

DAR — 4 Fevereiro 1972

people's movement for the
liberation of A N G O L A

M. P. L. A.

dip branch in Tanzania

SPEECH by Comrade DANIEL CHIPENDA, member of the Executive Committee and of the Politico-Military Coordinating Committee of the MPLA, at the meeting celebrated in Dar es Salaam in 1972, to commemorate the 11th anniversary of the 4th February.

Your Excellencies,

Comrades,

On behalf of the Angolan people in arms, the MPLA militants and leadership, I should like, first and foremost, to thank all the people who are attending this event at which the Angolan people and their vanguard Movement are celebrating the Eleventh Anniversary of the start of the armed struggle in Angola.

I also wish to thank the TANU Youth League militants and leaders for all they have done to make this meeting possible.

Your Excellencies,

Comrades,

The Angolan people are once again celebrating the heroic date on which our people said NO to Portuguese colonialism. After centuries of continued enslavement in which we completely lost our dignity, during which the enemy constantly increased their violence and life ceased to have its true significance, after all the methods employed in Africa in the nineteen-fifties in respect of other countries on our continent, our Movement did not fail to follow the rule and it tried to tell the Portuguese colonialists that the time had come for them to consider our right to self-determination and independence. In answer to this appeal, which was in line with the most just and sacred human rights, the Portuguese colonialists responded with violence. The leaders of our Movement started to be pursued and arrested and others were forced to go into exile. This situation persisted until 4 February 1961, when our people decided to break the long chains binding us and resolved to answer oppressive violence with revolutionary violence, the only way for our people to achieve their Independence.

On the morning of 4 February, a group of valiant MPLA fighters resolved to attack the PIDE prison in Luanda, the capital of our country, where more than fifty Angolan nationalists and leaders were incarcerated. This, comrades, was the start of that historic time in the life of our people when they rose up to pay with their blood for the freedom so long denied them. Then, comrades, started the struggle for life, for life, since up to then they did not know what it was to live; they were no more that playthings and instruments for the oppressor, and the Fourth of February opened up the way to our Victory.

Despite the oppression which ensued, when in the space of five days after the start of the struggle, the enemy decimated tens of thousands

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of Angolans, the call of the Fourth of February was, for the Angolan people, like a spark which set the entire Angolan prairie on fire, and the struggle which started in Luanda spread to the countryside, to Dembos and Nambuan-gongo and to the rest of the country.

We were a people without military training, a people without military material or equipment. We were an illiterate people and in the correlation of forces, comrades, our capacity was less than that of the enemy, who had a structured army, who had taken over the country's entire economy and who had war material and equipment.

But, on the other hand, our people knew that they had a population of five million inhabitants, all anxious to be free, that we were going to fight a just war which all the peace and progress loving countries in the world would support and that, therefore, faced with an enemy numbering some 400,000 inhabitants, including the Portuguese troops engaged in an unjust war which would be condemned by the whole world and by the Portuguese people themselves, nothing could intimidate us, neither our initial impotence nor our lack of material, since we knew that on our side we had a force which would soon tip the scales in our favour. We were certain that owing to the objective conditions facing us, our struggle would have to be a protected one.

This is what we have observed. After the struggle was launched, a number of factors prevented it from advancing rapidly. First of all, at that time we started to fight from outside our country. This was in 1961-63. Secondly, owing to the fact that the struggle was being waged from abroad, it made it somewhat easier for outside forces to do their utmost to prevent the Angolan people's war from being crowned with success. At that time, we experienced moments of genuine confusion, when neither our own people nor other peoples in the world were able to analyse the situation in our country concretely. The American imperialists played a very important role in this. After efforts to carry out a coup d'etat in Portugal in 1961, with a view to putting in a puppet who would make it easier to put in a man of the American government's choice in Angola, they tried to divide our people with internecine and fratricidal warfare.

Only a well-structured Movement with the characteristics of the MPLA, which, through its consistent defence of the interests of our people, was able to put itself at the head of our people, was able to dispel the confusion they had wished to sow and to carry on the national liberation war without faltering.

Therefore, comrades, as from 1964, the MPLA started to lead the guerrilla war scientifically in Cabinda District. In 1966, the MPLA opened the Eastern Front, in Moxico and Cuado-Cubango districts, in 1967 and 1968 it reinforced the First Region, and, that same year, the Fourth and Fifth Regions. Today the country is at war in 10 of the 15 districts into which the enemy had divided our country. Therefore, the MPLA's revolutionary war has established itself in Luanda, Quanza Norte, Uige, Zaire, Congo, Cabinda, Moxico, Cuando-Cubango, Lunda and Bié districts.

Among these districts are some in which large areas are under our Movement's control, amounting to one-third of the total area of our country, where our people are experiencing the building of a new life, where schools are being built and also health centres, while production and trade are developing.

In the 1970-71 school year, about 3,000 pupils attended MPLA schools.

The MPLA has dozens of health centres, seven doctors and 106 nurses and first aid assistants.

During 1970, 86 collective farms were started and 57 brigades set up. As can be seen, comrades, our people have achieved success after success.

Let us take a look at the military position. 1971 was marked by a structural change in our military units, so that they were able to operate in accordance with the new tactics used by the enemy. As from January, the Alto Cuito, Ninda, Chiume, Caripande, Muie, Kangombe, Lupire, Lumbala, Kassamba, Lutembo, Masudo, Njimbi, Mussuma, Caianda, Chitembo, Cazage and Sesse posts were blasted a number of times with mortar, cannon, rocket-launcher and light machine-gun fire, and owing to the constant attacks of our fighters

the enemy completely evacuated the Caripande and Luatamba posts and are now preparing to leave the other posts, since our people's struggle is irreversible and has only one objective, that of leading us to total Independence.

Still regarding the military aspect, during the past year many Portuguese soldiers were killed and wounded and the hospitals in Lisbon and Oporto, and also a few in Federal Germany, are full of war wounded, many of them disabled for an unjust and inglorious cause condemned by the whole world.

Let us take a look at the balance sheet of MPLA activities in the period from January to October 1971 :

- 16 enemy posts completely destroyed
- 480 colonialist troops killed
- 793 colonialist troops wounded
- 38 ambushes
- 17 vehicles destroyed
- 46 mines set off by the enemy
- 2 helicopters shot down
- 2 motor launches destroyed
- 15 African mercenaries taken prisoner
- 3 bridges destroyed
- 655 Angolans freed

Captured from the enemy :

- 3,520 rounds of ammunition of different types
- 31 weapons of different calibres
- 5 bombs
- 1 radio receiving set

It can therefore be seen that the enemy have given up their initial attempt to resist our action and cannot defend themselves because they are too busy retreating, while we are advancing, which is yet further proof that our Victory is Certain.

Comrades, this year we are entering our eleventh year of armed struggle and the results obtained so far are clear confirmation of the fact that because our war is by nature a protracted war, it is leading us to the achievement of complete independence. We are fighting to defend the interests of the most exploited sectors of our people and our war is leading us towards achieving these results.

In our country, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the MPLA, has gone from small to big, from weak to strong, and its strength is constantly increasing.

The attention and prestige we have throughout the world today is great.

This evolution is proof of the fact that, determined and firm, the Angolan people are invincible.

In Angola we want the end of exploitation and oppression. We want Independence and Democracy.

Our political programme clearly indicates that the MPLA is opening the way to broad and genuine cooperation between men of different races.

We are not against the white man simply because he is white. We are against racist and colonialist whites.

For us independence does not mean eliminating the white man from our country. It does not mean the appropriation of honestly acquired property. What it does mean is that political power must be in the hands of our people. Our country's economy must be controlled by our people and made to serve a freer and more progressive life.

The Governor General is now to be known as the Minister of State, and the wheel has come full circle. All this, comrades, shows the effects of the revolutionary war, which is the only factor which is giving the Caetano government no peace and forcing it to try to fool world opinion with so-called concessions.

Now more than ever, dear comrades, this shows that the problem is one of time, and since ours is a protracted war, we are patient, because we do not want mere crumbs. Our people decided to struggle, shedding their blood in order to be truly free. Neither Caetano's manoeuvres nor attempts to gain time will save the Portuguese colonialists from ultimate destruction.

Caetano's government is suffering defeats in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, but today there is great opposition to the colonial wars in Portugal itself. Young Portuguese have gone into action to prevent the continuation of the war in our countries. We support this war because, like our people's war, it is destroying the fascist and colonial Lisbon government. The MPLA is a movement which has always clearly stated that its struggle is directed against the Portuguese colonialists and not against the Portuguese people.

Those who think that by helping Portugal they are defending the West, are the very same people who claims to be against violence.

Without speaking here about other peoples who are suffering violence, with whom we are in full solidarity, we wish to speak about ourselves.

For centuries we have been suffering indescribable violence and now we have risen up in arms against the brutal violence of the Portuguese colonialists. We are fighting so that there may be peace in Angola, so that our people can live in freedom like other peoples in the world. If Portugal were alone in its war against the colonies, we are certain that it would not today have survived in our countries. But it is still there because countries like the United States of America, West Germany and others are continuing to help Portugal. We condemn the United States' latest grant of millions of dollars for the lease of their base in the Azores until 1974. And the defoliants which destroy our people's food in the liberated areas come from the United States, and the aircraft and helicopters which the Portuguese use to kill our unoffending people in the liberated areas come from France and Germany.

Certain sectors of the international political world have been in a state of expectation, wondering what the Caetano government intends to do in the future, owing to the so-called modifications introduced in the constitutional structure of our countries with a view to fooling both national and international opinion.

For the MPLA, however, it all goes to show that Caetano is going through the normal stages before leaving our country to the true representatives of our people, because of the armed struggle which is advancing in Angola.

Before the war Angola was a colony under the Ministry of the Colonies. The central government in Lisbon was responsible for looking after the interests of the colonies and each colony had its Governor. After the war and because they had never accepted the idea of a colony, they changed the colony into a Province, although the structures were never changed. The Ministry of the Colonies became the Overseas Ministry and the Colonial Governor became a Provincial Governor. The last thing but one to change its name was the PIDE, which became the GDS. And now Angola is no longer a province but a state - which is merely another change of name.

Comrade Agostinho Neto, President of our Movement, stated in a very recent speech :

"There is no way out of this situation apart from the one leading to recognition of our people's right to Independence. Without such recognition, without the Portuguese government handing over power to the genuine representatives of the Angolan people, there will be no peace, no respite for any Portuguese in Angola

It would be good if the settlers were to understand that it is not in their interests to throw themselves into the arms of South Africa, the United States of America, France or Federal Germany. In this event, they would be as colonised and exploited as us.

Their interests can only be protected through the establishment of just relations with the Angolan people, by their recognising that our desire for independence is just and respecting our right to determine our own affairs. Today everyone is suffering because of the war,

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because of the disastrous policy of Lisbon, which has taken the road of oppression.

The armed forces of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola are increasing their capacity from day to day. Conscious of the situation we are now passing through, they will neither retreat nor be fooled by the fake "peace" the colonialist mentality is offering in the villages.

We will not accept any kind of autonomy as a solution, nor the honorary titles on which some Portuguese rulers appear to be banking at present.

No solution can be found for Angola without the concrete participation and agreement of the MPLA.

So long as shells have not yet started to explode in the big towns, so long as commercial firms, banks and vehicles have not started to blow up in the urban centres, so long as the soldier still knows where the rear is, this is the time to safeguard lives and property."

This is the situation as it is in our country, and the fact is that our struggle has long transcended our national boundaries and we are receiving ever more support. We wish to emphasise the moral and material help we get from African countries, particularly Tanzania, Zambia and Congo Brazzaville, the OAU Liberation Committee and the socialist countries, the mainstays of our liberation struggle. And we also wish to stress the help we get from Western countries, which is on the increase. We should make special mention of the Nordic countries - Sweden, Norway and Denmark - whose stand on the question of help for our liberation movements is quite clear.

In some Western countries committees in support of our struggle are also growing.

However, the position taken by the United States, France, Britain, West Germany and Belgium is shocking. These governments are continuing to support Portuguese colonial policy.

At present, taking this group of Western countries as a whole, it is France's attitude which most shocks us, we who are fighting. And we wonder where French policy is heading.

President Pompidou and Nixon, seated squarely on Caetano's back, did not even bother to think about the situation in Africa, since their preoccupations were elsewhere. The American giant is somewhat relieved by the incoherence of France's present policy in Africa. Although the British government has recognised Ian Smith's rebel regime, South Africa is threatening Zambia and intervening in the war in Angola, and Portugal is using Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique for underhand aggression against adjacent neighbouring countries (Zambia, Tanzania, Congo Brazzaville, Guinea Conakry and Senegal), none of this worries the US and French governments. Quite the contrary, they are ever more firmly supporting colonial Portugal and South Africa.

It is a fact that a meeting took place on a small island which harbours the largest American airbase in the Atlantic. It is a fact that France also has an important base in the Azores. If there was a foreign head of state on Terceira island, it was indeed Caetano, who was not even entitled to have the four thousand American troops defending the Lajes base stand at attention for him. All this has to be paid for and Caetano had come to present them the bill.

The gift of a ship worth eight million dollars, one million dollars for so-called education projects and five million for the purchase of assorted equipment, plus a 430-million dollar loan - this was the price paid by the US a few moments before the meeting. As for France, it has promised, among other things, helicopters reinforcements for Portugal's air power, military equipment and political support, especially in respect of Portugal's entry into the Common Market.

And all these deals are being made with the utmost contempt for the interests of the peoples who are fighting for their independence.

Our continent is in a state of ebullition, where the imperialists came out of great for raw materials, flouted all respect for the most elementary

human rights and were transformed into shameless robbers and murderers, The situation of the peoples in South Africa, Namibia and South-West Africa is lamentable.

In the independent countries, like Zambia and Tanzania, the imperialists would like to disrupt the development of these countries, whose leaders are now more than ever determined to work for the defence of the interests of their peoples.

There can be no better riposte than our concentrating our forces and fighting hard in Angola and Mozambique, so that their forces, now concentrated on the peoples and leaders of Zambia and Tanzania, should be dispersed all over in the necessarily tough fight to liberate our continent completely.

The confusion often sown to disturb the peace in the sister countries of Zambia and Tanzania, come of whose citizens have already lost their lives in the struggle of our countries, is a manoeuvre aimed at provoking a reaction against those who in fact use these countries for transit purposes. In Angola those who are fighting and who will continue to fight are Angolans. Why threaten neighbouring countries? Why fight them? No one can halt the just struggle we are waging. We will carry on until Victory.

Our experience shows us that revolutionary violence is the only road we must follow to defeat the enemy. We are therefore in full solidarity with our comrades in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia and we hail the continual victories won by the Mozambican people under the leadership of FRELIMO, and by the people of Guinea Bissau under the leadership of the PAIGC.

We also express our solidarity with the struggle and victories of the peoples of Asia, Latin America and Indochina, as well as all the peoples fighting for their independence and against the exploitation of man by man.

In conclusion, I wish once again to thank the TANU Youth League for having given our Movement this opportunity to celebrate the historic date of the start of our people's armed struggle and to express the hope that the TANU Youth League will continue its sacred struggle to defend the interests of the people of Tanzania, under the leadership of their great leader, Julius Nyerere.

TANK YOU

31st January 1972-

Dar es Salaam
4th February 1972

MPLA - dip branch in Tanzania

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