

# The Angolan Struggle, Produce And Resist



## ANGOLA

On November 11, 1975, Angola was granted independence from Portugal after 500 years of colonial rule. This date represented a victory for the anti-colonial struggle in Angola, but it also marked the start of a bloody civil war, a war which recently culminated in victory for the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

The civil war was fought between three groups that had played various roles in the national liberation struggle. The most firmly established and progressive group is the MPLA. The MPLA was formed in 1957 and began the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism in 1961. Its president is Agostinho Neto.

In 1963 another group, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), was organized under the leadership of Holden Roberto. The third group is the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), led by Jonas Savimbi.

By 1967 the MPLA had launched several successful guerrilla campaigns and forced the Portuguese to commit some 50,000 troops to an ill-fated effort to stop the national liberation struggle. In 1969 the Organization of African Unity termed the MPLA the only movement that truly represented the people of Angola, and in early 1976 the OAU formally recognized the MPLA-led government of the Peoples Republic of Angola.

Angola, located on the southwest coast of Africa, covers an area of some 481,226 square miles and is the largest of the former Portuguese colonies. It has a population of about six million, and its capital is Luanda. It is fabulously rich in mineral reserves, including oil, iron, copper, bauxite, diamonds, and uranium. In Cabinda Province, the Gulf Oil company has oil concessions worth hundred of millions of dollars. All in all, Angola would make a rich prize for the imperialists.

This fact goes a long way toward explaining the strife in Angola. The FNLA and UNITA joined forces in a desperate effort to halt the MPLA from unifying the country under its control. The FNLA-UNITA forces were being supported by Zaire and South Africa, as well as receiving millions of dollars in U.S. military and CIA aid. There were also reports of British and American mercenaries fighting with the FNLA-UNITA side.

This intervention did not halt the advance of the MPLA. In a swift campaign the MPLA established its control over virtually all of Angola, and it is now recognized as the legitimate Angolan government by more than 80 countries, including third world, socialist and western capitalist countries. The MPLA is widely recognized as a progressive and anti-imperialist organization, and is supported by many political and community groups in this country.

## ABOUT THIS BOOKLET

On Thursday, February 26, 1976 three members of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola convened a three-day Seminar in Havana, Cuba with twenty-six representatives from various organizations and the black press in the United States. The purpose of the Seminar was to afford the Government of the People's Republic of Angola an opportunity to inform the various organizational representatives and the press about what has been and is occurring in Angola to date. The three representatives from the Government of Angola were Rui Falomeno De Sa, widely known as Commandante Dibala, a member of the Central Committee and Political Commissar of the Eastern Front; Sra. Olga Lima, Director of Political Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Relations; and Pedro Zinga Baptista, from the Department of Foreign Relations of the MPLA.

This booklet contains the two major presentations made by Commandante Dibala of the MPLA delegation at this seminar.

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Caption: From left to right, Commandante Dibala, Sra. Olga Lima, and Pedro Zinga Batista.

#### OPENING REMARKS By Comandante Dibala

Ladies and gentlemen it is an honor for us to be able to meet in Cuba, a country which has given to the world lessons of sacrifice and firmness in the defense and love of freedom of the peoples, in the independence of nations, the equality and respect among states. Being in Havana, beautiful capital of Cuba, is for us a very moving and happy occasion, since we are going to have the honor and privilege of being able to see a social, political and revolutionary process that is very much respected by us.

On behalf of the delegation of the Peoples Republic of Angola, we express our thanks for your presence here, who have come here in an act of support and solidarity with our young republic.

Your presence here, besides providing the exchange of experiences that will occur among us, besides assuring a wealth of information to emerge from this encounter of those peoples who de-

fend progress, your presence itself is a guarantee of hope to all peoples of the world that grow closer and closer in the combat against exploitation and oppression. After 14 years of armed struggle against the Portuguese colonialist army with the purpose of eliminating slavery, discrimination and obscurantism, we are owners of a country in a difficult economic situation, for the colonialists, before leaving the country, destroyed all machinery and installations and also tried to invade our country in the North with the army of Zaire through the FNLA mask and in the South with the South African army united with the puppets of UNITA.

Uniting the front in an anticolonial and anti-imperialist front our organization, the MPLA organization of the Angolan people, led Angola in its guerrilla war and is leading the struggle today for the total elimination of the invading

troops and tomorrow it will go into national reconstruction as well as economic development. The struggle thereof continues and to have it be a victorious one it is necessary for all of us to feel motivated.

We believe that independence and democracy cannot exist without the active participation and power of the workers, of the peasants, of the most exploited strata during capitalism. That is why the Angolan vanguard had certain options and we admit how necessary it is to organize the popular power which is the safeguard of the liberation struggle. Therefore, we believe it necessary that, during the post-independence stage, the workers and peasants should have an outstanding voice in the nation. We are conscious of the difficulties that the practical application of this principle implies, but we are also convinced that, in short, we will be able to hold the Peoples Assembly which will have legislative functions. The majority of this assembly will consist of the workers and peasants of all of the provinces of the nation.

The enemy is concerned because of our orientation and this will not change at all our determination to defend the sovereignty of our national territory as well as the defense of the interests of our nation.

We have always defined ourselves as being progressive, certain that we are interpreting the will of a people which is conscious of its objectives, conscious of the paths that are to be followed in order to achieve its deep aspirations. We sincerely believe in the principle that each people has the right to define its own life and thus select the regime it aspires to.

We belong to the African continent; therefore we are in favor of African unity, but we understand this unity as being effected on the basis of just principles of struggle against colonialism, against neo-colonialism, against racist expansionism, and against imperialism. At

the last session of the OAU our continent was not very honored by the doubt and vacillation on whether to attack the forces of racism, in spite of the hesitation on the part of the enemy—and the South Africans are enemies of Africa and their peoples because they carry out oppression and exploitation of around 20 million Africans. Therefore, it is *immoral* for the Africans to make an alliance and keep themselves neutral before this problem. The only dignified attitude is to fight in an energetic manner the racist and expansionist trends and to condemn the Angolan puppets which are at the service of the racist minority or imperialism.

Even with the pretext of defending an interest the South African intervention had no justification at all. To pretend to defend interests by violating frontiers, occupying national territory, and ignoring the legitimate government, is a procedure followed by gangsters. It is, therefore, necessary for South African racists to know that political power was not given to them by Portuguese colonialists, their old allies. We had to achieve it at the cost of our own sacrifices and therefore we do not pay attention to the commitments made by imperialists and racists. Therefore, they have to withdraw from our territory and they will do it sooner or later.

We also intend to implement in Angola a policy of good neighbor but for that it is necessary for the neighboring countries to have a strict respect for the principle of non-interference in our policy, that each country should be free to choose its own destiny and that all the relations would be based upon mutual respect. Our neighbors have to respect the type of life that our people wishes to establish in our country in order to have normal relations with us as exist, for example, between Angola and the Peoples Republic of the Congo.

We would not be specific if we did not mention the aid we received on the part of our friends and allies and how this aid



helped us to defeat in a more decisive manner the invasion on the part of Zaire and South Africa. This aid was offered by the friendly peoples that were at our side since the beginning of our national struggle on February 4, 1961.

These countries are the progressive peoples of Africa in the first place and the peoples of the socialist world in the second place. Unfortunately, and we regret it, we regret that a socialist country is at the same trench of the enemy in partnership against nature, against Africans, precisely the countries that during the first liberation war allied themselves to colonialists are the ones which are invading our country today. They are supplying weapons to the puppets and recruiting mercenaries, which proves their aim of continuing their domination of Angola by force. These countries are the same who feel concern now because of the aid we are receiving now, especially from the Soviet Union and from Cuba.

We also received aid from other countries and contacts were established with organizations. These are prerogatives of each state and we, the Peoples Republic of Angola, are a sovereign country. In view of the situation we faced, we went to our allies and friends to receive their help in order to solve our problems. We don't have to answer to anyone about our political acts and our people are determined to defend this right, conquered through very hard years of struggle.

We firmly adhere ourselves to the policy of non-alignment. We will not allow the establishment of military bases that would not be strictly created for the defense of our national interests. We repeat, that we Angolans love independence, love democracy, democracy and independence that were taken away from us during colonialism.

Nor one or the other would be possible if we would allow a blind behavior towards the policy of other countries and we are conscious of that. Our victory in the liberation struggle is also due

in a first analysis to the efforts, the dedication, the competence of the MPLA and the Angolan people, but it is also due to the unity of action of all combatants of the Portuguese ex-colonies, from FRELIMO in Mozambique to PAIGC in Guinea and Cape Verde to NLCT in Santo Domingo, to MPLA in Angola, which have achieved experiences that were exchanged among common organizations in a unity maintained through a long and difficult path.

We are certain that the common achievements of the past will serve as a basis for new successes in the present times within the African framework. One of the most eloquent testimonies of solidarity has been that of the progressive peoples of Africa due to an identity of principles, due to an understanding during the hard years of combat.

There is another truth that we ought to take into account also. That is, that our victory would have been very difficult, that is the victory over Portuguese colonialism, if the socialist camp had not existed. The socialist camp was always the main material base that helped us in our struggle. We make a parenthesis here to stress in a very special manner the glorious pages of altruism and internationalist solidarity with which the Cubans write these pages at present in Angola. Pages filled of brilliant and dedicated heroism, pages written with blood and we are certain that this will always contribute to the solidarity and friendship between the peoples of Angola and Cuba.

We wish to present our respect and our admiration to all progressive and realistic currents existing in the United States, trends that have existed in the United States which have contributed to prevent its government from entering into a new criminal adventure. Our thanks and friendship is also addressed to all organizations of Western Europe which have offered us their moral, political, and humanitarian aid.

Before ending we believe that we



ought to emphasize the fact that we were the objects of militant support and material aid on the part of progressives of the whole world.

We express here, too, our support for all peoples that are oppressed and exploited in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. The struggle continues, the struggle for progress and peace continues, victory is certain.

In spite of the fact that this seminar will take place between the delegation of Angola and the participants of the United States, we believe that it would not be very elegant if the Cubans, owners of the soil in which we are meeting today, would not participate in this session. Therefore, we requested from the Cubans to at least send observers to this

The society that we the MPLA want to build in Angola is a harmonious society where differences among men are not large, where all can enjoy education and free medical care, a society that gives jobs to all. We want to build a modern society where the Angolan people also enjoy all of the achievements of science without any kinds of differences whether of racial, tribal, religious or social origin, a society that attempts and works towards decreasing the differences between the countryside and the city.

The MPLA is not a political party. The MPLA is a people's liberation movement; therefore, it is a broad front, it is a national front which comprises a group of ideologies. But we all agree on this point of view, that is we have a common point of view around the general line and

Because of the great backwardness we face we are of the opinion that only a socialist society can cover these needs, but it must be a socialism that takes into consideration our concrete reality. the general policy to be implemented, ag-

meeting and we have here with us Comrade Nivaldo Perez Sierra. He is the Vice-Director of the Cuban Institute of Friendship with the Peoples and he is an official observer on the Cuban side.

I am convinced that there is no objection to this idea we present to you. Also we believe that we should divide our working session into two parts, the first should be that of giving you all the opportunity to take the floor, and we request from you that you use at least 15 minutes and not more in which you could speak about your experiences inside the United States of America in referring to solidarity actions towards our revolution. The second part would be a discussion of what we ought to do in the future.

riculture. Agriculture is a priority for our government and for our movement. Our revolution has the moral duty to solve the material bases and urgent problems of the man of the countryside, the peasant. This duty is due to the fact that the peasants were the sector of our population that was most exploited during the colonial period and it was the peasants who carried the main burden in the national liberation struggle. The peasants also constitute the great majority of the population. Thus, the peasant and the countryside constitute priority number one in our movement and in our government. This development and rehabilitation of the countryside undoubtedly will be done collectively but not following a rigid pattern since we must take into consideration regional differences and traditional habits and customs. While it is true that the majority of the population still lives within subsistence modes, part of our population has already entered the field of capitalist markets. Therefore, we must take into consideration these regional differences and we are not going to put into practice a rigid,

## WE MUST RETURN

To the houses, to our crops  
to the beaches, to our fields  
we must return

To our lands  
red with coffee  
white with cotton  
green with maize fields  
we must return

To our mines of diamonds  
gold, copper, oil  
we must return

To our rivers, our lakes  
to the mountains, the forests  
we must return

To the coolness of the mulemba  
to our traditions  
to the rhythms and bonfires  
we must return

To the marimba and the quissange  
to our carnival  
we must return

To our beautiful Angolan homeland  
our land, our mother  
we must return

We must return  
to liberated Angola  
independent Angola.

strict pattern.

Besides the questions that relate to agriculture and the countryside, another great priority for our government and our movement is the right of medical care and health. There are great sectors of our population that still do not know of modern medicine. There are other areas that only knew of modern medicine through what we took to them during the armed struggle every day. We are not going to use traditional medicine but rather we are going to implement modern medicine. A people cannot advance with great steps as is our desire if they do not have good health and therefore the training of medical and sanitary personnel, the development of a health consciousness is a fundamental thing for us.

A third priority is that related to education. During the period of our colonization, our people were subjected to obscurantism. Our population is 90% illiterate and therefore to be able to advance forward in great leaps we must push education and culture to all areas of our country.

These are in my opinion the three main priorities of our movement and our government.

The policy of non-alignment to which we firmly adhere ourselves will guide all of our foreign relations. Therefore, we wish to establish relations of friendship and cooperation with all countries of the world, on the clear basis of these principles: noninterference, full respect towards the state's sovereignty and integrity, and equality and reciprocity of interests. Therefore, it is within these principles that we wish to establish relations with all peoples of the world and all states of the world, including the United States of America.

We are, of course, interested in not only re-establishing relations with the United States of America but also we are interested in being recognized by the United States government.

Obviously there are special cases. The first is that of South Africa. We are in

—Agostinho Neto  
Aljube Prison in Lisbon  
October 1960



favor of unconditional and firm support to all oppressed peoples of Africa. Therefore, these peoples are, in fact, the peoples living in South Africa, the peoples living in Zimbabwe, peoples living in Namibia and others. In this way we will give all of our material and moral support to the struggle being waged by the people of Namibia, today guided by SWAPO, the people of Zimbabwe who unfortunately do not as of yet have a prestigious and single political leadership, and the peoples of South Africa. Therefore, it is clear that we will not be having economic relationships with minority racist regimes such as that of South Africa.

Another special case is that of the Republic of Zaire of Mr. Mobutu. This country—rather, the regime that rules Zaire—is a regime that opposed the liberation of the peoples of Angola. It is a puppet regime and although it is not the only puppet regime of Africa, this reality has particular significance for us, because we have 2,000 kilometers of common border with Zaire. It is through the Benguela railroad in Angola that all of the minerals and copper are removed from the rich province of Katanga and thus we can say that Angola has always supplied various materials for Zaire. That is why Mobutu evidently wanted to control Angola: in order to be sure to have this outlet to the sea and to be able to transport all of this merchandise, cheap.

Zaire continues to support puppet groups and armed groups within its territory. That is why, as long as the government of Zaire does not give complete and practical proof or evidence of non-interference in the Angolan affairs, these relations cannot be normal ones nor can there be offers of friendship.

With relation to Zambia, we can tell you that Zambia falls within another category. Zambia, during our recent period of national liberation struggle, gave certain material support and certain working facilities for our organization. It was never a friendly country, as the

Peoples Republic of Congo, but of course we cannot forget this little aid that was given to us which allowed us to develop our guerrilla warfare in the Eastern part of the country. At one time the puppet group of UNITA was favored by Zambia but we are certain that it will return or change its guidelines, and we are convinced that we will be able to have good relations, normal relations with the government of the Republic of Zambia. Yesterday you also mentioned the question related to Gulf Oil and the Diamang Company, two great transnational enterprises which operate in Angola. In regards to the Diamang we can say there is no problem. Its leadership is a dynamic and intelligent one. That region of the Diamang was in an area that was always under the control of MPLA, and that is the Lunda province. It understood the historical changes and it is Diamang Company itself that is proposing to us new agreements and new treaties in order to continue its operations in Angola. Therefore we have no problems with Diamang. Its activity was restricted because of our recent war waged against these puppet groups and the puppet armies of South Africa. Because of this war the majority of the technicians in the diamond fields left the country. The company was thus forced, because of the lack of technicians and the lack of possibilities for importing materials, to close some mines but nevertheless it continued operations even under these difficulties. Thus we can tell you once more that there is no problem with the Diamang.

With respect to Gulf Oil, we can say that it also operated in an area that was always under the control of the MPLA in the Cabinda province. We never constituted a problem for the Gulf Oil, and even our troops defended the physical integrity of the officials of Gulf Oil. When, in Cabinda, there were clashes between the groups of FNLA and UNITA some of our army went into the facilities of the Gulf Oil to defend the physical



integrity not only of the people of the Gulf Oil but of its facilities, as well. But Gulf Oil stopped working, prepared its luggage and its technicians left towards Zaire. Evidently outside of Angola the U. S. State Department put pressure upon Gulf to withhold its royalty payments to us. We feel that the existing treaties were violated by the Gulf Oil itself and therefore, we now have the right to demand the signing of new agreements.

Finally, there is the matter of our attitude towards the members of UNITA and FNLA and those who sympathize with them. Through the practice and experience we have had in 15 years of struggle we know perfectly well that on many occasions there are individuals or people within the populations who are simple peasants or workers who, because of tribal reasons, family reasons and others, were in a position of supporting some chiefs or policies that in the end went against their own interests. We also know that our people, an illiterate people, a backward people that has recently taken a qualitative leap from the tribe to the nation, were also deceived by the leaders of FNLA and UNITA. We consider the political leadership of FNLA and UNITA to be criminals that must pay for the crimes they have committed, who must be responsible for the crimes they have committed in Angola. But the simple members, we are going to re-educate them, we are going to clarify questions for them and educate them and incorporate them without any problems into the new society we all want to build. Therefore, they will be participating in this new society.

I also want to add something. When we retook the majority of the provinces and cities that had been taken over by these puppet groups we made appeals to the soldiers of FNLA and UNITA, to these soldiers who were hidden, calling on them to turn themselves in. Then they would appear, would give us their weapons and their uniforms and we let

them free. We are not going to have thousands and thousands of prisoners who were mainly innocent people and who were actually just "spearheads." Therefore, the great majority of the UNITA members and the FNLA members are still in Angola and are free and they are already contributing to the reconstruction of the new society that we all want to build.

Also, the problem of the role of women came up yesterday. We consider that if we do not struggle for the freedom of women we would not be struggling for our own freedom. We consider that no one can be free when one oppresses others. Therefore, if we wish to be free we must also liberate women, women in Angola who are subjected to two colonialisms, one Portuguese colonialism and the other their oppression by man. But of course we are not granting women anything; they knew how to fight for their own liberty by incorporating themselves into the struggle, taking weapons in hand and fighting Portuguese colonialism. It was the struggle of women that gave them their own liberty.

It is relative, we cannot say that this freedom exists totally in fact at this moment, but the Angolan women continue fighting next to the Angolan men not only for the total liberation of the country, not only for national reconstruction, but also for equality of rights between both sexes.

This is totally clear in the new constitution of the Peoples Republic of Angola and it also appears very clearly in the practice during all these years of armed struggle, as well as in the second stage of the struggle, that against the invasion of the South African troops. Lately in the struggle against the invasion of South Africa we had great participation of the women of Angola in the armed struggle; therefore, it is she that is liberating herself. We are not doing her any favors, we are not giving her any gifts, because it is she that is fighting for her liberation, fighting next to our men for her nation



and for the independence of our country.

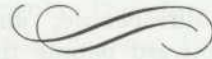
Now going back to the question of Gulf Oil, we consider that it was part of the oppression exerted on us by the U. S. government, that Gulf Oil stopped working and stopped paying their royalties at a difficult moment. South Africa had penetrated our country through the Southern border; they had taken over and controlled half of our territory. Mobuto's armies entered through the North with greater strength because they were already inside the country and they occupied two provinces of the North. Thus, our government only counted on the very few benefits paid by the Gulf Oil. The rest of the factories and industries were not stopped, but there were some industries that were paid by our government so as to avoid unemployment, a greater unemployment than that existing in our country already. Therefore, it was not only the pressure of the Gulf Oil because the U. S. government even blocked the delivery of the Boeing planes which we had paid for and that is why we were left without the money and without the planes.

It was an economic and financial form of oppression so that the state and the new Republic of Angola would not be able to survive. It is clear that measures are being adopted as well as passed, that laws are being passed that are totally progressive, but we are realistic and we know that it is not easy for a country without cadres as technicians to be able to take into its own hands and guide or manage the sophisticated machinery existing in modern industry at present. Besides this, because of the fact that the majority of our population is a population made up of peasants, it is on the question of the lands and agriculture that the new government, a new socialist Angolan government, will center all of its interests and efforts.

We are totally convinced that all of the multinational enterprises and all financial interests existing in Angola

should exist to favor the interests of the Angolan population; they will only have to discuss with us the new forms of work. But then distortion is part of the international campaign against our Republic and it is already a part of the international campaign against the MPLA. I am referring to the saying that "It is the Communists, the red devils, that were attacking us."

We understand this. Angola has economic interests, and its mining and agricultural potential is great. It has greater interest than Guinea Bissau and Mozambique for the great capitalists of the world and because of this we had to face all of these obstacles and difficulties in larger form than the problems related to the struggle for the liberation of Guinea Bissau and of Mozambique. I am of the opinion that I have answered most of the questions made by the comrades yesterday.



## GREEN FIELDS

Green fields, mountain ranges, tender lakes  
stretch harmonious over the tranquil land  
where the eyes lull to sleep vague fears  
kindled tepidly under the hard clay,

dry, as formerly dimmed the sweet hope  
burning, imperishable as always love  
sacrificed, bleeding in the memory  
of the bestial effort of the oppressive lash.

On green fields, mountain ranges, tender lakes  
blaze igneous flames, seas roar red  
glittering with hate, with smiles in a thousand  
caresses

They are the chorus of voices in impatience  
seeking peace, life in age-old weariness  
their lips whispering one word: independence!

—Agostinho Neto  
Aljube Prison in Lisbon  
September 1960



## ANGOLA CHRONOLOGY: 1956-1976

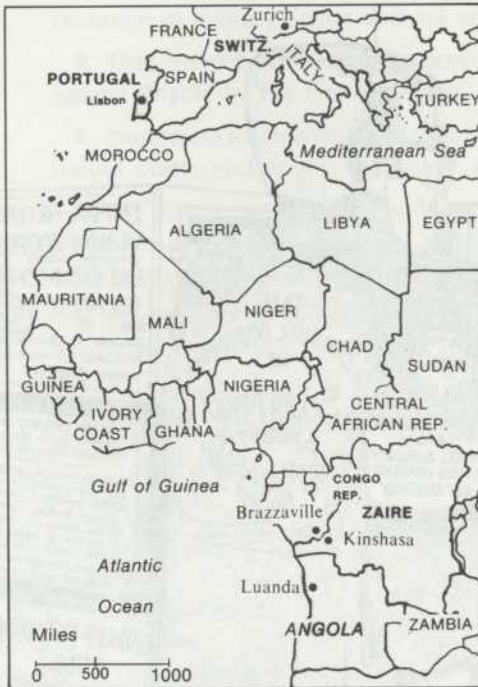
MPLA	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola; Agostinho Neto, President
FNLA	National Front for the Liberation of Angola—formed from UPA, Union of the Populations of Angola, (originally UPNA, Union of the Populations of Northern Angola) and PDA, Democratic Party of Angola; Holden Roberto, President
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola; Jonas Savimbi, President
<b>1956</b>	MPLA is founded in December.
<b>1957</b>	UPNA founded in Leopoldville (Kinshasa). Becomes UPA in 1958. Gulf Oil receives exclusive exploration rights in Cabinda Province.
<b>1959-60</b>	Portuguese begin campaign of repression, arrest political leaders. Agostinho Neto imprisoned in Luanda, 8 June 1960. 30 killed, 200 wounded in village of his birth, protesting the arrest.
<b>1961</b>	
January	Holden Roberto takes over leadership of UPA, ends brief alliance with MPLA negotiated in his absence. Capture by anti-Salazar Portuguese leader Henrique Galvao of ship off coast South America, to protest fascist rule in Portugal. Galvao announces sailing to Luanda; international attention focuses on Angola.
February 4	MPLA leads attack on Luanda prisons to free political prisoners; beginning of armed struggle.
March 15	Uprising in North initiated by UPA. MPLA-led resistance in Northwest Dembos region grows. Portuguese intensify repression, thousands killed; military build-up begins.
October	UPA hostility towards MPLA leads to capture and execution of MPLA units attempting to enter Northern Angola from the Congo (Zaire).
<b>1962</b>	
March	UPA and PDA form a front—the FNLA.
April	FNLA sets up a Government in Exile (GRAE), with headquarters in Leopoldville (Kinshasa).
December	First National Conference of MPLA held in Leopoldville (Kinshasa). Agostinho Neto elected President. Policy decision to concentrate on organizing peasants, emphasize military actions inside Angola. Roberto begins to receive secret CIA funds this year—paid until 1972.
<b>1963</b>	
May	OAU established—in October recognizes FNLA and GRAE.
November	MPLA expelled from Zaire.
<b>1964</b>	
Midyear	MPLA re-opens Cabinda front.
July	Savimbi resigns from FNLA, denouncing its tribalism and U.S. backing.
<b>1965</b>	
March	OAU recognizes MPLA.
<b>1966</b>	
March	UNITA formed inside Angola; Jonas Savimbi President.
May	MPLA opens Eastern front.
<b>1967</b>	
February	MPLA opens front in North East (Lunda Province).
June	UNITA expelled from Zambia after attacks on Benguela railroad.
<b>1968</b>	
July	Liberation Committee of the OAU withdraws recognition of GRAE, recognizes FNLA and MPLA on equal footing.
August	MPLA holds first Regional Conference, in Moxico Province.
<b>1970</b>	
May	Portuguese launch offensive using defoliants in three African colonies.

<b>1971</b>	
January	MPLA opens Bie (Central-South) front.
December	U.S. and Portugal sign new Azores Agreement, giving Portugal \$435 million in aid package.
<b>1972</b>	
March	Portugal, South Africa announce Cunene dam project in Southern Angola.
December	Under pressure for unity from OAU Neto and Roberto sign co-operative agreement; MPLA soldiers sent to Zaire arrested; agreement never becomes a reality.
<b>1973</b>	Split in MPLA surfaces; Daniel Chipenda leads major anti-Neto faction.
<b>1974</b>	
April	Coup by Armed Forces Movement in Portugal signals early end to colonial rule.
October/ November	FNLA, MPLA and UNITA delegations arrive in Luanda. White police attempt to assassinate MPLA official.
<b>1975</b>	
January	Alvor Agreement signed by three movements and Portuguese setting up transitional government with shared ministries, reduction and integration of armed forces on equal basis, commission to set up elections. CIA gives FNLA \$300,000.
March	FNLA massacres 66 MPLA recruits and supporters.
April	FNLA is receiving U.S. arms from Zaire. 10,000 FNLA troops in Angola of which 1200-1500 are Zairean soldiers. Significant Soviet military supplies for MPLA start to arrive.
May	1000 now dead in MPLA-FNLA conflict. Chipenda, of FNLA, in Namibia to consult with South Africans.
June	CIA proposes to Forty Committee \$30 million to counter Soviet aid. 250 Cubans now in Angola to train MPLA.
July	Forty Committee approves "very nearly an open account" for Holden and Savimbi in cash and arms via Zaire and Zambia. FNLA declares war.
August	UNITA and FNLA withdraw from Luanda. 800 Portuguese mercenaries led by South African troops enter southern Angola.
September	Savimbi rejects truce with MPLA, calls on South Africa for assistance, informing Zambia, Zaire, Ivory Coast. Cuban troops start to arrive in Congo-Brazzaville. MPLA controls 12 of 16 provincial capitals, seacoast from Luanda south, central belt.
October	South African column starts invasion. South African column captures Mocamedes and Sa da Bandeira; UNITA and FNLA troops occupy thereafter. Nine-nation OAU conciliation commission recommends government of national unity, non-recognition of any of three movements. MPLA refuses to negotiate with FNLA and UNITA because they represent foreign interests.
November 11	Independence Day; Portugal refuses to designate any Angolan party as the legitimate Government. MPLA announces the establishment of the Peoples' Republic of Angola, almost immediately recognized by over 30 countries, including several African states. FNLA/UNITA announce the formation of the Popular and Democratic Republic of Angola, from Kinshasa. There are no recognitions of that Government, then or later. 3000 Cuban troops arrive in Luanda, in response to MPLA request. FNLA presses hard from the North with the assistance of Zairois troops and U.S. and other western aid; MPLA checks advances on Luanda. Continuing pressure on MPLA from the UNITA/FNLA/South African troops in South. Chinese announce ending support for FNLA.
November	South African column of 1500 has captured Benguela, Lobito, Novo Redondo and Porto Amboim. Cuban troops being airlifted to meet emergency. FNLA/FLEC attack Cabinda. FNLA drive stalled 15 miles north of Luanda.
December	MPLA with aid of Soviet rockets, Cuban troops stems tide; starts to retake positions. Savimbi meets with "South Africans at the highest level" in Pretoria to encourage them to remain. South Africa pulls out of Ceta.
<b>1976</b>	
January	OAU deadlocks. 22 nations of 46 recognize MPLA; none recognize UNITA/FNLA. MPLA captures Uige, FNLA headquarters. FNLA forces in north collapsing, pillaging, looting. South Africa pulls out of Silva Porto, regroups north of Namibian frontier.
February	Huambo and Lobito captured by MPLA. 27 OAU members recognize PRA; PRA satisfies requirements for OAU membership.

Gathered from many sources, this chronology is intended to guide the reader's understanding of events. It is not definitive. The American Committee on Africa has a fine, annotated chronology.



## ANGOLA: BACKGROUND NOTES



*Size:* With over 481,000 square miles, Angola is twice the size of Texas. Angola lies on the southwest coast of Africa, bordered by Zaire, Zambia, and Southwest Africa (Namibia). Included in its territory is Cabinda, a small coastal area north of the Congo River estuary bordered by Congo (Brazzaville) and Zaire.

*Population:* Approximately 6 million people, with population centers in the west coastal and plateau regions.

*Ethnic Groups:* Angola's three primary ethnic groups are the Bakongo in the north; the Kimbundu and the Ovimbundu in the south.

*Resources:* Angola produces coffee, sugar, cotton, tobacco, and other foodstuffs. The country is considered to be potentially one of the richest in southern Africa, with large resources of oil, diamonds, and iron ore.

*History:* Angola, a Portuguese colony for 500 years, was granted independence on November 11, 1975.

*Strategic importance:* Angola is strategically located in southern Africa. Its major ports provide the primary outlet into the Atlantic Ocean for Zambia and Zaire, and its railroads provide the major outlet for Zambian and Zairian copper. It is also located north of Namibia (Southwest Africa), the colony of South Africa, which the United Nations and the World Court have ruled is held illegally by South Africa.

*per capita income:* Approximately \$200 per person (1973 figure)

*Foreign Investment:* The Portuguese lead in foreign investments in Angola. American corporations have approximately \$240 million capital investment in Angola, almost 90% by Gulf Oil Company which has the rights to the oil in Cabinda. Texaco has a marketing operation in Angola, and other oil companies have some operations there.

*Source:* State Department.

The whole world surprised, wakes up in panic  
To the violent rhythm of blood, to the violent rhythm of jazz,  
The white man turning pallid over this new song  
That carries torch of purple through the dark of night.

The dawn is here, my brother! Dawn! Look in our faces,  
A new morning breaks in our old Africa.

PATRICE LUMUMBA,  
from "Dawn in The Heart of Africa"



WELL, WHAT THE HELL IS A FEW MILLION DEAD BLACKS, WITH  
THE "FREE WORLD" AT STAKE ONCE AGAIN???



## Statement from the Sponsors of the Angola Support Conference, May 28-30, 1976

This Conference supports the following specific goals, priorities and principles, with reference to the People's Republic of Angola:

1. Immediate recognition of the People's Republic of Angola as a sovereign, independent nation by the United States;
2. The cessation of all overt or covert military action against Angola and the cessation of military action and aid against Angola through third parties;
3. That there be no economic boycott, reprisal or sanctions of any kind taken against Angola by the United States;
4. Immediate establishment of normal relations and communications between the United States and Angola, politically, economically and culturally;
5. Assistance with nation building and reconstruction activity: collection of pharmaceuticals, and medicines, obtaining fertilizers, agricultural equipment and other materials as needed;
6. Education of the American people about the MPLA and the People's Republic of Angola to dispel racist myths and distortions;
7. The establishment of a broad base of support for the People's Republic of Angola within the United States.

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