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PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT
OF ANGOLA
M.P.L.A.

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LEOPOLDVILLE

M.P.L.A. Program of Immediate Action.

Without betraying the principles and aims ever fixed by M.P.L.A. -
- liquidation in Angola, by all means, portuguese colonial domination;
conquest of immediate and complete independence; setting up of a system
capable of satisfying the Angolan people's legitimate aspirations and,
in first place, of the most oppressed and exploited social classes - it
is urgent to set up a program of immediate action, based in experience
accumulated in the daily contact of realities lived on our struggle and
dominated by the following principles:

1. MPLA IS A MOVEMENT OF MASSES

MPLA action must mobilize all the Angolan people in a fighting
without truce against the oppressor colonialism until the setting
up of a regime of social justice and national progress.

2. MPLA IS A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

MPLA immediate action is to destroy completely the colonial
apparatus and all forms of domination, and the installation of a
modern apparatus, capable to achieve a political, economic and
social program according to the Angolan people's aspirations.

3. GENERALIZATION OF A WAR DISCIPLINE TO ALL MPLA SECTORS.

4. PRIORITY OF THE INTERIOR OVER THE EXTERIOR

Action outside the country must be a complement of the action
developed in the interior of Angola.

5. PRIORITY OF THE POLITICAL OVER THE MILITARY

All problems, even of a military character, must be considered
and solved according to MPLA political line.

6. IN THE PRESENT TO LAY FOUNDATIONS OF THE FUTURE NATION

MPLA will carry on a policy of training cadres.

7. PLANNING OF THE WORK IN ALL FIELDS

The fact that the fighting developed itself in two well distinct
territories, the interior and exterior of Angola, imposes that the
general lines of the program consider this division, however,
without destroying its unitary nature.

A) ACTION IN THE INTERIOR OF ANGOLA

The fundamental field of our action is the national territory. All
planning, all orientation of the fighting, must reflect the Angolan
people's needs in war. Our immediate concerns are,

1. The organic installation of MPLA in all national territory,

particularly in rural zones. The farmer's mobilization for the
fighting must be done under the watch word of AGRARIAN
REFORM and social promotion of the farming classes. Formerly and
presently, they have faced more the administrative and repressive
apparatus of the colonial system and, for this reason, they will
fight with more determination until getting the land which is

their basic demand. In northern Angola, these same masses form the most advanced forces of the national liberation movement. To mobilize the farming masses, make them politically aware, change them into military detachments of first rank, destroy all their bias, myths and tribalism which are still their great deficiencies, must be the most urgent task to be done by our movement. MPLA organs set up in the interior of the country must embryonic of the future revolutionary power.

2. Increasing of the people's insurrectional spirit, through a patient work of explanation.
3. To take profit of all possible ways of legal fighting (demands, protests, strikes, etc.), to maintain the the people's insurrectional condition and to develop the underground fighting in the urban centers.
4. To promote a campaign to mobilize the hesitating Angolans and denounce and liquidate the traitors.
5. Development and support of the masses organizations.
6. Creation among the civil population, of self-defense groups to teach the populations to defend themselves and cooperate with the military men in the operations in which it is necessary a combined work of military and civil men.
7. In the colonial circles, generalization of the insecurity climate in which we have kept them since the beginning of the military operations.
8. Psychological action tending to neutralize or have the settlers's cooperation in our struggle for national liberation.
9. Develop a psychological action in the Angolan fighting in the Portuguese army in order to gain them for our fighting.
10. Develop a campaign of explanation in the Portuguese people.
11. Develop a campaign of explanation in the Portuguese army
12. Implantation in the free zones which will become bases of attack and regions of the people's political and administrative involvement.
13. Intensify the armed fighting and increase its level.
14. Development of national conscience.
15. Creation of Pro-unity Permanent Committee to work in the sense of promoting unity of the patriotic organizations and keeping alive this problem.

B) ACTION IN THE EXTERIOR OF ANGOLA

MPLA must consider with greatest attention the Angolans who are outside. Their mobilisation is very important. Our fighting demands participation of all Angolans without any discrimination. The essential aspects of the action to develop must be the political-military mobilisation and training of cadres to fill our needs in the two phases of our struggle: national independence and the country rebuilding.

I - Action in the Gongos

Action to develop in these two countries must basically aim at the speeding up of returning to Angola, the formation of political-military cadres.

This aim will be reached as soon as possible with the training of EPLA political and military level, the reinforcement of our military positions in the interior and the border, careful, urgent and efficient planning of the equipment of the fighting forces and the systematic recognition of the interior aiming at protecting the masses and their preparation for self-defense. It is very important to develop in our people the feeling of national unity and the development of the ties with the peoples from the Republics of Congo.

a) ACTION AMONG THE REFUGEES

Our action will be achieved in the following aspects:

1. medical-sanitary
2. school
3. professional
4. financial

1. MEDICAL-SANITARY ASSISTANCE

Medical and sanitary assistance achieved through our body GVAAR, fills today a part of the aims for the first phase and it must be stimulated through the following achievements:

- adoption of an efficient system of information and propaganda in the interior and exterior to collect funds and gifts.
- Increasing of the doctor and nurse teams in the border and keep permanently doctors in the border centers.
- close control of GVAAR life and development.
- Creation of the indicated local unities of assistance, formed by nurses, teachers and aquarian agents.
- Training of health technicians adapted to the needs of armed fighting.
- Political and military training of the technical cadres.
- official recognition of our GVAAR organization by the international organizations of assistance.

2. SCHOOL ASSISTANCE

It has been done by the GVAAR though in a clear insufficient if we consider the difference between the students's number and those who have been taught. The main obstacles to a greater development of this branch of assistance, unfortunately, it has been a shortage of teachers able to give freely their services and lack of classrooms and places where the students may be taught.

In face of these facts, the following measures must be taken:

- immediate appeal to the Angolan teachers about the gravity of the problem and their duties of nationalists.
- campaign of information among the Angolan owners of free space about the national need of putting them at the teaching service.
- elaboration of a teaching program.
- Recruiting of a remunerated personnel for teaching.
- political and military training of the technical cadres.

3. PROFESSIONAL ASSISTANCE

In this field, the GVAAR possibilities have been very limited and practically nothing could be done.

The most needy people are the farmers and skilled workers for whom some facilities must be provided. To obtain some tools and seeds and deal to have some lands so that the refugees may live from them.

Open some workshops where the younger and more interested refugees may learn from true skilled workers.

- To form experts in farming who, as commissioners, teach to people how to have better crops with less work.

4. FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

Being a wrong principle to offer money, this type of assistance must be done with a greater care and strictly in the cases of shown incapacity or grave illness.

the fight for Angolan liberation demands it.

b) ACTION AMONG THE EMIGRANTS

The emigrant, or Angolan established in Congo some time ago, should be involved in a different way and according to the following principles:

- close living with the refugees
- teaching of the Portuguese and Angolan languages and diffusion of the national culture
- integration of the emigrant in the political, economic and social realities of their country.
- contact with the Congolese authorities.
- Teaching of the French to the refugees by the emigrants
- Facilitate housing for the refugees.
- political and military involvement.

c) MASS ORGANIZATIONS

TRADE UNIONS

They must be formed as workers's unions to act underground or in an eventual minimum legality.

They are to create a spirit of perfect understanding among workers and farmers according to a revolutionary program of the Movement.

- The formation of trade unionists responsible of awakening in the working masses an interest for trade-union questions aiming at a revolutionary work.
- Prevent the Angolan worker's division.

JMPLA

It is evident that the Angolan youth has already contributed heroically for the struggle of national liberation.

Our youth has a vanguard role in the liberating fighting. It must essentially:

1. Become one of the motors for agreement and unity among the Angolans, by closed ties with young people from all organizations.
2. Involve itself in the revolutionary doctrine and fight of the Movement.
3. Participate in the recruitment of the necessary cadres for our country.
4. concern itself with valorization and spreading of the national culture.

WOMEN

In our Movement, there is a proper organization - the O.M.A. - that despite the efforts and good will of some militants has had a very reduced activity.

About this organization, it is urgent to take adequate measures for an accelerated recuperation of the Angolan woman for the fight. The Angolan woman must be mobilized for:

- Social and sanitary assistance
- Schooling
- Political and military involvement
- Technical and political training
- Participation in the leading bodies.

CHILDREN

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Besides being necessary to develop in the children the spirit of fraternity and comradeship they must also be taught a spirit of discipline and discipline and sacrifice in favor of the people, and equality of rights in revolution.

The Angolan children must be educated in the sense of understanding the need and aims of the struggle of national liberation to become seeds of an authentic revolution.

Children can still be precious helpers for little but important tasks of social organization in the free zones when they are exactly aware of that.

Watchwords should be taught to children.

II - OUTSIDE THE CONGO

a) Angolan's involvement outside

MPLA militants outside should consider themselves entirely at the disposal of the Movement and ready to submit themselves at its political and military discipline.

To MPLA militants outside should

- represent and defend the Movement interests
- be responsible for information and propaganda

b) MPLA representation outside

- Widen MPLA network of representation outside
- Form international supporting committees
- Participate in international conferences with delegations sanctioned by the Director Committee.

c) Information Centers

Set up information centers with historical, legislative, cultural and so on documents about Angola and her people. These centers depend on their own representations.

- Let us Plan all MPLA Activities!
- Let us become better our Movement organization!
- Let us raise the spirit of sacrifice and discipline within

MPLA!

VICTORY OR DEATH!

MPLA First National Conference

1st - 3rd December 1962