

MOVIMENTO POPULAR DE LIBERTAÇÃO DE ANGOLA



**M**EMORANDUM

to the 15th session of the

**A**FRICAN **L**IBERATION **C**OMMITTEE

of the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

Dakar, 15 July, 1969

## THE VISIT OF THE MILITARY COMMISSION

At this time when the African Liberation Committee is holding its 15th Meeting, it can mark up a further victory. The visit undertaken by the OAU Military Commission to the areas controlled by MPLA forces in the Centre-West of our country constitutes yet another step forward in concretising the OAU's support for the African peoples fighting racism and colonialism.

The MPLA fighters had the pleasure of seeing and talking to the honorable OAU delegates, which enabled them to feel in a more vital and direct way the encouragement the OAU has been giving to the freedom fighters since its inception. The presence of the Military Commission was audacious testimony whereby the African countries informed the forces of oppression in Africa of their determination to wipe out the last bastions of colonialism and racism once and for all.

The Angolan fighters are well aware of this fact. They admired the brothers who, braving all the dangers and difficulties, unhesitatingly came to them to enquire into their needs and successes. The Commission had to cover vast distances on foot, following the rough guerrilla paths. They had to cross rivers and dangerous savannas to reach those who, day and night, offer their lives for the salvation of their country. The MPLA fighters greatly appreciated this tremendous proof of solidarity and encouragement, and they were well aware that the members of the Commission completed their mission with the satisfaction of having performed their duty well and with the desire to do their utmost to meet the urgent demands of the local population and the guerrillas.

The MPLA would have considered the Commission's mission a complete success had it taken in all the areas - the North-East, the Centre-East and the South. We voiced this opinion to the members of the Commission at the appropriate time, but it was understood that the problem of the long distances involved conflicted with the time at the disposal of the Commission.

The MPLA cannot say what impressions the Commission took from the field of battle, yet we are sure that the many shortages did not pass unnoticed and that the pressing appeals for increased support in the form of arms, ammunition and drugs were favourably received.

A positive response to these appeals would be the best way to crown with success a mission which cannot fail to go down in the annals of OAU history.

## ADVANCES IN OUR STRUGGLE AND DISARRAY IN THE ENEMY RANKS

During the six months that have passed since the 14th Meeting of the Liberation Committee, the MPLA guerrilla forces have continued to register very substantial successes.

Generally speaking, military activity has increased twofold in comparison with last year.

In the month of January, for example, 423 of the enemy (soldiers, militiamen and traitors) were put out of action, whereas in January of last year the corresponding figure was 199.

In our First Region (the districts of Uige, Zaire, Kuanza Norte and Luanda), despite the barrier mounted by Congo Kinshasa against all supplies for our guerrillas, they behaved valiantly, standing up to an offensive lasting several months launched by thousands of enemy soldiers supported by all kinds of weapons and equipment (bomber planes, helicopters, armoured cars, cannon, shells, tractors etc.)

Our forces have now regained the initiative and, as is admitted by the enemy high command itself, they are preventing the normal harvesting of coffee, keeping up a constant harassment of the colonialist forces.

In the Second Region, in Cabinda, the eastern zone regained momentum and our forces harassed the colonialists more actively, while violent battles in the northern zone caused them heavy losses.

This state of affairs created the conditions for an increased number of desertions by Angolans recruited by force into the Portuguese army. Seven such deserters have come to join the guerrillas with their arms in the past months.

In the Third Region, the districts of Moxico and Kuando-Kubango, the enemy is vainly making a tremendous effort to cut the routes ensuring supplies for our various zones. Here the region is completely controlled by our forces and the colonialists hold only the urban centres and a few administrative posts.

The Fourth Region (Lunda and Malange) and the Fifth Region (Bie), the newest regions, are progressing very well. The guerrilla war is now a few dozen kilometres from the important towns and it receives the enthusiastic support of the local people. The colonialists are so alarmed that they have had to appeal for Afrikaners, who have come post haste to study the situation on the spot.

We must now expect more support for Portugal from the Republic of South Africa, at this stage taking the form of increased numbers of helicopters and a few "experts", in accordance with the new tactic employed by the enemy to get closer to the guerrilla bases.

To give a few figures, during the first five months of 1969 in the Third Region alone the enemy lost 802 men, including dead and wounded, 103 of them puppet troops. They also lost 31 vehicles, while 3 bridges were destroyed and 2 launches sunk.

These figures represent little, indeed very little, in comparison with the effects they have on the enemy ranks, where the degree of disarray is attaining unprecedented limits.

Proof of this are the Portuguese government's urgent appeals to its NATO allies for increased support in arms, funds and men. Portugal is already openly asking for NATO intervention on the fallacious pretext that the future of the West is at stake in the Portuguese colonies where, they claim, the patriotic forces are "following in the wake of international communism", which is allegedly using them to replace the West in its strategic positions in the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean!

Proof of this disarray is the tightening of the Lisbon-Pretoria-Salisbury alliance, in which Pretoria wants to play the leading role. The notorious increase in military talks between Lisbon and Pretoria over the past six months

is a very enlightening factor. The visits by South African military chiefs to the combat zones in Angola give a clear idea of this (see Appendix). It is a well known fact that MPLA guerrillas have already had to confront South African soldiers in the area around Luatambo (district of Moxico).

Proof of this too is the active collaboration of Smith's Rhodesia, which has already suffered the loss of a helicopter which was shot down by MPLA guerrillas (see Appendix).

Proof of this is the great psychological offensive against the MPLA launched by the special forces of the Portuguese army, which is being carried out not only by special brigades sent among the people, but also through pamphlets and the radio. In fact, because the Portuguese army's so-called offensives have met with resounding failure, the Portuguese strategists have decided to intensify their psychological action in the vain hope of halting the impetuous advance of the guerrilla war. We then witnessed - and it is still going on - the launching of a vast campaign of propaganda against the MPLA - pamphlets scattered by plane in the zones controlled by the guerrillas (see Appendix), the circulation of false rumours about the MPLA leaders and attempts to arouse distrust of the MPLA in neighbouring countries. For example, almost every day the enemy precedes its official news broadcasts in Angola with statements against our Movement recorded by the PIDE, where traitors or patriots who were not able to withstand torture are forced to vomit out all that is dictated to them by the psychological action services. At the same time, a radio station specially set up to try to counteract the broadcasts of Fighting Angola is used to back up this campaign in the national languages. (It took the war to make the colonialists decide to allow the national languages to be spoken and to broadcast the country's folklore on the radio.) The ridiculous content of the statements extorted by the PIDE and the mind-poisoning programmes of the single party, the National Union, attack the MPLA alone and show that the enemy is feeling the impact of our Movement. In the final analysis, these programmes are good propaganda for the MPLA.

The disarray among the colonialist forces can also be seen in the growing demoralisation prevailing among their troops, who are tired of a war from which they know they have nothing to gain.

Moreover, the Portuguese officers do not conceal the distrust they feel for the Angolan soldiers, whom they know to be capable of deserting at the first opportunity.

On 4 June, three such Angolans, all MPLA militants, succeeded in taking over a civil aircraft, following a carefully worked-out plan, and forcing it to land at Pointe Noire (Congo Brazzaville). In the plane were very important military documents on plans for operations against the MPLA in the First and Third military regions, which have therefore been frustrated. The aeroplane, its crew and civilian passengers were able to return to Angola, but three soldiers who had been on a mission were taken prisoner by the MPLA.

The other sectors of our struggle are also advancing.

The Medical Assistance Services have been reinforced by four Angolan doctors

who, in addition to their professional activity, are pursuing a programme of training inside the country nurses, first aid assistants and other medical cadres to meet the needs of the war.

Agricultural development is always one of our major concerns and in many cases it goes a long way towards solving the problem of providing food for the guerrillas, although not as much as is needed, since the people are also very much in need of food, given the enemy operations aimed exclusively at destroying crops.

Our education services are also expanding. New zones where the children had never seen a book are today getting instructors and teachers, textbooks edited by our Movement and the scant school equipment acquired through international solidarity.

In this connection, the MPLA welcomes the heartening decision of the last General Conference of UNESCO to channel help on educational matters to the liberation movements through the OAU. This decision could be an important factor in the advancement of our peoples. The MPLA hopes that the Liberation Committee can organise a meeting with the liberation movements so that the possibilities of work in this field can be planned. An enormous amount of work can and should be done in the printing of school books, the supply of school equipment and the holding of short courses at which our cadres could study UNESCO's experiences in the use of effective teaching methods.

Politico-military cadres are still being trained at the Centres of Revolutionary Instruction, where the programmes are being enriched by new experiences gained.

#### CAETANO'S ANXIETY

In Portugal meanwhile, Mr. Caetano and his generals cannot find a way out of the problems worrying them. In addition to the violent protests of the students and striking workers, the Portuguese youth, workers and intellectuals are already openly demonstrating their disagreement with Portugal's colonial policy, demanding self-determination for the colonies. Caetano makes promises in demagogic speeches, without at the same time having the courage to admit that the independence of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique is the only way out of the problem.

He is therefore forced to open the doors even wider to the penetration of foreign interests. It is within this context that new mining, banking and industrial activities are seeing the light of day in Angola. Looking only at the month of May, it can be noted that the colonialist authorities have granted extraction rights to new mining companies, two of them American (TENNECO - sulphur - and DIAMOND DISTRIBUTORS INC. - precious stones), and the other two with mixed Portuguese, South African and German capital for surveying rare ores and new iron deposits.

This penetration of foreign capital is happening at an alarming rate and is still the major hope of the colonialists for acquiring the financial and military support to enable them to prolong their presence in Angola.

Caetano's trip to Angola was a resounding failure in that he encountered no warmth from the African population, despite the crowds forced by the police to line the route of the procession. On the other hand, he heard direct from the colonialist high command their pessimism about the possibility of finding a solution without the intervention of allied forces.

So Caetano, in an increasing number of statements and interviews with the big international press, is trying to confuse matters by insisting on "his" conviction that it is necessary "to grant a larger measure of autonomy to the overseas territories", while affirming that Portugal, faithful to its "pluri-racial calling" will never abandon its "overseas provinces". Caetano's "autonomy", however, bears no relationship to the independence for which we are fighting. Caetano thinks of his autonomy as something for the settlers, somewhat in the style of Ian Smith. It would be the last trump card to be played by the Portuguese government if all the overtures for the direct intervention of NATO or one of its partners, and the intervention of South Africa, were not sufficient to stop the national independence movement.

Nothing has therefore changed on the Portuguese government side, except that the war effort has been stepped up. And this despite the increasing number of people in Portugal itself who are condemning the colonial war and demanding that the right of the peoples to self-determination be respected.

#### THE OBSTACLES TO BE OVERCOME

The optimism of the fighters does not, however, make them forget the tremendous obstacles still to be overcome.

One of the greatest obstacles is still the fact that the MPLA has been forbidden transit through Congo Kinshasa, which country the carving up of Africa favoured with more than 2,000 kilometres of common frontier with Angola.

Immediately after its independence, Congo Kinshasa was the hope of our people, who also made an enthusiastic contribution to the independence of Congo. Today this brother country bears before history the heavy and paradoxical responsibility of not allowing our liberation to be hastened...All the arguments advanced to justify this attitude are devoid of any logic. It is very painful for us to say this, but our consciousness as fighters does not permit us to remain silent. We shall no longer ask that our arms be returned to us. It is no longer a question of demanding that our imprisoned fighters be released. We have seen the arms in propaganda photographs of the Angolan movement supported by Kinshasa, which confirms the rumour that despite all the promises the arms will never be returned to us. As for our imprisoned fighters, after all the stage-management that took place last year to hide them from the members of the OAU Commission of Enquiry, there is a growing belief that they have been liquidated. We can merely express the hope that facts will change the Congolese authorities' attitude towards the struggle of our people. This said, we thank the Congolese people for the fraternal welcome they still give to our people in distress.

At the same time, we note that the other brother countries neighbouring on Angola are understanding more and more the seriousness of the liberation struggle being waged by the MPLA and, consequently, their positive contribution

is becoming ever greater.

Another big obstacle encountered by our Movement as a result of the facts just mentioned, are the big distances we are forced to cover to carry out logistic tasks. A glance at the map of Africa will show that the MPLA is the liberation movement which has the greatest difficulty in solving supply problems. And if one considers that despite this our struggle has never lost its momentum and is visibly advancing, it will be understood why we so insistently ask for urgent and massive aid on the transport problem.

We appeal to the Liberation Committee to ensure that effective and urgent steps are taken on this matter. Our struggle would gain enormously from it.

Related to the problem of distances is the radio liaison problem. Taking as an example our Third Region, which is 385,000 square kilometres, it will be understood that liaison between the combat zones takes on great importance and that radios are the only solution. The problem is even more acute at the national level.

The shortage of equipment cannot have escaped the notice of the Military Commission which visited our guerrilla area. The assistance of friendly countries on this might meet a part of our urgent needs if we were granted conveyance facilities. Unfortunately, such assistance is often held up for a long time, in part due to the lack of transport and in part due to the heavy costs it incurs at the many points of transit. We again stress here the need for close cooperation between the ALC and the countries through which the goods pass, so as to find a more effective solution to the problem.

Among all the difficulties we encounter, problems of a financial nature occupy a very important and delicate place. The continuity vital to our action requires enormous expenditure, with transport absorbing the largest part. The funds granted by the Liberation Committee cover only a small, indeed a very small, part of our needs. This is more clearly seen when one thinks of the large sums at the disposal of the enemy.

We believe that the road we have covered to date is approaching the final stage. The enemy has been effectively disorientated by his inability to stop us. Activity is starting up again in the urban centres. The Dakota operation was a measure of this. Our revolutionary action is gaining in intensity in all the military regions, enriched by past experience. The enemy are already concentrating reinforcements in the sectors where they foresee that the MPLA is preparing to establish itself. Their propaganda, which is directed entirely against the MPLA, shows their fear of our activity. As we said before, the enemy still have some trump cards - possible Afrikaner intervention and the support of certain NATO countries and NATO arms.

We therefore hope that the OAU will make a further effort to enable the Liberation Committee to give the MPLA more assistance in arms, in means of transport and radio-communications and in funds.

We request that the ALC examine with us the possibilities of eliminating all the obstacles to the rapid and regular conveyance of our equipment and war material.

We are certain that the ALC and world opinion will continue to realise that the MPLA is the only force seriously at war with the Portuguese presence in Angola...

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

SOME ASPECTS OF COLLABORATION BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND THE  
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

1967

- 8 April Pieter Botha, Minister of Defence of the RSA, met Salazar and his Portuguese counterpart in Lisbon in the presence of their respective high commands. Botha declared: "South Africa is determined to offer the firmest resistance to any effort aimed at turning it from its path. Its task is greatly facilitated by the firmness and resolve of its neighbours in Angola and Mozambique".
- At the end of this trip, Botha was decorated with the Grand Cross of the Military Order of Christ.
- 17 May Portugal and the RSA signed an agreement on the River Kunene.
- 11 July The Minister of Information and Culture of the RSA made an official visit to Portugal.
- 16 July From that date the South African navy was to use the dry docks of the Portuguese company "Lisnave" in Lisbon. The London journal Southern Africa admitted that "Lisnave" might become an important centre for the construction of tactical vessels of interest to the RSA.
- 24 July An agreement in Pretoria on the exploitation of the hydro-electric resources of the Zambezi River (Cabora Bassa) and of the Kunene River in Angola.
- 25 July Franco Nogueira, Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs, paid an official visit to South Africa. He was received at the Waterkloof military airport by Botha, Minister of Defence, and Hilggard Muller, Minister of Foreign Affairs. He held talks with Prime Minister Vorster and Jan Haak, Minister of the Economy, on the hydro-electric dams and the projected economic community for Southern Africa, to include Angola, Mozambique, the RSA, Rhodesia, Malawi, Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho.
- 30 August At a press conference in Lisbon, Nogueira, Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs, said of the RSA: "We share the same basic system of values of Western civilisation; we have the same resolve to defend them by all appropriate means. Neither of our countries will shelve its clear responsibilities in this respect. On the other hand, we have large common frontiers and we are united on many interests and problems.
- 10 September A "Friends of Portugal Movement" for the purpose of helping Portuguese soldiers fighting in the colonies was founded in Johannesburg and welcomed with enthusiasm by the racists.

18 September H. Muller passed through Lisbon, where he had talks with Nogueira.

### 1968

- 14 January Aida Parker, a South African journalist, launched a new campaign for "funds to comfort the Portuguese soldiers". The first campaign was a success and Aida Parker was made an "honorary member" of the Portuguese national women's movement.
- 1 April Further Portuguese - South African talks at the Cape and in Johannesburg on the technical problems of the Kunene dam.
- 27 May Pieter Botha announced that the RSA was going to increase its output of arms to be able to face all contingencies. He also affirmed that the RSA is able to manufacture all the infantry weapons it will need and that its electronic industry is already sufficient to supply most of the equipment needed by the defence forces. South Africa was then manufacturing 140 types of bombs, grenades and bullets.
- August The Portuguese Council of Ministers granted the first phase of the construction of the Cabora Bassa dam (Mozambique) to the Hydro-electric Consortium of the Zambezi (ZAMCO), which has West German, French, South African, Swedish and Portuguese capital. Among the countries participating in the consortium, we may mention AEG and Siemens (West Germany), ALSTHOM (France), ASEA (Sweden), as well as indirect participation by the Anglo-American monopolies. Involved in the financial aspects of the project are the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas, the Deutsche Bank, the Italian Commercial Bank, the Bank of America and the Totta-Allianca and Pinto Sotto-Mayor.
- October As from 10 October, 120 South African surgeons (for orthopaedic, thorax and neuro-surgery) were ready to leave for periods of ten days in Mozambique to care for the Portuguese soldiers wounded in battle.
- October South African parliamentarians Klotze Streicher and Cruywagen went on a mission to Portugal.
- 27 November Speaking to the nation, Marcelo Caetano, after having denied "any open or secret alliance" between Portugal and the RSA, stated: "We also have different racial policies...On many points, however, our interests in Southern Africa coincide, starting from the conviction that progress in that area of the continent needs the stable presence of the white man..."
- December MPLA forces discovered a bivouac of South African soldiers very close to Luatamba, on the banks of the river Luena (district of Moxico).
- December Work on the road linking Luanda with Windoek (South-West Africa) was completed. So Luanda has been linked with Johannesburg, which will in turn be linked with Lourenço Marques. This road axis is the fulfilment of a ten-year-old plan of the Portuguese and South African military.

1969

- 10 January The inter-army commander of the RSA combat troops, G.A. Frazer, paid a lengthy visit to the operational zones in Mozambique.
- January The handing over to Portuguese troops of an ambulance and two ambulance planes to be followed by more this year, by the South African "fund for comforting Portuguese soldiers."
- 21 January The signing of an agreement between Portugal and South Africa on the Kunene, where a dam is to be built for the purpose of developing South-West Africa and Angola. The cost of the dam will be borne by South Africa and by Portugal, which will be granted a loan by the RSA for this purpose.
- 7 February Kaulza de Arriaga, president of the Portuguese nuclear energy junta, started out on a long visit to South Africa, where he saw the nuclear installations. This visit resulted in a nuclear cooperation agreement between the two countries providing, among other things, for the prospecting of new uranium areas in Angola and Mozambique.
- 11 February The Portuguese Minister of Defence, Sa Viana Rebelo, met his South African counterpart, P. Botha, in Johannesburg together with the commander-in-chief of the South African armed forces. He also met Prime Minister Vorster, Admirable Biermann, commander of the navy, and Van der Rut, chief of staff of the RSA armed forces. Rebelo stated on this occasion: "I am sure that Portugal, through the intermediary of Angola and Mozambique, will be able, together with the RSA, to build up a big force against foreign aggressors. Our two countries will contribute to the defence of peace in this part of the African continent". Botha, for his part, stated: "Portugal and South Africa are cooperating in the struggle against the corrosive forces of international communism...Externally we share an important mission we have inherited from geography and history. We are the guardians of the passage to the East via the Cape and we shall fulfil this mission in the interest of the free world".
- Sa Rebelo also visited the naval base at Simonstown, where he reaffirmed that "South Africa and Portugal are rendering a great service to the West, defending the route around the Cape of Good Hope..."
- As usual, no communique was published after these talks.
- 19 February Marcelo Caetano and Balthasar Vorster opened the underwater cable linking Lisbon and Pretoria by telephone.

- 25 March The Minister of Defence of the RSA, Botha, accompanied by his high command, met the Portuguese government in Lisbon. On this occasion, the Portuguese Minister of Defence decorated Rudolph Hienstre with the Grand Cross of Henry the Navigator. During the toasts at a dinner given for the occasion, Botha stated that: "Portugal and the RSA are seeking to reinforce that area of calm through common work and development, cultural agreement and cooperation of other kinds".
- 2 June "1,000 South African policemen are patrolling the northern frontiers of the RSA 24 hours in every 24 to prevent any guerrilla infiltration," S.L. Muller, the South African Minister of the Police announced.
- June A floating exhibition of South African goods arrived in Luanda for the purpose of interesting Angolan commerce in South African products. The exhibition was accompanied by an economic mission which studied the foundations for closer economic cooperation between Angola and South Africa.
- June Hilggard Muller went to Lisbon once again to discuss "problems of mutual interest to both countries" with the Portuguese government.
- 13 June The commander of the RSA forces of intervention and the chief of staff of the South African army headed a military mission which paid a lengthy visit to Angola, especially to the regions threatened by guerrilla forces. Luz Cunha, commander of the Angolan military region, accompanied the visitors. The presence of the commander of the South African forces of intervention in Angola leaves no doubt as to the nature of the talks held or the hastening of the interventionist process of the RSA in Angola.
- 22 June Kaulza de Arriaga was made commander of the military region of Mozambique. His long visit to the RSA in February, on the pretext of talks and agreements in the nuclear field, can now be explained by the more apparent manifestations of Afrikaaner interventionism in Angola and Mozambique. These manifestations are becoming greater at the very time when Portuguese troops are feeling most acutely their inability to halt the consistent advance of the patriotic forces in Angola and Mozambique.

The Minister of Defense of the RSA, Botto, accompanied by his high command, met the Portuguese government in Lisbon. On this occasion, the Portuguese Minister of Defense decorated Rudolf Hutter with the Grand Cross of Henry the Navigator. During the feast at a dinner given for the occasion, Botto stated that "Portugal and the RSA are seeking to reinforce their ties of calm through common work and development, cultural agreement and cooperation of other kinds".

25 March

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22 June

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