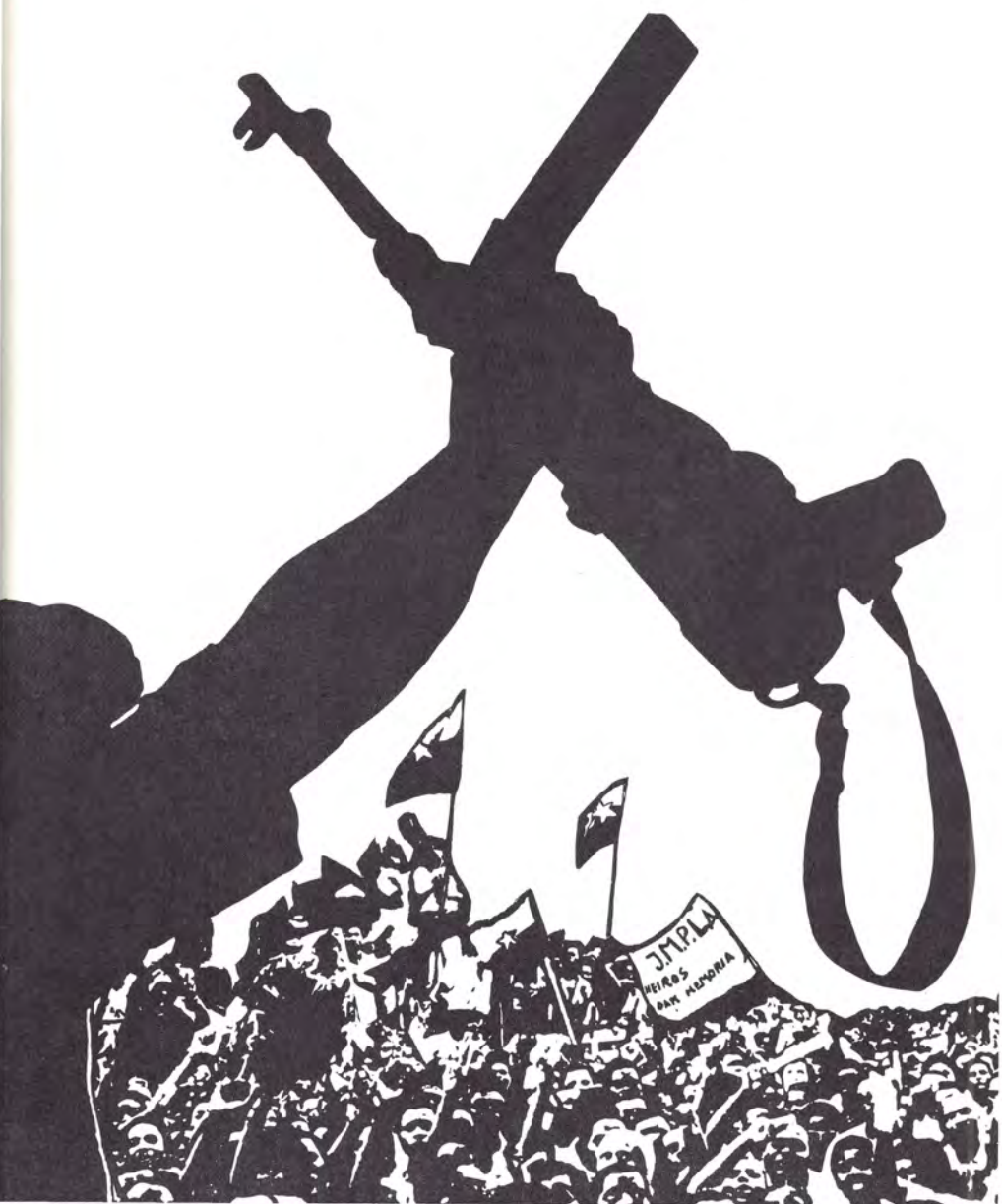
Printed and Published by

LSM INFORMATION CENTER
P.O. Box 94338,
Richmond, B.C.
CANADA V6Y 2A8

ISBN 0-919914-37-3

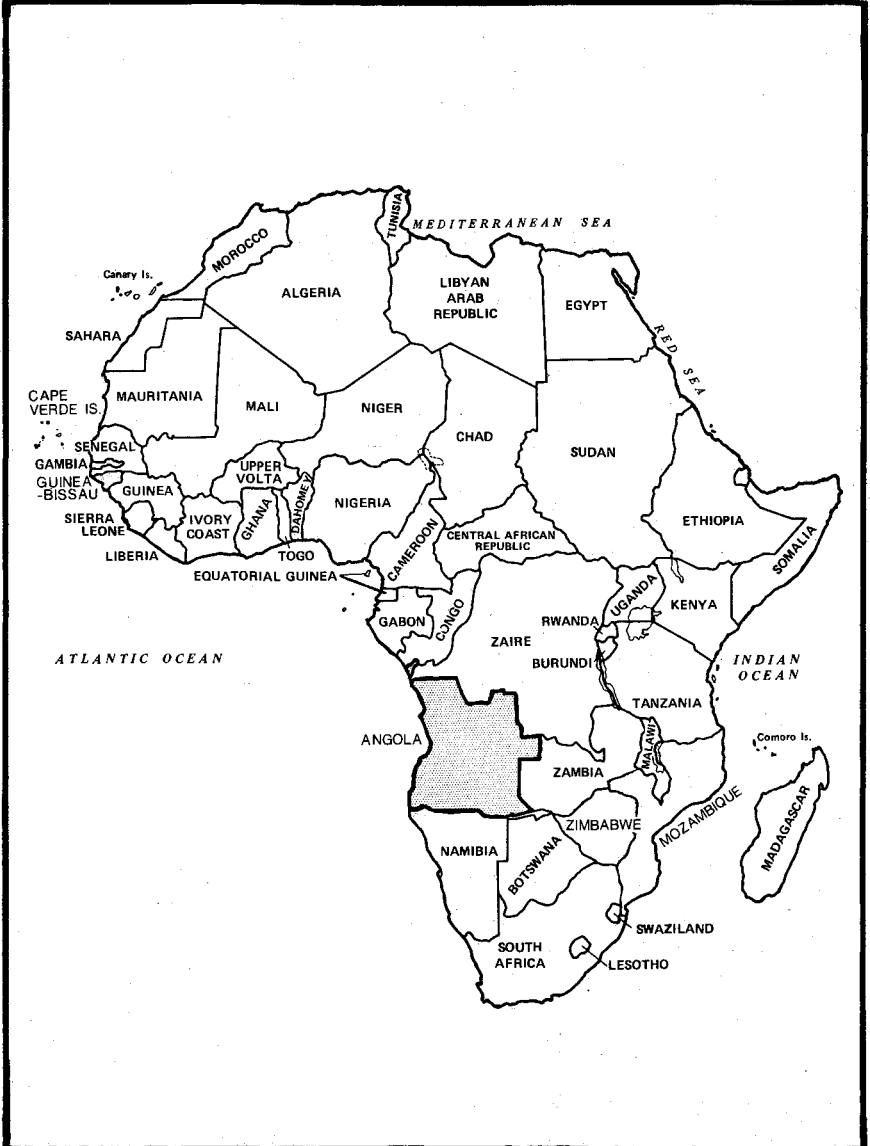
ROAD TO LIBERATION

MPLA Documents on the Founding of the
People's Republic of Angola

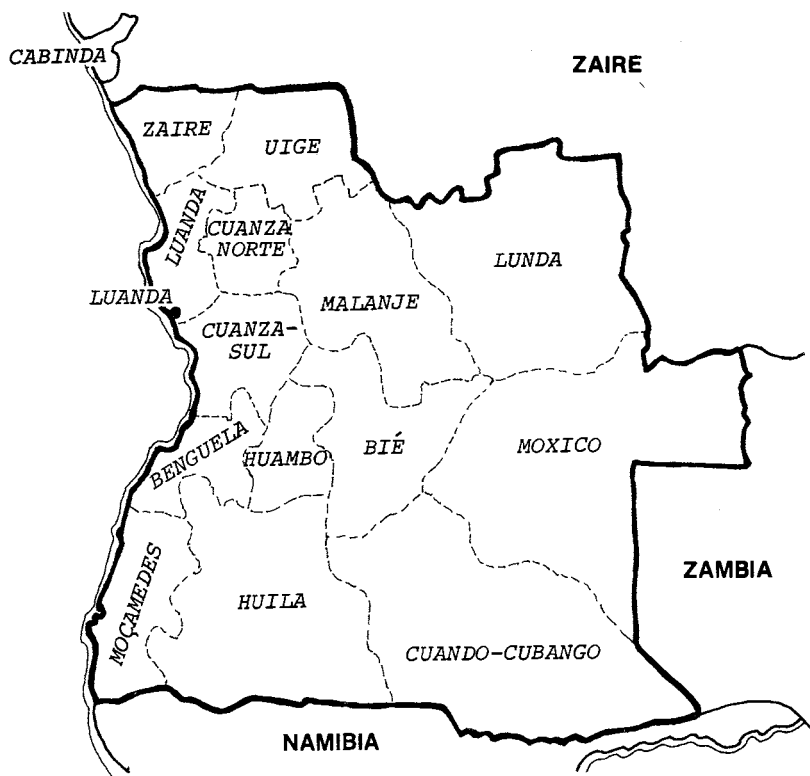


CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	v
LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA!	1
LONG LIVE COMRADE PRESIDENT NETO!	9
THE NATIONAL FLAG, EMBLEM, AND ANTHEM OF THE PRA	12
MPLA: A BRIEF HISTORY	15
GLORY TO THOSE WHO FALL IN COMBAT	48
CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA	49



ANGOLA



Introduction

Angolan Independence Day, 11 November 1975 - the attention of the entire world was centering on Angola. Like Spain in the late thirties and Vietnam in recent years, Angola had become a focal point in the global struggle between the forces of exploitation and reaction and those of progress and human dignity. The Angolan people, led by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, was confronting the barbarous might of imperialism, determined to drown the Angolan Revolution in blood. This decisive character of Angola's Independence was strongly reflected in the ceremonies which marked 11 November. In the joyous but tense capital of Luanda, fully mobilized to defend itself from invasion troops no more than twenty miles away, MPLA's President, Agostinho Neto, proclaimed the People's Republic of Angola in the city's First of May Square as the thousands of liberation movement militants and people from across the country embraced and vowed to protect what they had fought and sacrificed so much for. The history of the resistance, now come of age with the establishment of popular, revolutionary state power, was summed up; heroes were remembered; lessons were drawn. And in the fact of foreign invasion and a host of other serious problems, the new nation's future was outlined:

Concretely realizing the aspirations of the great masses of our people, the People's Republic of Angola will, under the guidance of MPLA, gradually advance toward a people's democratic state. With the alliance of the workers and the peasants as its nucleus, all patriotic sectors will be united against imperialism and its agents in the struggle for the construction of a society without exploiters and without exploited.

The significance of this genuinely anti-imperialist revolution greatly surpasses that of most earlier transitions from colonialism to formal independence - and usually neocolonialism -

in Africa. Along with Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, Angola has begun a new kind of African development, a development to end the exploitation of humankind. President Neto's speech makes it clear, however, that the country's role will be more than an inspiring example of social justice for "the wretched of the earth." In conformity with its principles of proletarian internationalism, the People's Republic pledges in its Constitution to become a firm base of support for the liberation movements in Zimbabwe, South Africa, Zaire and Namibia. Encouraged by MPLA's victory, revolutionaries in each of these countries have since escalated their struggles.

For Liberation Support Movement and our friends, the victory in Angola has a special significance. For eight years we have worked in solidarity with MPLA's struggle, increasing popular understanding and support in North America and providing material assistance. The Popular Movement was, in fact, at the focus of LSM's formation when a delegation of our founding members, led by the late Don Barnett, were among the first foreign visitors to MPLA's liberated zones in 1968. One of our main tasks since then has been the publication of MPLA documents, interviews and life histories. The publication of this book is a continuation of such work. Now that the Angolan people have thrown off their colonial and imperialist oppressors, the threats to their freedom will become more devious and covert. LSM views this book as a weapon with which to clear away the lies and distortions about Angola being woven in the western media, as the summation of valuable revolutionary experience by a movement with more than twenty years of practice in mobilizing its people for national liberation. Five or more years ago, when few Americans knew anything about African liberation wars, when our film programs were poorly attended, or when demand for MPLA literature was low, Angola at times seemed distant and the visible progress in the struggle seemed small. But now, looking back, we feel we have been privileged to play a role, however small, in helping the growing resistance ripen and finally bear fruit.

The beginning of Portuguese presence in Angola in the sixteenth century was also the beginning of 4 centuries of resistance to foreign domination. The very name, Angola, derives from that of a fiercely independent people which bravely fought against enslavement. But foreign intrusion and tribal resistance each had its particular process of development. Faced with European technology and colonizing armies, the traditional warriors were ultimately suppressed. Still, it was not until the twentieth century that all of what is today Angola came under colonial control.

But like their colonial colleagues, the Portuguese gradually created the conditions for their own eventual defeat. The consolidation of foreign domination and super-exploitation throughout the territory turned out to be the precondition for the birth of an Angolan national consciousness. Slowly a new

nation awoke. In the late 1940's, only a handful of intellectuals and students dared dream of Angolan independence. Gradually, their vision expanded and sparked practical work. In 1956 many joined together to form the MPLA. For the next 20 years they patiently strengthened their forces amidst seemingly insurmountable difficulties. "MPLA - A Brief History" reveals how their numbers grew as they mobilized the Angolan people within the conditions of a colonial-fascist state. For 14 years they led the nation in a protracted people's war against a colonial power backed by the combined reactionary forces of the world.

History could not be held back. By the early seventies Portuguese control, battered by the combined struggles of the Angolan, Mozambican and Guinea-Bissau peoples, was rapidly ebbing. The efforts of the US-led imperialist powers to shore it up while simultaneously preparing a neocolonial solution received a serious setback when progressive forces seized control in Portugal in the months following the April 1974 military coup. In this brief respite - late 1974 and early 1975 - while reaction was regrouping, the liberation movement decisively turned the tide. On the crest of the rapidly spreading People's Power movement the struggle accelerated and widened in scope to reach all sectors of the people and every corner of the country. Thus, when in mid-1975 the imperialist-led forces, in the form of mercenaries, foreign occupation armies and indigenous reactionaries, returned to the offensive, the Angolan people could stand up and shout with one voice: *No more! We have had enough!*

To translate this political victory into physical control required 6 months of untold sacrifices for the Angolan people. The country was ravaged as South African and Zairean regular troops, Portuguese fascists and a varied assortment of white mercenaries occupied more than half of its territory, then, forced to retreat, destroyed factories, farms, schools, hospitals, bridges and airfields behind them. This Second War of National Liberation was the ultimate test of MPLA, of its ability to mobilize all sectors of the Angolan population as well as urgently needed international support. With assistance from Cuba, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea (Conakry), Congo, the USSR and other African and socialist countries, the last invaders were finally forced out on 27 March 1976. Angola, from Cabinda in the North to Cunene in the South was completely liberated!

Now is a time for rejoicing as well as making preparations. The task ahead for Angola - to "build socialism . . . [and] carry the revolution through to the end," in the words of Iko Carreira, the Minister of Defense - will not be easy. Powerful enemies still work to block and subvert the Angolan Revolution. Led by the US, they continue to apply economic pressure and cultivate counter-revolutionary elements inside the country. To counter this, the new Angolan Government works to sharpen the commitment and vigilance of its people while seeking sup-

port from progressive forces abroad. For the revolution to be consolidated, this support must be continued and strengthened. Angola's victory is our victory; as we celebrate it, we must also help defend it. From the experience of Cuba, Indochina and Chile, we know which role the governments and institutions of international capitalism will play. The question which confronts Europeans and North Americans is therefore: which side are you on?

The publication of these documents is intended to serve a dual purpose. We want to communicate the Angolan people's tremendous joy at liberation to those on other continents whose struggles are still in the early stages. LSM also wants to arm progressive and revolutionary people with the informational basis for understanding and supporting the Angolan revolution, which together with the rising liberation struggles in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa present us with a challenge to act in accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism. Like our Cuban and Mozambican comrades, we, too, must align ourselves with these struggles in concrete ways. It is time for us to act on that challenge.

Liberation Support Movement
June, 1976

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The PRA Constitution is reprinted from the *Tri-Continental Bulletin*, Special Issue 1975. All other documents have been translated from the Independence Day issue of MPLA's official organ, *Vitoria Certa* (Certain Victory). We wish to thank the People's Translation Service and other friends who helped in this work.

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA!

Independence Day Speech by President Agostinho Neto

In the name of the Angolan people, the Central Committee of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) solemnly proclaims the independence of Angola before Africa and the world. The Angolan people and the Central Committee of the MPLA will now observe one minute of silence and hereby declare that the heroes who fell for the independence of the motherland will live forever. (silence: bugle)

In accordance with the deepest aspirations of the people, the MPLA declares our country constituted in the People's Republic of Angola.

During the period between the signing of the Alvor agreement and the present proclamation, the MPLA alone did not breach the agreements signed. As far as the internal lackeys of imperialism are concerned, we have long since ceased to recognize them as liberation movements. As far as Portugal is concerned, its constant disregard for the Alvor Agreement has been shown, among other things, by the fact that it has always remained silent about the invasion of our country by regular armies and mercenary forces. This invasion, already known and publicized throughout the world, has not even been deemed worthy of comment by the Portuguese authorities, who in fact exercised sovereignty only in the areas liberated by MPLA.

Moreover, our movement confronts various reactionary forces which have formed a special international fascist brigade directed against the Angolan people. That alliance includes reactionary Portuguese forces which are participating in the invasion of the South of the country. The Portuguese government has not only failed to fight this invasion but by its silence and passivity has tacitly encouraged it. Notwithstanding the collusion of the puppet organizations with the invading army, and their denunciation by the Angolan people and by all the world's progressive forces, the Portuguese government insisted on con-

*people vs
enemy*

sidering them as liberation movements and attempted to push MPLA into solutions which would amount to a betrayal of the Angolan people.

Let us once again here affirm that our struggle has never been directed against the Portuguese people. On the contrary, we can henceforth strengthen fraternal relations between our two peoples based on the theme of common ties of history, language and the same objective: freedom. The People's Republic of Angola pays special attention to its relations with Portugal and desires that they will continue, established on a new basis free of any vestiges of colonialism. The present dispute with Portugal can be peacefully resolved and should not jeopardize our future relations.

In December 1956, in its founding Manifesto, MPLA declared its unbreakable determination to struggle, using all necessary means, for the complete independence of Angola, affirming: "Colonialism will not fall without struggle. For this reason the Angolan people can only liberate themselves through revolutionary war. And this war can only be victorious through the creation of a united front of all the anti-imperialist forces of Angola, not linked to social status [particular classes - ed.], religious beliefs, color of skin or individual [political] tendencies, but through the formation of a vast POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA."

The galvanizing force and vanguard of our people, the MPLA, heroically initiated the general armed insurrection of the Angolan people against Portuguese domination at dawn on 4 February 1961. The long road we have travelled represents the heroic history of a people, who, with the unitary and correct guidance of its vanguard - the MPLA - relying solely on its own forces, decided to fight for the right to be free and independent. In spite of the brutality of the oppression and terror imposed by colonialism to suppress our struggle, the Angolan people, guided by their revolutionary vanguard, irrefutably asserted their revolutionary African identity. Maintaining the unity of all Angolan social classes around a political line and a clear formulation of its objectives and principles and defining allies, friends and enemies correctly, the Angolan people, under the leadership of the MPLA, finally defeated the Portuguese colonial regime. Colonialism defeated, the right to independence, which is materializing at this historic moment, recognized, the minimum program of the MPLA is accomplished. Thus, the new PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA is born, the expression of popular will and the fruit of the enormous sacrifice of the fighters for national liberation.

Our struggle is not over. Our objective is to achieve our country's complete independence and build a just society and a new human being. The struggle we are still waging against the



President Agostinho Neto/Afrique-Asie photo, 1976



Independence Day in Luanda, Angola/Afrique-Asie, 1975

lackeys of imperialism, who shall go unnamed in order not to sully this unique moment in our history, is aimed at expelling the foreign invaders, those people who want to establish neocolonialism in our country. Thus the fundamental concern of the new state is the complete liberation of our country and all our people from foreign oppression.

Concretely realizing the aspirations of the great masses of our people, the People's Republic of Angola will, under the guidance of MPLA, gradually advance toward a people's democratic state. With the alliance of the workers and the peasants as the nucleus, all patriotic sectors will be united against imperialism and its agents in the struggle for the construction of a society without exploiters and without exploited.

The force of the people's will, the long armed struggle and the unyielding defense of the interests of the most exploited sectors established the MPLA as the only representative of the Angolan people and the leading force of the People's Republic of Angola. The organs of state of the People's Republic of Angola will be under the supreme direction of the MPLA and the primacy of the Movement's structures over those of the state will be maintained. The Movement itself can never be a petrified organism. Endowed with great vitality, the dynamic of the revolution will be profoundly modified quantitatively and qualitatively until the great leap that will transform MPLA into a party at the heart of a broad revolutionary front.

With the proclamation of the People's Republic of Angola, the PEOPLE'S ARMED FORCES FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (FAPLA) are institutionalized as the national army. The FAPLA, the people's armed hand, under the firm leadership of MPLA, is a people's army whose objective is to serve the interests of the most exploited sectors of our people. Steeled in the difficult struggle of national liberation against Portuguese colonialism and armed with revolutionary theory, the FAPLA remains a fundamental instrument of the anti-imperialist struggle. As the liberating force of the People's Republic of Angola, the FAPLA will have the task of defending the country's territorial integrity and, in its capacity as a people's army, will participate with the people in production and the great tasks of NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION.

Angola is an underdeveloped country. We must be profoundly aware of the significance and consequences of this fact. The traditional criteria used to define underdevelopment are fully met in Angola. These portray the image of the profound misery of the Angolan people. But it is not enough to say our country is underdeveloped, it is immediately necessary to add that Angola is a country exploited by imperialism, a country which is caught in the clutches of imperialism. These two related elements, underdevelopment and dependence, explain why the Angolan economy is so deeply distorted with a traditional sector

alongside a [modern] sector, with backward regions surrounding the so-called "development poles." These two elements also explain all the cruelty of social injustice. On putting an end to colonialism and determinedly barring the way to neocolonialism, the MPLA declares on this solemn occasion its firm resolve radically to change the present economic infrastructure and defines from this moment that the goal of economic reconstruction is the satisfaction of the needs of the people.

We have a long road ahead. We must put the economic and administrative machinery into working order, combat parasitism of all varieties, gradually end the distortions among various sectors of the economy in the various regions of the country in order to build a state of social justice. The economy will be designed to serve the Angolan people and never voracious imperialism. It will be permanently oriented towards a self-centered, truly Angolan economy. The struggle for economic independence will remain a constant element of our strategy.

The People's Republic of Angola will increasingly develop the industrialization of our own raw materials and even heavy industrial enterprises. However, bearing in mind that the majority of the population are peasants who live off the land, the MPLA has decided to consider agriculture as the basis and industry as the decisive factor for our progress. The Angolan state will thus have the capacity to justly resolve the grave land problem and will promote the creation of cooperatives and state enterprises in the interest of the peasant masses. As for private enterprises, even foreign-owned ones, provided that they are useful to the economy of the nation and the interests of the people, they will, on account of the people's interest, be protected and encouraged as previously established in the Major Program of our movement.

The People's Republic of Angola will be open to economic relations with the entire world. It will accept international cooperation with the non-negotiable pre-condition that "external aid" must not be conditioned or conditioning. The long history of MPLA proves that as the leading force of the People's Republic of Angola it will never betray the sacred principle of National Independence. Our international relations will always be in line with the principle of mutual advantage.

Initially, it is evident that our economy suffers from a shortage of cadre. To respond to this shortage we must formulate an expeditious method for the rapid training of Angolan cadres at the same time that we appeal for international cooperation in this area. Our schools at all levels must undergo a radical reorganization so that they can, in fact, serve the people and economic reconstruction.

Imperialism has not disarmed. Now that we have defeated colonialism, it tries to impose a new regime of exploitation and oppression using its internal lackeys in a vain attempt to

destroy the gains already won by the people. The revolutionary determination of our people to fight the exploitation of man by man and the antagonistic contradictions which separate us from the enemy require of us a new war of liberation which assumes the form of generalized popular resistance and must be carried through to final victory.

In this context production takes on overwhelming importance as a front of combat and as a basic and vital factor in the advancement of our resistance. In order to bring unity of action to this productive effort of our people, in order to make the best use of the labor of the masses, so that the support for the FAPLA can be effectively guaranteed, the People's Republic of Angola will take necessary measures to meet the current situation of the invasion of our country.

The People's Republic of Angola solemnly reiterates its determination to fight for the territorial integrity of Angola, opposing any attempts at dismembering the country. The People's Republic of Angola sees as a priority and as a vital and inalienable task the expulsion from our country of the army of Zaireans, South Africans, fascist Portuguese, Angolan puppets and mercenaries of various origins which constitute the combined forces of imperialist aggression in our country.

Our anti-imperialist struggle in the form of resistance is the expression of an irreconcilable class contradiction which opposes the interests of our people to those of international imperialism. Nevertheless, the existing contradictions among the people, between the various classes and anti-imperialist social groups, belong to the category of secondary contradictions and as such must be resolved.

The People's Republic of Angola proposes to activate and support the establishment of people's power on a national scale. The working masses will thus exercise power on all levels, the only guarantee of the formation of the new human being and of the triumph of our revolution.

The People's Republic of Angola considers it as an inalienable patriotic duty and honor to provide special protection and assistance to war orphans and those wounded and mutilated by war because of the sacrifices for the national liberation struggle. It will make all efforts for the complete reintegration into society of all the victims of the war of national liberation.

The People's Republic of Angola reaffirms its unremitting resolve to lead a vigorous campaign to combat illiteracy throughout the entire country, to promote and spread free education rooted in the culture of the Angolan people. The state will administer all efforts to institute medical and health assistance on a national scale aimed particularly at the peasant masses who were, until now, denied this right by colonialism. Another overriding concern of our state will be the abolition of all forms of discrimination based on sex, age, ethnic or ra-

cial origin, or religion and the strict observation of the just principle: "Equal pay for equal work." The People's Republic of Angola, in accordance with the just policy of the MPLA, will develop the process of emancipation of Angolan women, a right won by their courageous participation in the struggle for national liberation and in production during the generalized resistance of our people. The People's Republic of Angola affirms that it is a secular state with complete separation of church and state, respecting every religion and protecting their churches, respecting their objects of worship and acknowledged legal institutions.

The People's Republic of Angola, aware of its importance and responsibilities in the context of southern Africa and the world, reiterates its solidarity with all the oppressed peoples of the world, especially the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia struggling against racist domination. The Angolan people, guided by its revolutionary vanguard, the MPLA, express their militant solidarity with the people of South Africa in their struggle against the racist regime which oppresses them. They reaffirm their fighting and militant solidarity with the peoples of Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and with their revolutionary vanguards FRELIMO, PAIGC and MLSTP, comrades in the difficult hours of our common struggle. They reaffirm their militant and fighting solidarity with the fighting people of Timor led by their revolutionary vanguard FRETILIN. They reaffirm their solidarity with the Palestinian people in their just struggle for national rights against zionism.

The achievement of national independence by MPLA and by the Angolan people was greatly assisted by the aid made available by all the friendly peoples and countries to our heroic struggle for national liberation. Our thanks go to all African peoples and countries which assisted our cause and to those from western countries who spread understanding and support for the struggle of the Angolan people, to socialists, revolutionary Portuguese forces, progressive organizations and governments.

The sovereign People's Republic of Angola will maintain diplomatic relations with all the countries of the world on the basis of the principles of mutual respect, national sovereignty, non-interference, respect for territorial integrity, non-aggression, equality, reciprocity of benefits and peaceful co-existence. The People's Republic of Angola, an African state, free and independent, declares its agreement with the principles of the Charter of African Unity and the Charter of the United Nations. The foreign policy of the People's Republic of Angola, based on the principle of total independence observed by the MPLA from the outset, will be one of nonalignment. The People's Republic of Angola will respect international agreements and, as well, international thoroughfares across its territory.

The People's Republic of Angola is committed to the anti-

imperialist struggle based on the natural alliance of African countries, socialist countries and all progressive forces in the world.

COMPATRIOTS, COMRADES!

During the moment in which the Angolan people are celebrating the glory of victory, the People's Republic of Angola remembers the sacrifices of its best sons and daughters for our first state, for the liberation of our beloved homeland.

From Cabinda to the Cunene, united by the common feeling for our homeland, strengthened by blood shed for the cause of liberty, we honor our heroic martyrs of the five centuries of protracted resistance and will be worthy of their example. We respect the characteristics of each region, of each center of population of our country, because all of us equally offer to our homeland the sacrifices which it must exact in order to survive.

The flag which flutters here today is the symbol of liberty, the fruit of blood, determination and tears, of the selfless love of the Angolan people.

United from Cabinda to the Cunene, we shall vigorously implement generalized popular resistance and construct our PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC STATE.

HONOR TO THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE!
ETERNAL GLORY TO OUR HEROES!
THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!
VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

LONG LIVE COMRADE PRESIDENT NETO!

Speech by MPLA Secretary Lucio Lara at the investiture of the President in Luanda, 11 November 1975.

Comrade President Agostinho Neto is the outstanding Angolan revolutionary leader. His ideas are drawn from the masses and condensed in speeches and interviews. It is a fundamental task to spread everywhere the political thought of Comrade President Agostinho Neto and, in this way, the correct political line of the MPLA, revolutionary vanguard of the Angolan People.

To render homage and honor to the Comrade President is to render homage and honor to the MPLA and all its heroic fighters. Following his example of dedication to the cause of the People and spreading his revolutionary thought, we shall demonstrate to all the People the certainty that the Revolution will triumph.

Agostinho Neto's father was a Protestant pastor and, like nearly all Angolans, his family was poor and numerous. But thanks to his own efforts and merits, he succeeded in completing secondary school. After this, he was obliged to work in order to help support his family. He found employment with the Health Services, where he spent three years (1944-47).

Recognizing Agostinho's abilities, a group of friends and countrymen decided to aid him to pursue his studies and paid for his passage to Portugal. Thus in 1947 Comrade Neto went to Portugal to study medicine, first in Coimbra and later in Lisbon where he completed the course. It was during this period that Agostinho Neto wrote most of his revolutionary poems, which reflected Angolan reality and his own engagement in the struggle.

Comrade Neto was active in the development of nationalist activities and in 1953 the PIDE* arrested him for the first time. He spent three months in the prison of Caxias, near Lisbon. Comrade Neto's revolutionary nationalist activities continued during his imprisonment and after his release. In 1955 he was arrested again and sent to a prison in Forto. There, a fascist Tribunal condemned him to 18 months in prison for having been present at a meeting of the Anti-Fascist Youth as a representative of the Youth of the Portuguese Colonies. In many

*PIDE - Portuguese secret police.

countries, progressives who knew and respected Comrade Neto as an Angolan leader protested against the imprisonment of our Comrade. But he was not freed until 1957, after 28 months in prison.

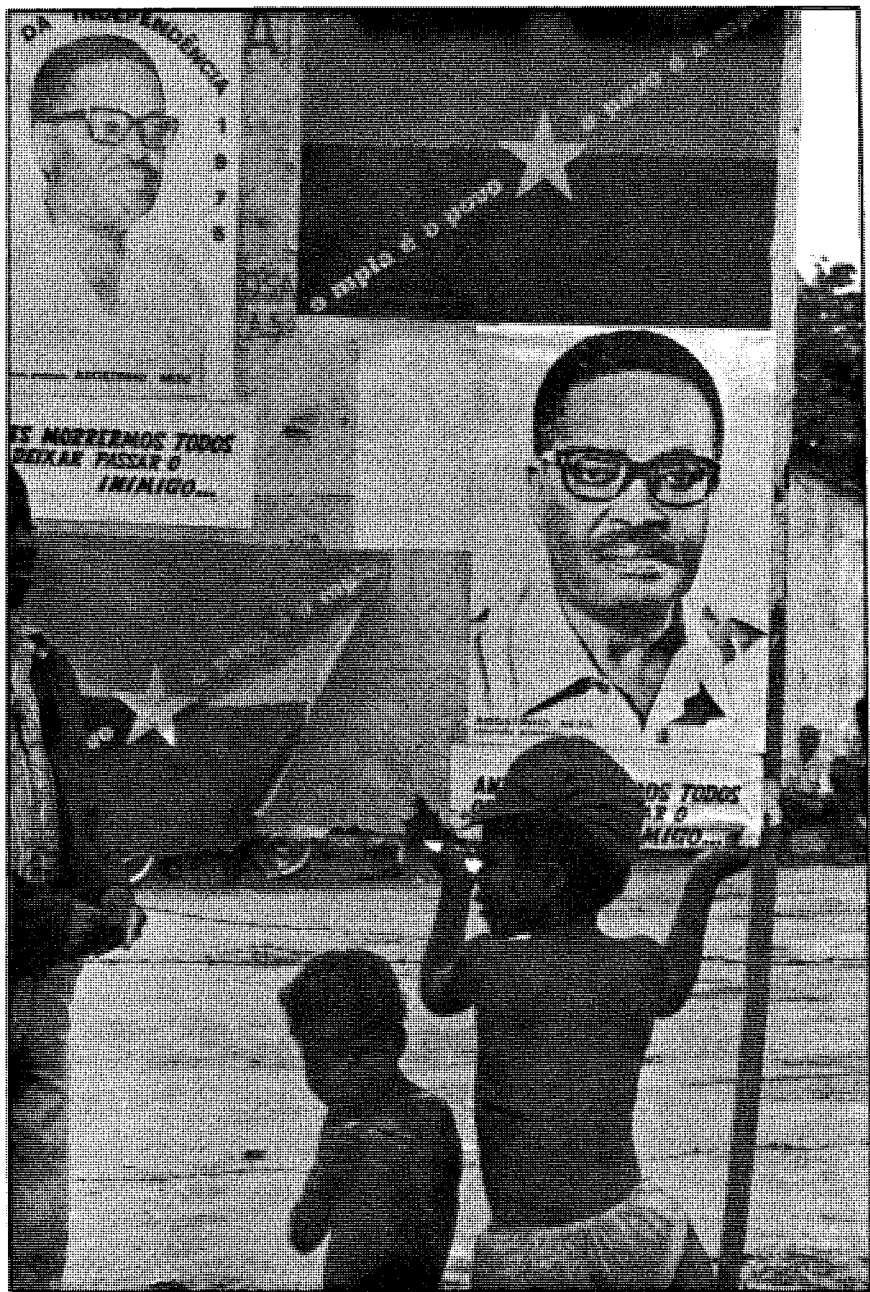
After his liberation from prison Comrade Neto continued his studies and was tireless in his nationalist activities despite the close vigilance of PIDE. He had continued his medical studies even in prison and finally finished the course in 1958. That same year he married the young Portuguese anti-fascist Comrade Maria Eugenia. In 1959 the Portuguese colonialist authorities authorized Comrade Neto to return to Angola with his wife and son.

In Luanda Comrade Neto worked as a doctor, placing medicine entirely at the service of the people, and carried out revolutionary activities - already completely bound to MPLA. PIDE continually persecuted our Comrade and arrested him again in 1960. At that time the people of Icolo and Bengo organized an enormous demonstration against this fascist measure. The colonialist police attacked the people, killing and wounding men, women and children.

Fearing the force of the People because of their love for Comrade Neto, the Portuguese deported our Comrade to Cape Verde. He spent a year on the islands of Santo Antão and, later on, Santiago. At that time he was declared Honorary President of the MPLA. Because of his determination to continue the struggle, PIDE re-arrested him and then sent him to Lisbon where he was kept in solitary confinement for six months. After that, Comrade Neto was placed under house arrest in Lisbon. In 1962, with the militant support of progressive Portuguese and Angolan revolutionaries in Portugal, Comrade Neto escaped with his wife and two children.

In Kinshasa he joined the Steering Committee of MPLA, and at MPLA's National Conference that same year he was elected President of our Movement. Since then up until the present moment the Angolan People have been engaged in a difficult, protracted struggle. Comrade Neto has consistently fulfilled the role of guide and educator of the broad Angolan masses. He is the symbol of the fighting Angolan People in the struggle against imperialist oppression and exploitation, for the construction of a new society.

Long Live Comrade President Agostinho Neto!



Bairro Operario/LSM photo, 1976

THE NATIONAL FLAG, EMBLEM, AND ANTHEM OF THE PRA



The NATIONAL FLAG has two colors in two horizontal bands. The upper band is ruby-red; the lower band is black; they represent:

Ruby-red - the blood shed by the Angolans during the colonial oppression, the struggle for national liberation and the revolution.

Black - the African continent.

At the center there is a composition, with a section representing a gear-wheel, symbol of the working class and industrial output; a machete, symbol of the peasant class, agricultural production and armed struggle; and a star, symbol of internationalism and progress.

The gear-wheel, the machete and the star are yellow, representing the wealth of the country.



The EMBLEM of the People's Republic of Angola is composed of a section of gear-wheel, and a corn stalk, coffee and cotton - respectively representing the working class, industrial output, the peasant class and agricultural production.

At the foot of the composition there is an open book, symbol of education and culture, and the rising sun, representing the new nation. At the center are placed a machete and a hoe, symbols of labor and the armed struggle. At the top shines the star, symbol of internationalism and progress. At the bottom of the emblem, there is a gold band with the inscription: "People's Republic of Angola."

ANTHEM OF THE PRA

Oh motherland, never will we forget
The heroes of February 4.
Oh motherland, we will hail your children
Fallen for our Independence.
We honor the past and our history,
Through our Labor we are building the New Man.

We honor the past and our history,
Through our Labor we are building the New Man.
Angola, onward,
Revolution through People's Power.
Our Country, United and Free
One People, one Nation all.

Angola, onward,
Revolution through People's Power.
Our Country, United and Free
One People, one Nation all.

We raise our liberated voices
To the Glory of the African Peoples.

We were born Angolan fighters,
Our solidarity is for the oppressed Nations,
Proudly we will fight for Peace,
Together with the Progressive forces of the world.

Proudly we will fight for Peace,
Together with the Progressive forces of the world.

Angola, onward,
Revolution through People's Power.
Our Country, United and Free
One People, one Nation all.

Angola, onward,
Revolution through People's Power.
Our Country, United and Free
One People, one Nation all.

MPLA: A BRIEF HISTORY

1956 - The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola was created on the 10th of December 1956. It resulted from the fusion of PLUA (Angolan Party for United Struggle) and MIA (Movement for the Independence of Angola). The creation of our movement was a great step forward in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism. From that date the history of the Angolan people and MPLA have been closely bound. With the founding of MPLA, the Angolan people's struggle for complete independence came to be led by a revolutionary political line. For the first time it was stated that ~~the struggle was directed not only against Portuguese colonialism but also against imperialism. For the first time an Angolan nationalist organization argued that the struggle in Angola was a class war and not a race war.~~

The MPLA began the task of raising the political consciousness of the broad masses, coordinating the clandestine struggle with legal and semi-legal struggles. Below are some extracts from MPLA's first manifesto, published clandestinely in Luanda in 1956:

"Presently a considerable part of our income is used to militarize Portugal and the Portuguese colonies, which further aggravates our already difficult life as a colonial people. . . . The laborers of our fields, two thirds of the able men of Angola, are drafted for forced labor through the infamous contract system. . . . The peasants, who use the most rudimentary agricultural tools, work lands which are not recognized as their property. . . . The middle classes live in bad conditions. Their salaries as public officials, clerks and office workers do not meet the constantly rising cost of living. Those who wish to educate themselves or devote themselves to culture, arts, literature, sciences and technology do not find the means to do so in Angola. . . .

"Colonialism has innoculated into the social body of Angola the virus of ruin, backwardness, misery, ignorance and reaction. The road they want to impose upon us is absolutely contrary to the real interests of the Angolan people - to our survival, our freedom, our rapid and free economic progress, our happiness in assuring bread, land, peace and culture for all.

"It is absolutely necessary that the Angolan people prevent the disappearance of the black population of Angola, that it not allow its fate to be similar to that of the Native people of America, that it not allow its place to be occupied by numerous and powerful peoples of European origin. This requires that the Angolan people mobilize and struggle on all fronts in order to weaken imperialism and Portuguese colonialism, to make Angola an independent country and install a democratic and popular Angolan government. This coalition government will bring together all forces which implacably and intransigently struggle against Portuguese colonialism to the end. At the head of this government of anti-imperialist forces will be the working class.

"Nevertheless, Portuguese colonialism will not fall without a struggle. This is why the Angolan people will be able to free itself only by revolutionary struggle. It will only emerge victorious with the achievement of a united front of all Angolan anti-imperialist forces, irrespective of color, social status, religious beliefs and individual positions; it will be victorious thanks to the formation of a vast Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola."

1957 - Colonialism responded by reinforcing its repressive apparatus. In 1957 they sent packs of murderers to augment the hated PIDE* and recruited some traitors to the Angolan people.

1958 - In 1958 another nationalist organization, MINA (Movement for the National Independence of Angola), joined the MPLA - further contributing to our organization's strength among the masses.

1959 - In March 1959 PIDE launched its first great repressive wave in which several dozen sincere patriots and an enormous number of suspects were arrested. Arrests, tortures and mass murders were Portuguese colonialism's response to the just struggle of the Angolan people. This response to the advance of our struggle stimulated all the sincere patriots united within the MPLA to redouble their efforts.

1960 - In April 1960 an MPLA delegation participated in the Second Solidarity Conference of Afro-Asian Peoples in Conakry, Guinea. For the first time during such a conference, a resolution supporting the cause of the Angolan people was debated and passed.

In May, our movement, understanding the need for unity in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism, launched its first call to all Angolan organizations for the creation of a united front.

On June 13 MPLA sent to the Portuguese government a declaration in which it demanded the right of Independence. The Por-*PIDE - Portuguese secret police.

tuguese dictator Salazar responded with silence, then sent a great quantity of Portuguese troops and ordered his PIDE spies to proceed with new waves of arrests, this time in Luanda, Lobito, Malanje and Dalatando. It was at this time that Comrade Agostinho Neto was arrested by PIDE for the third time.

Our people's love for Comrade Neto led to a mass protest demonstration in the region of the villages of Icolo and Bengo.* The colonialists, fearful and furious before this manifestation of popular strength, responded by killing 30 patriots and wounding another 200. Fearful before the force of the people, PIDE deported Agostinho Neto, first to Cape Verde, and later to Aljube jail in Portugal. At this time, our movement declared Agostinho Neto its honorary president.

Repression by the fascist Portuguese government continued and increasingly took the form of massacres. In July the colonial army practised widespread terrorist acts in the poor neighborhoods of Luanda, and in November 28 nationalists from Cabinda were shot in jail. This repressive wave provoked a qualitative leap in the consciousness of the Angolan people, who came to realize that there could be only one solution: to oppose the unjust reactionary violence of Portuguese colonialism with the just revolutionary violence of the people.

This permitted our movement to declare in London on December 6th, together with progressive organizations from the other Portuguese colonies, that direct action was the only way to win respect for the right of our peoples to self-determination and independence.

1961 - In January 1961 the people of Baixa de Kassanje, cruelly exploited by the Belgian company COTONANG, went on strike against a rise in the price of cotton. The colonialists sent their planes and dropped napalm bombs on the region, destroying more than 17 villages and massacring more than 20,000 laborers. This new colonialist violence required an immediate response and thus dawned the glorious day of 4 February 1961.

Colonialism oppressed our people and imposed upon them a system of forced labor, hunger, disease and death. This system is based on the exploitation of man by man, it enriched a few at the expense of the labor and hunger of the majority. History teaches us, and all past experience has proven, that all those who live by the exploitation of other humans utilize an apparatus formed of army, police, etc. to keep the majority submissive to the exploiting minority. The reactionary forces of oppression and exploitation oblige the oppressed people to utilize revolutionary violence to overthrow them and create a new society and new man.

On 4 February 1961 the people, with MPLA militants in front, furnished only with working tools and a few arms, heroically launched an assault on the prisons of Luanda to liberate *Comrade Neto was born in Icolo.

their sons. This date, which profoundly touches the heart of our people, marks the beginning of the phase of our national liberation struggle which is inevitably leading to complete independence.

For all humanity as well, this day was a step toward one more victory in the struggle against the exploitation of man by man. For the other oppressed peoples of the world it was an example which reinforced and encouraged their struggle. This was an especially great day for the fraternal peoples of Guinea - Cape Verde and Mozambique. Recognizing the need of unity in the struggle against the common enemy, Portuguese colonialism, the three sister organizations MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO decided to formalize and increase the close links between our peoples and struggles. On April 18th of this year our three movements formed the CONCP (Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies) in Casablanca.

In the meantime, the exploiters did not easily relinquish the prize which allowed them to enrich themselves and live without working. They utilized a tribalist Angolan organization which had been formed in 1954, the UPNA (Union of the Peoples of North Angola), which in 1958 changed its name to UPA (Union of the Peoples of Angola), and which was controlled by devoted lackeys of imperialism such as Mr. H. Roberto. On March 15th, using racist slogans, they led the most backward elements of the Angolan people in a desperate struggle without determined objectives, which could only lead to defeat and failure.

The Portuguese colonialists responded to this with a horrible massacre of thousands and thousands of Angolans. This genocidal attack led the UN Security Council on July 9th to request the Portuguese authorities "to immediately suspend the measures of repression in Angola." The Portuguese government remained totally indifferent to this and continued its fascist policy of tyranny and repression. The Portuguese armed forces in Angola every day increased their numbers, while PIDE continued its indiscriminate arrests, tortures and deaths. As a further repressive measure the Provincial Organization of Civil Defense Volunteers (OPVDCA) was established, recruiting members from among the colonists.

1962 - In 1962 Comrade Agostinho Neto was finally liberated from fascist imprisonment, partly due to great international pressure, but the fascist Portuguese regime restricted his residence to Lisbon. Thanks to the militant support of the Portuguese people, he succeeded in fleeing Portugal to join the MPLA Steering Committee at its headquarters in Kinshasa. He sent the following message:

"It is indescribable how I feel at this moment of my return to the African continent, where the ongoing daily struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism is a reality. I have the great pleasure of conveying to the nationalist movements for the

liberation of the Portuguese colonies, and especially the movements which operate in Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, the fraternal greetings of a comrade in the struggle who has just been freed from the prisons of the fascist Portuguese government and who wants to continue the struggle against colonialism.

"I offer the most sincere homage to the guerrillas fallen on the battlefield and in the prisons, to the prisoners, to the exiles, and to all the militants of our noble struggle for the development of the African nations under Portuguese colonial domination.

"I learned that they nourish the hope of putting a rapid end to this struggle which we are fighting against oppression and exploitation. The necessary conditions for our victory are unity and a firm determination to eliminate the foreign domination of our countries, even though this may cost us dear. These conditions, which are the objectives of the movements grouped in CONCP (Conference of the Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies), are the best guarantee of our victory.

"To our allies in the war against the barbarity of colonialism among whom I count the progressive and democratic Portuguese organizations to whose effort I owe my freedom, I send a fraternal embrace, conscious that the struggle against the exploitation of man by man anywhere in the world is a direct contribution toward our liberation."

In December of this year the First National Conference of MPLA took place in Kinshasa. There it was decided that the presidency would pass into the hands of Comrade President Agostinho Neto, who succeeded Mario de Andrade, first President of MPLA. This National Conference fought the opportunist tendencies which were manifesting themselves within the organization and insisted upon the necessity of developing armed struggle as the correct path chosen by the Angolan people for their liberation. The imperialist powers, recognizing that we constituted the only Angolan force seriously opposed to colonialism and imperialism, applied increasing pressure on our movement.

Holden Roberto, continuing his mission to serve the imperialist bosses, effected the fusion of the UPA with the PDA (*Partido Democrático de Angola*), creating the FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) and GRAE (Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile).

1963 - It was in 1963 that the OAU, which had just been created in Addis Ababa and whose objective was the construction of African unity, decided to recognize the GRAE.

Trying to destroy the only serious anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist Angolan force, the reactionary government of Zaire expelled MPLA from Kinshasa. MPLA moved its headquarters to Congo-Brazzaville.

On January 9 we opened the Cabinda front, the second politico-military region. The opening of this important front was



MPLA fighter with A-K rifle/Angola Medical Committee, 1972

a decisive factor in the life of our movement; it broke the imperialist effort to stifle our struggle and gave support to the struggle which continued in the first region, the zone of Dembos and Nambuangongo.

1964 - In January of this year a Conference of Cadres took place, which traced the strategy to be followed by the MPLA - a long term people's war. Also in this year, and in part due to the military successes achieved on the Cabinda front, our movement succeeded in gaining recognition from the OAU, an important step in the attainment of international support for our struggle.

Meanwhile, Portuguese colonialism decided to put an end to UPA/FNLA's pretense of conducting a war. The Portuguese initiated an offensive, taking terrible reprisals on the population of Zaire and Uige, who were forced to take refuge in Zaire. There, they continued to be subjected to a despotic regime and served as cannon fodder for Holden Roberto and his minions. The latter continued the criminal practice of torturing and killing the MPLA militants they managed to capture.

1965 - In 1965 the Portuguese government, in an effort to calm the colonists who were terrified by the steady advance of the guerrilla force in Cabinda, sent a new force of 45,000 soldiers to Angola. Military expenditures increased to 3.6 billion escudos (approximately \$900 million).

Various international organizations attempted to unify the UPA and MPLA, but such attempts were always boycotted by the UPA.

1966 - The Angolan people dealt a rude blow to Portuguese colonialism on March 18 by opening another fighting front - the third politico-military region, which embraces the districts of Moxico and Cuando-Cubango.

It was also in this year that Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, former Minister of Foreign Relations for FNLA/GRAE created UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola). UNITA, a movement of tribal character, acted solely in a limited zone of the eastern front and, under the orders of the Portuguese colonial government, served as a hindrance to the development of the revolutionary struggle of the Angolan people, led by MPLA.

1967 - In 1967 our vanguard movement launched the slogan "Generalization of the armed struggle over the entire national territory." In January 1968, Comrade President Agostinho Neto commented:

"In the beginning of 1967, MPLA, the movement which leads the liberation struggle of the Angolan people, launched the slogan 'Generalization of the struggle over the entire national territory.' We are proud to be able to declare today that during the year just ended our people's struggle won important

victories; we therefore foresee in the near future a state of general insurrection of the population leading to final victory against the colonialists.

"The combat fronts are widening, and increasing numbers of men, women and young people are taking part in armed encounters. By isolating and paralyzing the enemy, politically as well as militarily, conditions have been created for this general development. At present, it has become possible to inflict harder and harder blows on the enemy in the countryside as well as in the cities. . . . Our military skill improves and political awareness is increasing in proportion to the extent of territory we control which already covers an area much larger than Portugal. In order to confront increased attacks by our heroic people, the enemy is preparing to increase his troops. The purpose, according to their higher officers, is to go over to the offensive against us."

1968 - On 3 January 1968 the Central Committee of MPLA made the historic decision to move its headquarters to the interior of Angola. Following are the words of our Comrade President, broadcast by Radio Tanzania in the program, "The Voice of Fighting Angola," on June 6:

"There are now areas of the country controlled by MPLA. In one of these areas, we have established the headquarters of our movement. . . . Angolans should return to the areas controlled by MPLA in Angola where they can live a life of true freedom in spite of the hardships of the struggle. Students and people trained in universities and technical schools should return to our country to make their contribution to the struggle. It is necessary to strongly oppose the opportunistic arguments presented by some students in order to avoid taking part in the war and working with the people and to escape danger. These elements want to lead a good life in schools abroad, to which they were admitted solely because of the reputation of the fighters of our country."

On April 14 Comrade Commander Hoji Ya Henda died heroically in combat. Hoji Ya Henda fought his first battle at the age of 17, when he was a member of the first armed detachment of MPLA, on a mission to reinforce the valiant guerrillas of our first region near Nambuanguongo. This detachment was attacked by the criminals of UPA/FNLA; Hoji Ya Henda was one of the few survivors. In 1966 he was appointed Coordinator of the Military Commission of MPLA and elected a member of the Executive Committee. Hoji Ya Henda died on April 14 during an attack on the Karipande Barracks. The communique announcing his death stated:

"Comrade HOJI YA HENDA was an irreplaceable militant, endowed with exceptional qualities: righteous, honest and incorruptible, exceptionally valiant; a gifted leader and unswervingly faithful to revolutionary principles. For many years he had been a living example for the militants of MPLA."

Expansion of armed struggle zones

In August of that year the Eastern Regional Conference acknowledged Hoji Ya Henda's dedication and determination in defense of the people's cause and posthumously declared him "Beloved Son of the Angolan People and Heroic Fighter of MPLA."

This conference, held between August 22 and 25, was the first held within the liberated regions. It was followed by two more Regional Conferences in the northern front (first and second regions).

On 17 June, as a result of the important military successes and national reconstruction performed by our movement, the OAU recognized MPLA as the sole representative of the Angolan people.

During the same year, on September 25, our brave comrade AMERICO BOAVIDA, known under the pseudonym of N'Gola Kimbanda, died. He was one of the first Angolans to finish school at the "Liceu Salvador Correa" in Luanda, and he later received a medical degree from the Universities of Porto and Lisbon. In August 1960, he joined MPLA and was one of the first physicians to respond to our slogan: "To fight within our country." His death was caused by the treacherous bombing of a field hospital by the Portuguese colonialists.

December 1st is the Day of the Angolan Pioneer, named in honor of Augusto N'Gangula, heroic pioneer of MPLA, aged 12. On his way to an MPLA school he was seen by a group of colonialist soldiers who told him to stop. The soldiers saw the MPLA books he was carrying and started to question him. N'Gangula did not answer. The Portuguese soldiers began to torture him. Blood ran from his body, but he remained silent. His mouth did not open until death. On 3 March 1969 the Central Committee of MPLA published the following proclamation:

"The Executive Committee of MPLA posthumously honors Pioneer AUGUSTO N'GANGULA, who was tortured to death on 1 December 1968 when he was on his way from his village to an MPLA school. He was captured by Portuguese soldiers who tried to force him to tell them about his school and also the location of an MPLA base. This pioneer, who was only 12 years old but who understood the total meaning of MPLA's slogan, 'Victory or Death!', preferred to die rather than reveal MPLA bases to the enemy. For his courage and dedication to the people's struggle, the Executive Committee of MPLA bestows upon Pioneer AUGUSTO N'GANGULA the posthumous title of 'Heroic Pioneer of MPLA.' VICTORY IS CERTAIN!"

1969 - In January 1969 the International Conference of Solidarity with the Peoples of the Portuguese Colonies and South Africa was held in Khartoum, capital of Sudan. There our Comrade President took the floor. Following are important words from his speech:

"We will never refrain from expressing how pleased we are with the activities of the wiser portion of the Portuguese peo-

ple. I have already mentioned the demonstrations of the youth against the colonial war. It is also very heartening to see the Portuguese democratic organizations speak out against the war of aggression in the colonies and encourage the desertion of young soldiers. This activity, performed under a fascist regime, proves their courage and strength, which will always be needed by Portuguese militants.

"The anti-fascist and anti-colonialist Portuguese are allies in our struggle; there are no irreconcilable contradictions between the Angolan and Portuguese peoples. This is also proven by the liberation struggles of other nations in the world. Friendly relations will be possible in freedom; co-existence and cooperation will be possible on the basis of respect for and independence and sovereignty of each people."

On 6 June 1969 the fifth politico-military region, including Bié District, was established. With this event, the fighting had been extended to ten of the fifteen districts in Angola. Our semi-liberated and operational zone covered about 2.5 million people, i.e. about half the total population of Angola.

Desperately trying to check the revolutionary advance of the Angolan people, PIDE/DGS* carried out another wave of repression and jailings in Luanda.

1970 - During this year the colonialists made a strong attempt to stop the progress of MPLA, both by reinforcing their defense line in the Central Plateau regions of Bié and Lunda, and by increasingly utilizing helicopter attacks against our supply routes. In addition, the enemy tried various methods of landing "commandos" behind the MPLA lines, particularly along the border with Zambia.

The colonialist general staff thought this operation would be a guaranteed success. The utilization of new weapons such as the M-16 rifle, armored cars, PUMA and Alouette helicopters and the use of chemical warfare and napalm; the establishment of new counter-guerrilla units manned by conscripted Angolans; and the frequent recourse to South African military advisors and experts were some of the elements used by the colonialist forces to carry out their intentions.

On our part, from the beginning of the year our troops prepared to face the intensified enemy offensive. The attempts of the colonialist forces to destroy the MPLA advanced areas and our supply lines ended in total failure. These failures forced even the Portuguese Minister of Defense to admit that a military victory over the Angolan guerrillas was impossible.

In the first region, the difficulties of arming the MPLA troops due to the prohibition of passage through Zaire did not stop the guerrilla activities. Liaison was established between *DGS - the new name given to PIDE in an effort to improve the agency's terrible national and international reputation.

the guerrillas and the urban resistance, making possible a great number of small but meaningful actions in Luanda.

During that year there was a flare-up in the second region. Our attacks forced the enemy soldiers to withdraw from the posts of Sanga, Mikonje plain, Tchimbete and Sanga-Mongo. Furthermore, an increasing flow of Angolans deserted from the Portuguese colonial army in this region.

In the third region there were quite positive results in 5 of the 6 zones. The more important posts (Karipande, Kazombo, Ninda, Monteiro, Kambombe, Kavungu, etc.) were systematically attacked, while other barracks were subject to acts of intimidation. Institutions of People's Power were strengthened, as well as health and educational organizations. The four physicians of the region devoted themselves, in addition to medical assistance, to the training of paramedics and nurses. Some 50 paramedics were trained by SAM (Medical Assistance Services). Also, the CIR's (Centers of Revolutionary Instruction) taught almost 200 trainees in various technical skills.

In the fourth region new zones were opened and new fronts established. The activities of our troops included attacks against the enemy posts of Kasaje and Samayna, as well as many ambushes, road minings and destruction of moving vehicles. Our militants blocked the desperate efforts of the enemy to open new roads. Despite the stubborn enemy opposition, assisted by mercenary troops from Katanga, our detachments advanced considerably. As in the third region, the People's Power organizations, the Medical Assistance Services, the CIR's and the schools brought to the population the first taste of the rewards of independence.

One of our major successes during 1970 was the consolidation of the southern front of the fifth region. Since the fifth region (mainly Bié District) is the most populated of Angola, its value is enormous. This was understood by the enemy, who established a defense line they considered invulnerable - until the valiant fighters of MPLA proved the contrary. The natural barrier which our enemy thought would prevent our advance - the Kuanza River - was crossed, and our detachments attacked the barracks of Katota, Mumbwa, Mutumbo and Umpolo. Neither the airplanes nor the helicopters nor even the horses utilized by the enemy were capable of hindering the constant albeit slow advance of our troops. The greatest obstacle in this region, as in the fourth region, was the tremendous distance between the guerrillas and the border, making them extremely difficult to supply. All supplies had to be carried on people's backs, and a roundtrip took at least 3 months.

In summary, our advance towards the West and North-East was intensified, and our control over the liberated regions was consolidated. In February of that year, in the regions controlled by the colonialists, repression against the patriots was escalated further in a vain attempt to halt the progress of our move-



Clinic with Assistant-Doctor/Angola Medical Committee, 1972



Education of Assistant-Doctors/Angola Medical Committee, 1972

ment.

On June 26 a Conference of Solidarity with the Peoples of the Portuguese Colonies was held in Rome. The United Nations was represented by a delegation. Our Comrade President addressed a message to the delegates, from which we take the following excerpts:

"Today, while we are gaining our independence step by step on the battle field in Angola, we also celebrate the considerable success represented by this Solidarity Conference being held here in Rome. This success is the result of the labor of each of you and the organizations you represent. It marks a new stage in the field of solidarity towards the peoples of Angola and the other Portuguese colonies. . . .

"As you know, our liberation war is in its 9th year; MPLA has been able to overcome enormous obstacles opposed to its development. One of these obstacles remains - the prohibition of operating along the 2,000 kilometers [1,250 miles] of Zaire's border with Angola. Our guerrillas have to make a detour of almost 6,000 kilometers to reach a point that would be only 300 kilometers distant if this border area was open to us. This has been a delaying factor in the liberation of our people, but it will not prevent the establishment and development of new fronts of combat. The eastern front (including the third region, part of the fourth and part of the fifth) is a land where a new life has already been born. Our detachments control an area in excess of 500,000 square kilometers, and the fighting extends to the central districts, such as Bié and Malanje. . . .

"There has been a radical change in the life of the population in the regions under our control; power has gone from the hands of the colonialists to MPLA and has been transmitted by MPLA to the people. This, dear friends, is how MPLA has become, through its intensive and just revolutionary activity in the midst of our people, the true representative of the Angolan people.

"At this time of celebration of the 25th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, and the 10th anniversary of the declaration for the independence of the still colonized peoples, we wish to suggest to the observers of the UN Committee of 24 present here that they heed our proposal to the government of Portugal that they transfer power to MPLA at once. We invite the members of the Committee of 24 to visit our liberated regions; this would allow the respected members to become acquainted with the scope of our labor and to understand firsthand why only MPLA can be considered the rightful representative of the Angolan people. We hope that our invitation will be accepted. . . .

"Let me repeat that MPLA has a precise program and is opposed to all forms of imperialist, colonial and neocolonial oppression and exploitation. Guided by the supreme interests of our people, we maintain an independent attitude and wish this

attitude to be understood by all our true friends. The purpose of the conference is in complete accordance with the principles we have just defined."

1971 - In 1971, during the months of September and October, the MPLA Steering Committee met in plenary session. Decisions of fundamental importance for our organization and for the development of our armed struggle for national liberation were made there:

"The MPLA Steering Committee met in plenary session, under the presidency of Comrade Agostinho Neto, from September 21 to October 3. This session, held in the eastern region, shows once more the implantation and vitality of MPLA in the interior of Angola. Since the last two plenary sessions of the Steering Committee, six of our members have heroically fallen on the battlefield, fighting for the liberation of our national territory: Commander HOJI YA HENDA, beloved son of the Angolan people and heroic fighter of the MPLA; Commander BENEDICTO, of the first political-military region; Commanders JANGUINDA and KIMAKIENDA, of the fourth region; Commander CUIDADO, of the third region; and the Political Commissar LEVSKY, of the first region.

"During this same period a meeting of the MPLA representatives to the following countries was held: Algeria, Congo (People's Republic), Egypt, Scandinavian countries, Italy, Tanzania, Yugoslavia and Zambia."

The Decisions

An analysis was made of the development of the armed struggle and the situation in the liberated and occupied regions of the country. The plenary session decided in particular:

- a) To enlarge the MPLA Steering Committee and its Political-Military Coordination Committee;
- b) To hold the First National Congress, with dates and places to be fixed;
- c) To establish an Institute of Socio-Economic Studies and other specific organizations.

Intensify the Mobilization of the People! Reinforce People's Power!

"Taking into account that in the liberated zones there was a considerable development in the work of national reconstruction - particularly in the areas of agricultural production, health, education and commerce - it became necessary to raise the level of responsibility of the organisms of People's Power. This was necessary to continue the realization of planned tasks and to take the correct measures for consolidating the achievements of the revolution. In this sense, we are laying the groundwork for the future constitution of the "Assembly of the People of Free Angola."

"It is a duty of the mass organizations, Youth of MPLA (JMPLA), Organization of Angolan Women (OMA), National Union of Angolan Workers (UNTA) and Organization of Angolan Pioneers (OPA) to work among our people and mobilize them for all tasks. Special attention must be given to underground (clandestine) activities in the whole national territory. It will be the responsibility of the First Congress of MPLA to review the statutes and program of the MPLA.

"We must create instruments which assure the ideological purity of MPLA policy, on the basis of complete unity in the struggle, for total independence, for democracy, and against all forms of oppression and exploitation at home and abroad."

Solidarity

"The Plenary Session of the MPLA Steering Committee fraternally saluted the fighters of PAIGC and FRELIMO and expressed full support for the progressive Portuguese forces which struggle against fascism and colonial war. The session reaffirmed its militant solidarity with the South African people led by ANC, expressed its trust in the militants of Zimbabwe in their newly found unity, and gave its support to the people of Namibia in their struggle for national liberation.

"It also reaffirmed MPLA's militant solidarity with the people of Indochina and the other peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East who are struggling against international imperialism led by the USA. The session also saluted the Afro-American people for their struggle to win their legitimate rights. The Plenary Session of the MPLA Steering Committee registered with satisfaction the important increase in international solidarity with the armed struggle of the Angolan people."

On 28 July 1971, the Department of Information and Propaganda in Brazzaville sent the following military communique:

"The Colonialist Troops are Forced to Evacuate from a Big Barracks in the East of Angola.

"Last July, around 4:00 P.M., the Portuguese flag was lowered from the barracks of Karipande and was taken by the retreating Portuguese soldiers. This barracks had been under MPLA attack for a long time. In 1968 it was almost taken in an attack made with light weapons, but our Commander Henda fell dead at the decisive moment of the final assault. After this the enemy reinforced the barracks and lately Karipande had more than 200 men.

"To the extent that our firepower increases, we can make more deadly attacks, despite the fortification of barracks by the enemy. Thus, during this year, the barracks of Karipande was practically demolished by a mortar bombardment. On 3 February 1971, more than 150 howitzers were launched; and on May 6 this barracks was once again bombarded. Predicting a new at-

tack by MPLA guerrillas which they were incapable of facing, the Portuguese colonialist enemy decided to abandon Karipande on 15 July. One more barracks was abandoned by Portuguese colonialist troops!

"We can draw a conclusion from what is presently happening. The manner and frequency with which the MPLA forces destroy the colonialist barracks in Angola and our pressure, which leads the colonialists to abandon other barracks, show that our military power and the preparation of our armed forces have developed rapidly in the last few years and that a qualitative change has taken place in our armed forces. More than ever it is clear that the Angolan people, led by the MPLA, are on the way to defeating, little by little, the colonialist Portuguese enemy!"

It was only this year that the conference of the Chiefs of State of the OAU finally decided to rescind their recognition of the so-called government-in-exile, GRAE, thus putting an end to an error which had already lasted too long.

Our leaders were welcomed in the socialist countries of Europe, the People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

1972 - Following the order issued by MPLA, "Generalization of armed struggle in the whole national territory," and benefiting from favorable circumstances existing in Namibia (where thousands of Angolans worked in mines, exploited by imperialist trusts), the people of the extreme south of Angola under the guidance of MPLA launched the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism on 12 January. This popular uprising was coordinated with the struggle of the Namibian people against the racists and fascists of South Africa.

Following is a letter sent by the MPLA Steering Committee to the President of the United Nations Committee of 24, Ambassador Ahmed Salim:

"We have the honor to inform the United Nations of the new advances of the armed struggle in Angola. On 12 January, the people of the District of Cunene, in the south of Angola, also initiated armed struggle. This action, above all, demonstrates the generalized revolt of the Angolan people against Portuguese colonialism, of their love for liberty and independence, and also the response to the order issued by the MPLA: "Generalization of armed struggle in the whole national territory.

"The events at Cunene took place soon after the people of Namibia became involved in a victorious struggle, which constitutes a fundamental step toward putting an end to colonial domination in this region. It is a direct threat to the imperialist Cunene Dam project, to be constructed by South Africa and Portugal. This explains why Portugal and South Africa reacted together with desperate and barbaric repression. Incapable of facing the armed forces of MPLA, Portuguese and South African troops carried out systematic massacres of the peasant popula-

tion. Men, women, children and the aged were indiscriminately assassinated in the District of Cunene.

"The MPLA denounces these new crimes against the Angolan people, which are the result of the persistence of Portuguese colonialism and the fascist regime of South Africa. MPLA appeals to the Committee of 24 to take the necessary measures to help the Angolan people and to mobilize all the anti-colonialist forces of the world against Portuguese colonialism and the racist regime of South Africa for the defense of human rights, for liberty and independence of all peoples and nations and for peace. VICTORY IS CERTAIN!"

On the other hand this year we began to witness a great offensive on the part of Portuguese colonialist troops, with the desperate intention of trying to stop our advance. In order to counter setbacks suffered in certain areas, in August of this year our movement launched the Movement of Readjustment, a vast campaign of criticism and self-criticism, having the objectives of raising ideological, political, military and organizational levels and improving methods of work.

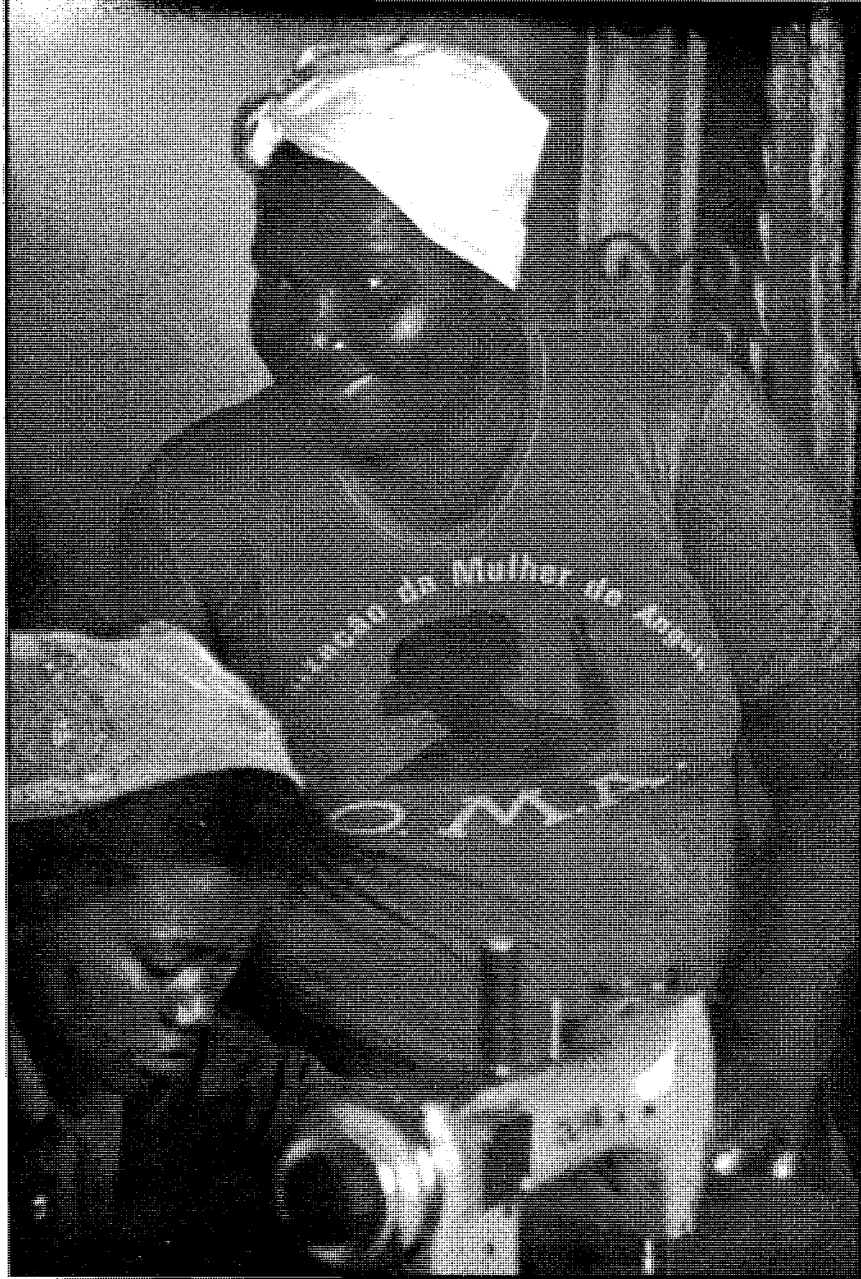
The results of Readjustment were to a large extent positive and enabled MPLA to launch military operations of a magnitude and quality not known before. Organizationally, the Steering Committee and the CCPM (Committee of Political-Military Coordination) were temporarily replaced by the CPR-FL (Provisional Commission of Readjustment of the Eastern Front), with a nominated Chief of Staff of the Eastern Front (EMFL). Another important step was the activation of the Department of Mass Organization and the creation of the Department of Political Orientation. One of the greatest victories of the Readjustment was, undoubtedly, the creation of the Groups of Active Militants to debate pressing organizational problems and thus strengthen the link between leadership and the masses.

December 13: The MPLA, culminating a series of efforts for the achievement of national unity, signed an agreement with FNLA. What separated us from FNLA was the fact that we consider armed struggle as the principal form of struggle to achieve complete independence, whereas FNLA, highly compromised with imperialism, felt the main form of struggle against colonialism was to apply pressure on countries supporting Portugal in an effort to stop them from doing so.

Regarding this, the Chief of the MPLA delegation presented the following views at the meeting:

"The Struggle in Angola is an 'Armed Struggle!'"

"Armed struggle is the decisive form of struggle of the Angolan people. In order to end the oppression and exploitation of which our nation is a victim, we had to resort and will resort to the most diverse forms of struggle. But a nation cannot and must not scorn the lessons that its own history provides. The history of the Angolan people teaches us that political, economic, social, cultural and other struggles are important to



OMA militant (Organization of Angolan Women)/LSM photo, 1976

victory. But we can see, not only in Angola but throughout the whole world, that the decisive factor in victory is the military struggle. Since we have been engaged in armed struggle for national liberation, the Angolan situation, both internally and externally, has changed radically. Everything that we assert today in relation to Angola is nothing more than the direct and immediate consequence of the war of national liberation. It was the war which unleashed the development of nationalist spirit as well as the formation of cadres and national institutions. It was the war which created the necessary conditions for the nation to construct its army, indispensable instrument for the achievement and safeguarding of national independence. Every other form of struggle must be at the service of the people's war, and any alliance, any united front, must above all be at the service of this war.

"Although all forms of struggle are being carried out at the service of the war, our national war is not a war for its own sake. The nation does not conduct this war with the single objective of killing or destroying the military machine of the enemy. The war conducted by our nation is a war for political objectives, for national liberation and the well-being of Angola and the world. The military form assumed by the Angolan struggle, on the internal and external plane, is the consequence of the brutal aggression of which our nation is the victim. If the aggression would stop, our national war would also stop. The Angolan nation is, and will always be, in favor of friendship and active cooperation between nations.

"Only the nation can smash the national enemy. The national enemy - the colonialist and imperialist aggressors - constitutes a gigantic machine with considerable material and human resources, impregnated with mortal hatred for our nation. In order to eliminate the enemy it is necessary for us to have a patriotic military force supported by a nation-in-arms. A national military force alone, or international aid alone, no matter how advantageous, cannot win our freedom from the oppressor. Only the whole nation has the unlimited resources to defeat the enemy. Victory will only be achieved as the result of the labors of our nation.

"In order for the nation to be an invincible unit, it must be completely mobilized, organized and well armed. On this point we can draw on our own history. In the past, every time the armed struggle was adopted to combat aggression, the enemy emerged victorious. There were many reasons for this, but the fact that mobilization, organization and weapons did not have a national character, but that of a region, tribe or clan, was primary. We were also incapable of forming a single integrated unity of all victims of aggression, a unity conscious of the justice of its cause, capable of self-orientation in the struggle, and capable of acting with speed, precision and force over a protracted period. If the war of liberation has not yet

material support for our struggle will develop still further, until the day of our victory over colonialist exploitation and oppression in Angola.

THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE ARE SURE OF THEIR VICTORY! VICTORY IS CERTAIN!"

At the end of 1973, the Movement of Readjustment was initiated in the northern front. The results were positive as in the East and led to the greatest military offensive of all time in the Cabinda region in the first quarter of 1974.

1974 - 25 April 1974 [Ed. - day of the coup which overthrew the fascist Portuguese government of Marcello Caetano], although not a date in the history of the Angolan people, was nevertheless the date of an event resulting from the joint struggles of the people of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea and the other colonies and of the Portuguese people against the colonialist regime of oppression and exploitation. It was in this year that there appeared inside our movement a faction, detached from the masses, calling itself "Active Revolt." The leadership of MPLA, responding on behalf of all its militants, took a firm position and unmasked in a declaration the counter-revolutionary position of the so-called "Active Revolt." This group of pretentious Angolan revolutionaries would later, at the "Congress of MPLA," cause further problems for our struggle, this time linked with the traitor Chipenda.

After April 25 the bandit Spinola tried to impose a neocolonial situation on the people of the Portuguese colonies. Such a neocolonial situation was presented in the form of a Lusitanian* Federation. The determination of our peoples to continue the struggle until total liberation and the energetic position of solidarity with the Portuguese people, compelled the assassin Spinola to make a statement on 27 July 1974 which recognized the rights of self-determination and independence of the people of the colonies. From Spinola's statement we present the following excerpt:

Immediate Start of the Process of Decolonization

"The African people, as I have stated many times, are perfectly capable of institutionalizing themselves politically and defending their own liberty. It is incumbent on us to remove the last barrier to this - the legal framework of colonization. The Constitutional Law No. 7/74, decreed by the State Congress and promulgated yesterday, creates a framework of constitutional legitimization for immediately beginning the process of decolonization of overseas Portugal. Thus, and in the most perfect coherence with the line of action of my governorship in Guinea, the moment has arrived for the President of the Republic to solemnly reiterate the recognition of the right of the people of the overseas Portuguese territories to self-determination, including the immediate recognition of their right *Native or inhabitant of ancient Lusitania or of modern Portugal.

to independence."

On August 1st 83 leaders of MPLA's guerrilla army, understanding the new demands of the struggle and our right and duty to defend the total integrity of our nation and the revolutionary achievements, decided to establish the Popular Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA):

Declaration to the Angolan People, the Guerrillas of MPLA and the Soldiers of Liberated Angola!

"The fighting Angolan people have just achieved a decisive victory. Our country is now on the threshold of the objective for which half a million patriots have fallen and hundreds of thousands have been mutilated. Patriot Soldiers! In the swamps, forests, cities and prisons you were the crucial factor in this long march to victory. Your courage, determination and patriotic sacrifice obliged the enemy to recognize Angola's right to independence.

"Militants of our people! At this hour, imperialist forces are agitated and attempts are being made to destroy that for which you struggled for thirteen years. Comrades! With the same decisiveness and firmness shown in the most difficult moments of combat, continue your present responsibilities. Continue to struggle for the preservation of our achievements; for the total liberation of the country; for defense of the interests of the most exploited sectors of our society; for a democratic, popular and progressive regime; for a single and indivisible nation; for territorial integrity; for our sovereign and independent participation in the international community.

"Soldiers and Commanders! Over the ruins of Karipande and Miconje, reflecting the manifest wishes of everyone who fought arms-in-hand and faithful to the memory of our dead, we proclaim:

1. The formation of the Popular Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA), which is subordinate to the political direction of MPLA.

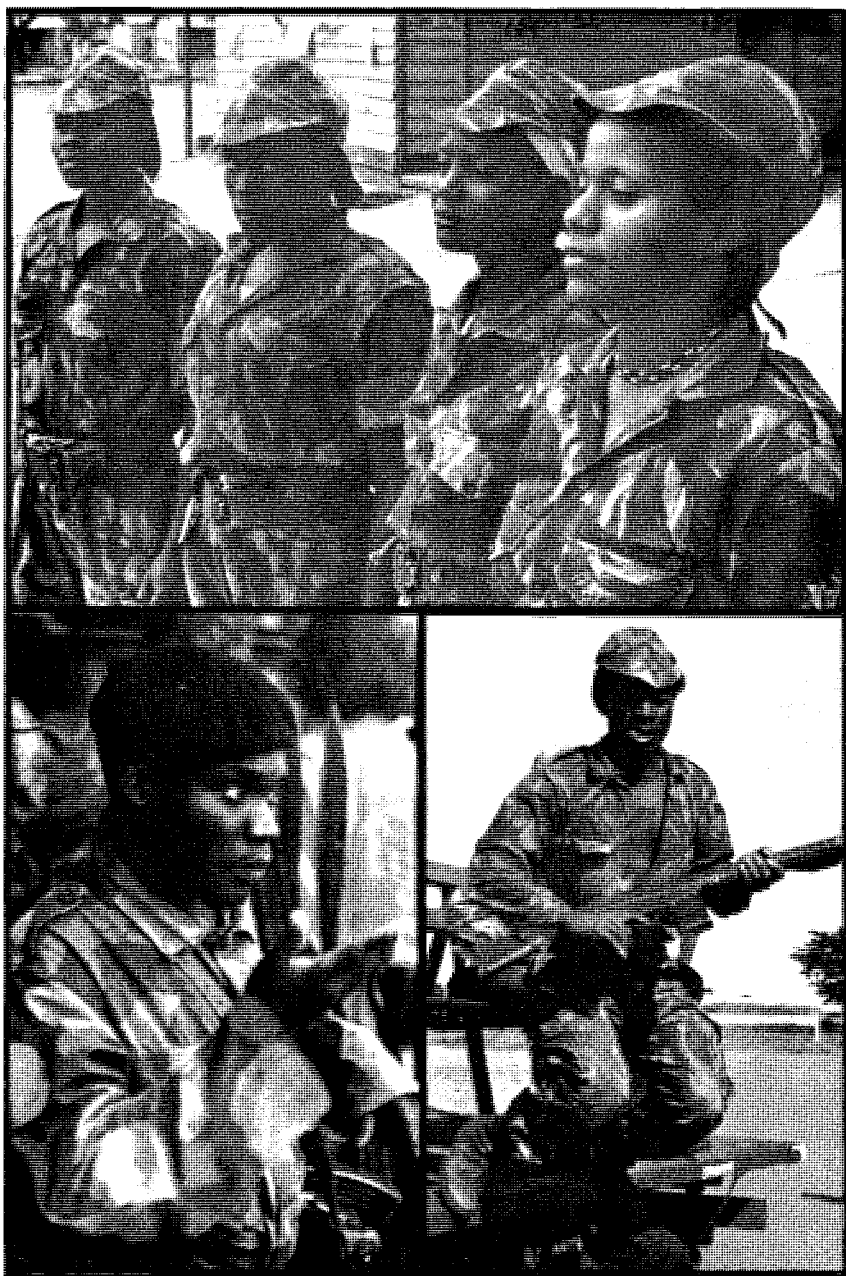
2. The integration into FAPLA of all armed forces and popular defense organisms.

3. Our firm intent to continue the struggle, by all means necessary, for the objectives that we have proposed.

"GLORY TO FAPLA! VIVA MPLA! VICTORY IS CERTAIN!!"

In August 1974 what should have been the First Congress of MPLA took place. Preparations for this "Congress" had been initiated at the Steering Committee Plenary Session in 1971, but its realization was postponed due to a strong counter-revolutionary offensive by the Portuguese colonialist army. The Congress was finally realized in August of 1974, under much pressure from abroad and with the presence of the so-called "revolt" factions.

Due to the behavior of these factions, the leadership of our movement was obliged to invalidate this "congress," pre-



FAPLA (People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola) recruits/LSM photo, 1976

senting the following document on August 22:

"Because of the development of our national liberation struggle, the Plenary Meeting of the Steering Committee decided in September 1971 to hold the First Congress of MPLA in the shortest space of time. Various difficulties, especially the intensification of some combat fronts, prevented the realization of this decision. At the same time, external pressures aggravated the divergences existing in the heart of our movement, culminating in the appearance of two successive factions contesting the authority of the leadership of MPLA. At all times our leadership sought, in a spirit aimed at safeguarding internal cohesion, to deal with the issues about which the factions complained. The factions, however, refused to discuss the issues with the leadership and forced the externalization and internationalization of the differences.

"In this situation, the OAU and our neighboring countries acted as intermediaries between the supposed "parts" of MPLA in conflict. The historical experience of MPLA (especially from the period 1963-64), as well as that of other fraternal liberation movements, had already shown the impossibility of resolving such problems by a simple fusion of factionalist groups. When contradictions reach the point of rupture, it is difficult, if not impossible, to stop this rupture as long as the underlying differences remain. We have also observed that these contradictions often reflect external power interests.

"However, out of a spirit of conciliation and unity, we agreed to participate in a congress which would be a last attempt at finding a common understanding with the so-called "revolt" factions. With this same spirit, we made numerous concessions during this period:

- Allowing the presence during the OAU Summit Conference in Mogadishu of a "tripartite" delegation, accepting the use of the name of our movement by a suspended leader and the chief of one of the factions.

- Permitting an equal number of participants in the Preparatory Commission of the Congress.

- Allowing the meeting of the Preparatory Commission to be outside MPLA's regular locality.

- Accepting anti-statutory criterion of participation, whereby our movement was obliged to appear with the same number of delegates (165) as one of the factions and whereby another faction participated with the totality of its adherents (70 members), many of them of doubtful militancy. According to statutory criteria MPLA should have had about 70% of the delegates, but what finally occurred was an MPLA participation of only 40%.

- Allowing the Congress to be held outside our country because of the strange but significant fear of the factions to meet among their own people.

- Allowing observers and guests to be chosen without re-

gard to the traditional ties of friendship and solidarity linking us to other countries.

"Despite these concessions, the factions refused to recognize the legitimately established leadership of the movement and went so far as to not accept the opening of the Congress by our president. We continued to make concessions at the Congress, but a number of anomalies soon appeared which finally forced us to halt our efforts. These included:

- Soon after the verification of credentials on 13 August 1974, 14 FNLA members were discovered among the so-called "Eastern Revolt" delegation. Another member of the same faction declared himself to be from the FNLA at the Plenary Session of August 21.

- Despite the obvious necessity of holding the Congress in privacy, a swarm of tendentious news reports was issued by information agencies not related to the Congress.

- From the opening of the Congress, a carnival spirit was apparent which hindered all the solemnity and seriousness required by an event of this nature.

"Despite the concessions described above and our spirit of conciliation, reflected in our proposal for the approval of fundamental decisions by a two-thirds majority, thereby preventing the imposition of one part over the other and also making possible the real cohesion of the movement, the two factions took advantage of the fact that together they formed a majority to attempt at every instance to scorn MPLA's leadership and with it the whole movement. Their objective was to impose solutions absolutely contrary to the interests of our people. This situation illustrates how our constructive efforts were answered with a systematically destructive attitude.

"Fortified by the unconditional support of our people, militants and Popular Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola; conscious of our duty to defend the revolutionary accomplishments of 13 years of armed struggle; conscious of the necessity of finding solutions for the grave problems confronting our people; conscious that the continued prolongation of an abnormal congress only aggravates the internal situation of Angola at the same time that the imperialist forces are organizing in the country; conscious that only in the field of battle and among our people will we find solutions that do not betray their sacred interests; encouraged by the support of large popular masses for the MPLA and our president, expressed by many demonstrations throughout Angola, by thousands of signatures in the form of (special) messages, letters and telegrams sent to the Congress, the leadership of MPLA and militants sent by the movement to this special Congress, declare:

- a) the impossibility of continuing to seek an understanding with the factions, whose attitude is the systematic and total negation of the spirit of unity;

- b) our inexorable decision to continue the struggle by all

means until the complete independence of Angola;

c) the convening forthwith of the First MPLA Congress in the liberated area of our country;

d) the illegality of holding false congresses or conferences in the name of MPLA by factions, alone or allied, as well as the abuse of our movement's name by any faction.

"The leadership of MPLA is thankful for the presence and support of our FRELIMO and PAIGC comrades. We are grateful to the OAU and all countries and organizations which contributed to this congress, especially the People's Republic of the Congo and Republic of Zambia for the facilities and help which they offered. MPLA appeals to all countries, organizations and friends to maintain their high and unflinching support for the just struggle of our people and MPLA.

"To the militants who today are close to the factionalist groups, the MPLA leadership fraternally extends its hands in order for you to participate in the First Congress of MPLA, with clear independence of opinion on the basis of our common objectives and principles of unity. The independence of Angola is near and thus demands the presence and valuable contribution of every patriot. The leadership of MPLA calls on the Angolan people, on all our militants and sympathizers, to intensify your total participation in the struggle for the liberation of our country. VIVA THE MPLA! VICTORY IS CERTAIN!"

From the 12th to the 20th of September, an Inter-Regional Conference of MPLA Militants was held on Angolan soil. Among other things, this conference reviewed and updated MPLA's Program and Statutes; elaborated a Program of Immediate Action; ratified the Proclamation, Constitution and Principles of Military Structure of FAPLA; and elected the members of the Central Committee of MPLA. The following people are on the Central Committee:

1. Agostinho Neto
2. Lucio Lara (Tchiweka)
3. Carlos Rocha (Dilolwa)
4. Lopo do Nascimento
5. Jose Eduardo
6. Henrique de Carvalho Santos (Onambwe)
7. Saydi Mingas
8. Joaquim Kapango
9. Rodrigues João Lopes (Ludi)
10. Evaristo Domingos (Kimba)
11. Pascal Luvualu
12. António dos Santos França (Nдалу)
13. Eugénio Verissimo da Costa (Nzaji)
14. João Luis Neto (Xietu)
15. Pedro Maria Tonha (Pedalé)
16. Jacob Caetano João (Monstro Imortal)
17. Paulo Silva Mungungu (Dangereux)
18. Ambroise Lukoki

19. Manuel Francisco Tuta (Batalha)
20. Sapilinya
21. Tchizainga
22. Bonifácio Kinda (Kantiga)
23. Gilberto Teixeira da Silva (Jika)
24. Henrique Teles Carreira (Iko)
25. Herminio João Excórcio
26. Nito Alves
27. César Augusto (Kiluanje)
28. Aristides Van-Dúnem
29. Jose Van-Dúnem
30. Manuel Pedro Pacavira
31. Eduardo Evaristo (Bakalof)
32. Bernardo Ventura
33. Lopes Maria
34. Jamba-Ya-Mina
35. Armado Campos

Members of the Political Bureau:

1. Agostinho Neto (President)
2. Lopo do Nascimento (Secretary)
3. Lucio Lara (Tchiweka)
4. Carlos Rocha (Dilolwa)
5. Jose Eduardo
6. Joaquim Kapango
7. Rodrigues João Lopes (Ludi)
8. Pedro Maria Tonha (Pedalê)
9. Jacob Caetano João (Monstro Imortal)
10. Henrique Teles Carreira (Iko)

This conference took place at a crucial moment in our history, a moment characterized by the complete ruin of colonialism, by fierce struggle between the forces of progress and the forces of racism and neocolonialism, and by the impetuous advance of MPLA. The basic documents approved by this conference are of vital importance; they reflect the experience gained by our movement and our people from 18 years of revolutionary struggle and 13 years of war, and they show MPLA's consistent application of a revolutionary line.

On October 21st a cease-fire was concluded between MPLA and the Portuguese Armed Forces. Signed in the District of Moxico, this cease-fire agreement put an end to 13 years of violent and bloody struggle. It made official the armistice which was tacitly established in July of the same year. This same agreement also enabled the legal opening of MPLA offices in Luanda and in other Angolan cities and villages and the exchange of prisoners of war.

The cease-fire agreement signed in the marshy fields of eastern Angola represents an important step in the present and future relations between the Angolan and Portuguese peoples. It opens a new era in the history of our liberation struggle

and towards the objectives for which our people fought and still fight: Independence and Liberty!

The agreement represents a great victory not only for the Angolan people but for all people in the world who love peace and liberty.

On November 8th an MPLA delegation arrived triumphantly in Luanda. This delegation, led by Comrade Lucio Lara, included many comrades from the Central Committee and the mass organizations of MPLA. The delegation received a tumultuous mass greeting at the airport, where Comrade Lara made the following declaration to the press:

"This reception surpassed everything that we expected; by the news we heard on the radio and looking through the airplane windows, we were absolutely amazed at such an extraordinary thing. . . .

"Today is unforgettable for us. We can see by this reception that the seed has really germinated and brought fruits. Our people have identified themselves completely with the MPLA; MPLA is the people and the people are the MPLA."

On February 4th, after 14 years of arduous political struggle, our people triumphantly received their guide and educator, Comrade Agostinho Neto. Speaking to the masses, our Comrade President affirmed:

"Comrades: today, February 4th, we are commemorating the beginning of the armed struggle for the liberation of our country. We cannot forget that in order to win this victory, it was necessary to have the efforts and sacrifices of many compatriots. Some lost their lives; others, victims of their errors, dropped out.

"We are happy today because, finally, we are celebrating the 4th of February with the independence of our people in sight. We have to insure that our people are really the masters of our country, and that unity and democracy do not simply become words which we proclaim on the microphone, but that they become the ideals which in reality we defend.

"The delegation which just arrived, composed of members of the Central Committee and other militants, is thankful to our militants and sympathizers in Luanda who have offered us this great reception. We thank everyone who is here at the airport, every militant who has contributed with his enthusiasm and daily action, so that the goal of genuine independence is really acquired by our people. And let us defend our independence.

"We had the occasion of visiting today, by accident, the air base at the city of Henrique de Carvalho. I want to say publicly that we were moved by the manner in which we were received by the officials and other people at the air base. This shows that cooperation with the Portuguese is possible with independence, that friendship is possible within democracy. I would like to cite a particular case; the pilot of the airplane in which we came was a Portuguese colleague in my high school;



MPLA troops entering Huambo/Airrique-Asie photo, 1976

he was a freshman with me, Commandant Casanova Pinto. We see, therefore, that without the war of oppression, personal relations are easy and possible. And here in Angola there are still certain individuals who are afraid of independence! Who are still afraid of the people taking political power.

"Before 25 April it would have been impossible for us to be received as we have been received today. And, because of this, our happiness at this moment is transmitted not only to the people of Luanda, but also to the whole people of Angola. I personally left this land, our country, 14 1/2 years ago. I was accompanied by some people from the PIDE, led by an individual who had the name of some saint. I went through many countries: Cape Verde, Portugal and finally, other African countries. Only through our hard struggle, through our armed actions within the country, have we been able to return freely here, where we have so many militants and friends.

"Without People's Power, without genuine democracy, it will be impossible to guarantee peace and quiet. It is necessary for the masses to be free and not simply a small minority. And we shall work for this end. I and our comrades who arrived here on November 8 are not gods; we are not prophets. We did not come here to resolve all problems. No. What we desire is that, with the collaboration of our militants and sympathizers, of all the people of Angola, we can together find the solution to the problems - some of which are grave - which we have in our land. We shall proceed, in the quickest way possible, to construct our independent nation and construct a people's democracy and redistribute the wealth of our country. Thank you, Comrades."

ALVOR

1975 - On 3 January 1975, the agreement between MPLA and the traitors of UPA/FNLA and UNITA was signed in Mombasa, an agreement which made possible the beginning of negotiations with the Portuguese government. After this, on 10 January 1975, the Alvor Agreement was signed, which determined the date of independence of our country and divided the interim governing responsibilities between Portugal, UNITA, UPA/FNLA and MPLA.

Even with the signing of this agreement, UPA/FNLA and UNITA continued their policy of provocation in relation to the people and MPLA. They obstructed and denounced the People's Power movement and carried out acts of aggression and atrocities against MPLA militants and sympathizers. The Angolan masses, tired of suffering under colonialism, saw clearly the oppressive nature of the neocolonial regime which UNITA and UPA/FNLA wanted to install in our country.

Finally, after repeated efforts at establishing peace and carrying out the terms of the Alvor Agreement, in the face of new provocations, MPLA's glorious people's army, FARPA, expelled the imperialist lackeys from Luanda and renewed revolutionary struggle in the whole country. On July 26, the Political

Bureau of the MPLA indicated to us the way to proceed, proclaiming the Popular Generalized Resistance. Their communique was as follows:

"Angolan people, comrades:

"The mask of our enemy has finally been uncovered. For many months, desperate because of the total absence of popular support, the FNLA has attempted to seize political power by force, even if it had to go through a civil war. Since November 1974, the population of Angola has apprehensively watched the systematic occupation of our country by FNLA armed bands, assembled by foreign forces and coming from Zaire. High officials of the FNLA have denounced the agreements of Mombasa, Alvor and Nakuru with grave and bellicose declarations. The FNLA and ELNA* have carried out numerous provocations, acts of war, assassinations, tortures and horror crimes of every sort, culminating in the massacre of the populations of Sazaire, Ambrizete, Toto, Sao Salvador, Maquela and Carmona. In despair for having failed to occupy Luanda, which has finally begun to breathe liberty, the enemies of the people have once more taken recourse to military means, employing men and materiel from Zaire and enlisting mercenaries of every origin.

"But our people, who defeated the colonialist war machine, know that neither cannons nor airplanes can defeat their determination. Incapable of understanding the impossibility of destroying a people's organization such as the MPLA, relying solely on the support of imperialist powers, foreign interests and hired assassins, FNLA is once more throwing itself into a bloody adventure, condemned beforehand to total defeat. The Angolan people are thus obliged to return to the fight for survival, for their dignity and complete independence, at this moment when the bright star of liberty already shines on the horizon.

"Angolan people, comrades: the glorious MPLA, legitimate defender of the interests and aspirations of the Angolan people, proclaims the Popular Generalized Resistance in response to the war declarations of the FNLA. Let all true patriots mobilize against the reactionary violence and aggression on the part of the assassin bands of the ENLA/FNLA. Let us all unite in defense of the achievements of our long war of national liberation. Let us not allow the flunkies of imperialism, the reactionaries of all shades and colors, to again cover our country, which has already sacrificed so much, in blood.

"Soldiers of ELNA: do not let yourselves be fooled by leaders who are always outside of the battlefield themselves and who use you as cannon fodder to carry out adventurous and criminal actions. Run from the foreigners who push you to assassinate your own people.

"Brave fighters of the FAPLA: once more the oppressed and exploited masses put in your hands the responsibility of defending their interests and conquests and encourage you with their

*ELNA - FNLA's army.

total support and participation in the Popular Generalized Resistance.

"Neighborhood commissions, village and "Kimbo" committees: continue to strengthen your organizations with determination in order to confront the declared enemies of People's Power. Angolan comrades, militants and sympathizers, men, women and children: intensify the glorious struggle against imperialism and its flunkys for complete independence, liberty, peace and prosperity. Down with the flunkys of imperialism! Viva the Popular Generalized Resistance! The counter-revolution will not succeed! The struggle continues! Victory is Certain!"

Under the leadership of our movement, FAPLA continued to liberate greater and greater parts of the whole country. National reconstruction and the establishment of people's democracy began in all liberated zones.

On October 20, in the face of the alliance of imperialism taken by the Portuguese government against the Angolan people, the Political Bureau through Comrade Agostinho Neto made an historic declaration announcing the resolute desire of the Angolan people to consider November 11th 1975 as the day of our independence and not to accept as representatives the lackeys of imperialism: UPA/FNLA/UNITA.

Glory to Those Who Fall in Combat

Some day, in the future,
when the People have defeated the lackeys of imperialism,
and this war has come to an end,
those who are older,
however hardened by a tough and difficult life,
will have their eyes filled with tears,
when they remember their sons and daughters,
their nieces and nephews, those youths
who lived here, next door to each of them,
and heroically, gave their lives that the People might be free,
that conditions might be created where there would be neither
tyranny nor exploitation.

Some day, in the future,
when the People have defeated the lackeys of imperialism,
and this war has come to an end,
the future revolutionaries of tomorrow,
will not mourn the heroes of the People,
they will rather behold their image with respect and admiration.
Soaked in the blood of martyrs,
of those who willingly gave their lives for the People
and to clear the way for the Revolution,
the future revolutionaries of tomorrow,
moved by an indomitable spirit,
will crush those who,
frightened by the success of the Revolution,
attempt to betray the blood of our Heroes.

The future revolutionaries of tomorrow and the People
will build socialism with their own strength,
learning from the generous example of our heroes
and endowed with the highest revolutionary virtues
they will carry the Revolution through to the end.

CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA

The constitutional law of the People's Republic of Angola (PRA), headed by Dr. Agostinho Neto, is based on the following principles:

Article 1 - The People's Republic of Angola is a sovereign, independent and democratic state, whose first objective is the total liberation of the Angolan people from the vestiges of colonialism and the domination and aggression of imperialism and the construction of a prosperous and democratic country, completely free from any form of man's exploitation by man, realizing the aspirations of the masses.

Article 2 - All sovereignty rests with the Angolan people, but the MPLA - their legitimate representative, composed of a broad front in which all the patriotic forces involved in the anti-imperialist struggle are included - is in charge of the political, economic and social leadership of the nation.

Article 3 - The masses are guaranteed broad and effective participation in the exercise of political power through consolidation, extension and evolution of the organizing forces of people's power.

Article 4 - The People's Republic of Angola is a single and indivisible state whose inviolable and inalienable territory is that defined by the present geographic limits of Angola, and it energetically fights any separatist attempt to dismember its territory.

Article 5 - Economic, social and cultural solidarity among all regions of the PRA will be promoted by common development of the entire Angolan nation and elimination of the results of regionalism and tribalism.

Article 6 - The People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA), the people's fighting arm, under the leadership of the MPLA and with its president as their Commander-in-Chief, are institutionalized as the National Army of the PRA in charge of defending the territorial integrity of the homeland

and participating in production and therefore in national reconstruction, alongside the people. The Commander-in-Chief of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) appoints and removes the top level military leaders.

Article 7 - The People's Republic of Angola is a lay state in which there is complete separation between the state, the church and religious institutions. All religions will be respected and the state will provide protection for churches, religious places and objects, providing they obey state laws.

Article 8 - The People's Republic of Angola considers agriculture as a base and industry as a decisive factor in its development.

The state directs and plans the national economy for the purpose of systematically and harmoniously developing all natural and human resources and utilizing the wealth for the benefit of the people.

Article 9 - The PRA will promote the establishment of just social relations in all sectors of production, stimulating and developing the public sector and increasing cooperative methods. The PRA will be very particularly concerned with solving the land problem in the interest of the peasant masses.

Article 10 - The PRA recognizes, protects and guarantees private property, including that of foreigners, provided these favor the economy of the country and the interests of the Angolan people.

Article 11 - All natural resources of the soil and subsoil, territorial waters, continental platform and air space are the property of the state which shall determine the conditions under which they are exploited and used.

Article 12 - The fiscal system shall be guided by the principle of progressive payment of direct taxes with no fiscal privileges of any kind being permitted.

Article 13 - The PRA energetically fights illiteracy and ignorance and promotes the development of education at the service of the people and of a true national culture enriched by the revolutionary cultural conquests of other peoples.

Article 14 - The PRA respects and applies the principles of the UN Charter and the Charter of the OAU and will establish relations of friendship and cooperation with all states on the basis of principles of mutual respect for territorial sovereignty and integrity, equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of each country and reciprocity of benefits.

Article 15 - The PRA supports and expresses solidarity with the people's struggle for their national liberation and will establish relations of friendship and cooperation with all the democratic and progressive forces of the world.

Article 16 - The PRA will belong to no international military organization, nor permit the installation of foreign military bases on its national territory.

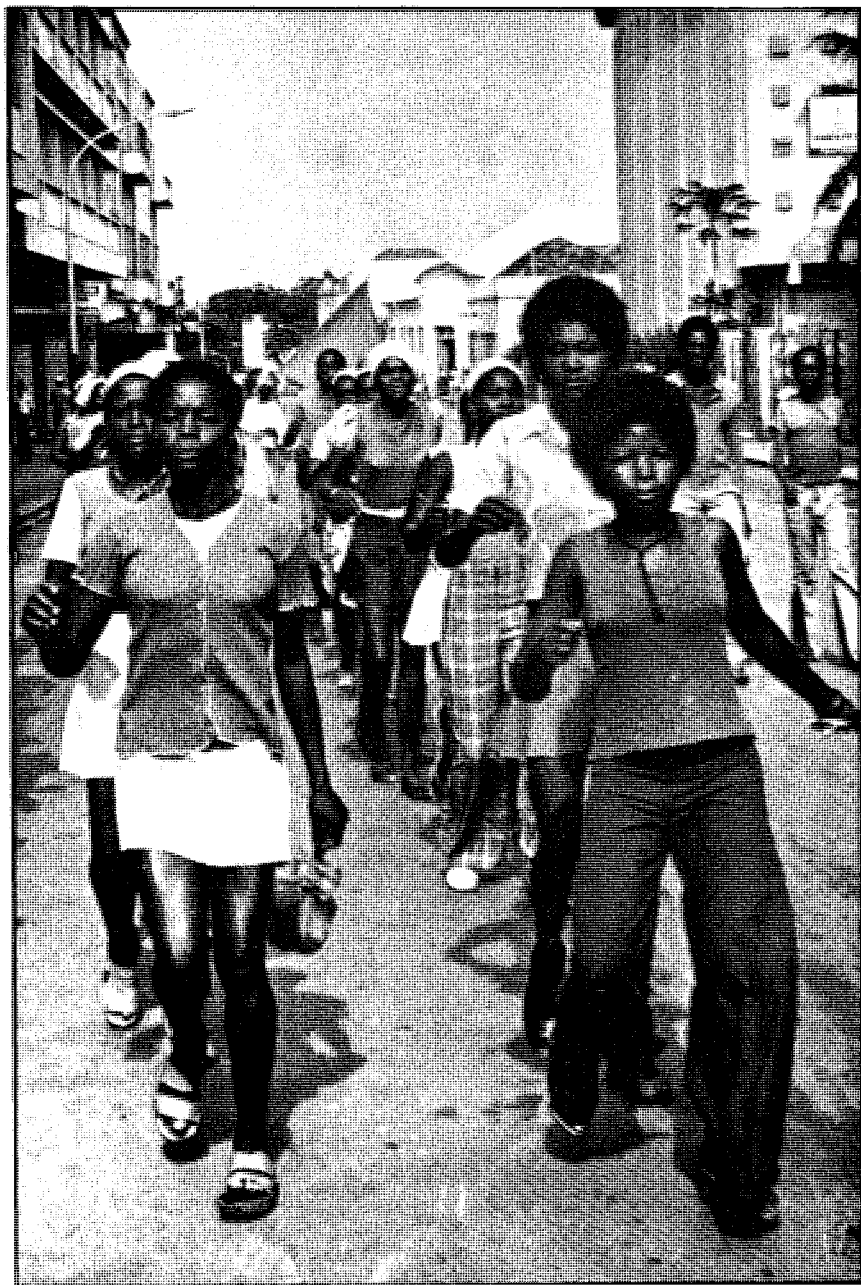
In the Constitution of the People's Republic of Angola it states that its president shall be the President of the MPLA, who as Chief of State shall represent the Angolan nation. The People's Assembly is also created as the highest body of the State of the PRA, and a special law will determine its composition and system of election and operation.

The Constitution also states that as long as Angolan territory is not totally liberated and the conditions for the installation of the People's Assembly do not exist, the highest state body shall be the Council of the Revolution composed of the members of the MPLA Political Bureau, the members of the General Staff of the FAPLA, the provincial commissioners, and members of the government named for this purpose. The Council of the Revolution shall be presided over by the President of the PRA and its purpose is to exercise legislative power; define and guide the country's domestic and foreign policy; approve the general state budget; name the Prime Minister; name the provincial commissioners; authorize the president to declare war and peace; decree a state of siege or emergency and authorize amnesties.

The new government of the People's Republic of Angola shall be composed of the Prime Minister, the State Ministers and Secretaries, and shall be presided over by the Prime Minister.

The People's Republic of Angola is divided administratively into provinces, councils, communes, circles, neighborhoods and settlements.

The symbols of the PRA are the flag, the insignia and the anthem.



OMA militants (Organization of Angolan Women)/LSM photo, 1976

Selected LSM Publications

On Angola

People's Power and the Angolan Revolution	\$.75
The Revolution in Angola: MPLA, Life Histories and Documents	\$7.50
Making of a Middle Cadre - Life History - Rui de Pinto	\$1.50
Angola: Five Centuries of Portuguese Exploitation	\$2.50
Messages to Companions in the Struggle: Speeches by President Agostinho Neto	\$.50
With the Guerrillas in Angola	\$.50
Interview with Spartacus Monimambu	\$.50
Interview with Paulo Jorge	\$.50
Interview with Seta Likambuila	\$.50

Theoretical Pamphlets

Notes On A Strategy for North American Revolutionaries.	\$.50
Toward An International Strategy	\$.50
Principles of LSM's Anti-Imperialist Work	\$.25

