liberation support movement
interview on angola

commander and
member of mpla comité director

SPARTACUS MONIMAMBUL

movimento popular de libertação de angola
This interview with Spartacus Monil in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, LSM member Don Barnett, appeared in the Guardian May 4 and 11 1968 under "Liberation Support: Interview on Angola in Dar es Salaam".

Commander Spartacus Monil in the Zaire district of Angola, after completing Form III, he left for Algeria. He has been with the MPLA guerrilla forces in the liberated areas of Angola. The MPLA was formed in 1962, and the four-man Revolutionary Council was formed in 1968.
This interview with Spartacus Monimambu was taped in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania on 21 March 1968 by LSM member Don Barnett. (Parts of the interview appeared in the Guardian issues of April 27 and May 4 and 11 1968 under the title, "In the Liberated Areas of Angola".)

Commander Spartacus Monimambu, aged 28, was born in the Zaire district of northern Angola. After completing Form III, he left Angola and eventually received military training in Ghana, Morocco and Algeria. He has been a Commander of MPLA's guerrilla forces in the Eastern Region since that front was opened on May 18, 1966. Currently he is on the MPLA Central Committee and a member of the four-man Presidential Commission.
LSM: As Military Commander, how do you happen to be Salaam at this time?

MONIMAMBU: I came here from Luigi River. There were about 300 men, and came to destroy it if they could. We organized our own defensive positions. We sent many groups and started to fight them. There were 60 Portuguese before they approached our positions. We were very tired when they arrived on the 23rd. They had six planes all day from morning till night. They used mortars, firing 42 rounds and bazookas — but these did little damage. They found us in the forest and penetrated the base. When they were a meter, about 150 yards away, they met such a strong resistance that they had to retreat and return to their camp. 60 people were killed. I was hit by a bullet in the skull and treated in Aga Khan Hospital, the bullet was located under my skull in the brain. Two others received light wounds inside for two months of treatment inside but here. We carried out two attacks on Chilemba. When we came back to Luigi River, the chief representative to be the base, I couldn't read or write; I couldn't read or write. But fortunately...
LSM: As Military Commander of the Eastern Region, how do you happen to be here in Dar es Salaam at this time?

MONIMAMBU: I came here for medical treatment. I was wounded in the back of the head by a bullet. It started on 18 October, last year. The Portuguese came from Lumbala with 25 trucks filled with troops. They had two companies, about 300 men, and came to attack our principal base, to destroy it if they could. But we organized our own defensive and offensive operations. We sent many groups ahead to stop them and started to fight them when they reached the Lufigi River. There were at least seven fights before they approached our base. They were already very tired when they reached the place on the 23rd. They had six planes dropping bombs all day from morning till evening. They also used mortars, firing 42 rounds into the base, and bazookas — but these didn't cause much damage. They found us in trenches and couldn't penetrate the base. When they reached the perimeter, about 150 yards away, we fought back. They met such a strong resistance that they ran away, returning to their camps. None of our people were killed. I was hit by a bullet which lodged under my skull in the back of the head. Two others received light wounds. After that I stayed inside for two months organizing things, and we carried out two attacks against Lumbala and Chilemba. When we came back I was called by our chief representative to be treated here outside. When I was wounded I went two weeks without seeing; I couldn't read or write. I received some treatment inside but here in Dar es Salaam, at the Aga Khan Hospital, the bullet was removed. The doctors confirmed that I was very lucky, and near to dying. But fortunately I'm still alive and
ready to go back to Angola and fight again.

LSM: MPLA opened its 3rd Front in the Eastern Region in May 1966. What was the purpose of opening this new front -- in addition to the two already established in Cabinda and northern Angola -- and what have you accomplished there over the past almost two years?

MONIMAMBU: This front was opened in order to extend the struggle to all of Angola. We advanced the motto in 1967 to generalize the struggle inside Angola in order to force a dispersal of Portuguese troops. You know, according to the laws of guerrilla war, we can't afford a concentration of enemy forces. We must make them disperse so we can attack them in small groups. Regarding our general progress in the Eastern Region, we began with one section of only 18 miles, but six months later we reached the level of having five zones in the Eastern Region -- Zones "A", "B", "C", "D" and "E". Now we can say that all of Mexico district and half of Cuando Cubango district are under our control -- not completely controlled by our freedom fighters, but the Portuguese can't go there and oppress the people or arrest them or kill them or do what they did before 1966. We have cut their communications. They just come with their planes and bomb, but they can't go easily into the bush. Always they find guerrillas ambushing them, killing them. And we have already organized our militias, with women also, who are patrolling, doing reconnaissance and so on -- they are helping us in very significant ways.

LSM: How do you cope with the logistics problem -- bringing in supplies?

MONIMAMBU: We have many has its HQ base, we call from there we supply front with ammunition, food, have already captured some medicine from the Portuguese shops now. We are not against these people, the set they are now armed and soldiers. The Portuguese hands are our enemies and thing belonging to them, to destroy everything with to destroy everything with.

LSM: Do you get support from Tanzania, Zambia and Congo?

MONIMAMBU: Of course. We are in the OAU. All of the African countries are good position to help us. Zanzibar, Zambia, Congo (B), are more helpful than other particularly those which have expelled from Congo (K). We can't say the same thing for Congos (K). We haven't been able to bring our freedom fighters through their territory to discover us trying to
What was the purpose of the 3rd Front in the Eastern Congo? In addition to the...
thing and our people are imprisoned and ill-treated. Just last June many of our comrades were captured and their equipment is still being held by the Congolese authorities. They support traitors like Holden Roberto and don't like to see MPLA freedom fighters going through Congo to Angola.

LSM: I imagine that makes it very difficult to supply the Northern Front.

MONIMAMBU: That is the greatest difficulty we face in our struggle. Otherwise, the 1st or Northern Front would be the most powerful one. But meeting such difficulties has helped us raise the level of our struggle. They are hard to solve, but not impossible. We are solving them little by little; step by step we are going forward. The Eastern Front is now very strong. And this year we are going to open up the 4th and 5th Fronts in Bié and Lunda. Preparations have already been made but we are still waiting for more materiel. The fighting has already begun — it remains only to send more groups and weapons into these regions. That will be accomplished this year. The connection between the Eastern Region and the Northern Region will be through the 4th Region, through Lunda.

We are continuing to organize guerrilla activity throughout the country. We even have some clandestine groups in the urban areas, in the towns. But they are not yet strong enough to attack — you know, destroy power plants, machinery, etc., and carry out economic sabotage. But this is a stage which will be reached in the future. Our organization, MPLA, was founded in Luanda, as you know. But our people had to be initiated again outside. In the meantime they have organized their defense forces from reaching the towns. Police and Portuguese are trying to get Angola forces for them. The struggle is high level when the to-morrow, the most conscious organized and the struggle is high. The Portuguese and their troops will be why we must extend out of Angola, in order to relations and big cities and when the proletariat, the proletariat, is well organizations from the Party and trade, then things will get better than now.

LSM: What is your strategy? Do they try to defend the out large armed patrols?

MONIMAMBU: At the beginning in large numbers and dense areas. They tried twice they have changed their tactics in their hard for them to go into with many trucks, plane, soldiers on either side of them they take food and other main post to other posts into the bush they have t
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founded in Luanda, as you know. But our people had to leave that area and come outside to organize. The struggle had to be initiated again, after 1961, from the outside. In the meantime, the Portuguese have organized their defenses to try to keep us from reaching the towns. The FIDE (Secret Police) and Portuguese volunteers in the towns are trying to get Angolans to be spies and agents for them. The struggle will reach a much higher level when the town and plantation workers, the most conscious elements, are well organized and the struggle enters the urban areas. The Portuguese will then lose confidence and their troops will become demoralized. That is why we must extend our struggle to the whole of Angola, in order to reach the mines, plantations and big cities and sabotage the economy. When the proletariat, the urban and rural proletariat, is well organized, receiving instructions from the Party and realizing them in practice, then things will go much better, much better than now.

LSN: What strategy are the Portuguese using to contain your expansion in the Eastern Region? Do they try to defend fixed positions and send out large armed patrols?

MONINAMBU: At the beginning they tried to come in large numbers and destroy us in our base areas. They tried twice and failed. Since then they have changed their tactics. They still defend themselves in their barracks, but it is hard for them to go into the bush. They come with many trucks, planes overhead and foot soldiers on either side of the road. This is how they take food and other supplies from their main post to other posts. When they want to go into the bush they have to mobilize a large
force, one or two companies. Then they come to attack us or to pacify a certain area -- trying to seize the initiative. But we are prepared for that. We mobilize many units -- not concentrated at any one place but with one group here, another there, etc., and each one attacks at the appropriate time. In this way we divide the enemy column into small groups which we are able to handle easily. The Portuguese always find it difficult to kill or capture our guerrillas. The only thing that gives us a headache is the bombing -- but it isn't destroying many things. They bomb every day, in the bush, in the abandoned villages. But it does not jeopardize our struggle.

LSM: The Vietnamese have been able to withstand a great deal of bombing through tunneling and deep trenches. Have you been able to adapt the local population to some of these defensive tactics against bombing?

MONIMAMBU: Yes, of course, we have already taught them to use trenches, as we ourselves are doing -- digging trenches around our bases and camps, camouflaging ourselves for protection against bombs and bullets. The people in our liberated villages dig many trenches around the village, some 50 yards away from their houses. When the bombers come their chairman orders everyone to run to the trenches. If someone is unable to reach the trenches in time, we tell him to just lie down flat on the ground. People now have seen that the bombs are not as dangerous as they thought before -- because the Portuguese were telling them "If you join those terrorists", as they say, "we are going to bring in our planes and bomb you and the ground will be levelled and everything destroyed". But they have seen years the people are still fighting and the guerrillas are still finding it difficult to control of the semi-liberated areas. People believe in us now. And they are more conscious because we give education and organize them -- so they are better off than before and even producing more.

LSM: Recently, on January 3rd, MPLA announced that it was going to HQ from Brazzaville to Angola. This will affect the course of the...
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Of course, we have already trenches, as we ourselves dig trenches around our bases using ourselves for protection and bullets. The people in ages dig many trenches around 10 yards away from their homes come their chairmen run to the trenches. If to reach the trenches in just lie down flat on the have seen that the bombs as they thought before— these were telling them "If oriste", as they say, "we in our planes and bomb you be levelled and everything destroyed". But they have seen that after two years the people are still living, the freedom fighters are still going ahead and the Portuguese are still finding it difficult to regain control of the semi-liberated areas. So the people believe in us now. And they have become more conscious because we give them political education and organize them—and they themselves are better off than before, they are freer and even producing more.

LSM: Recently, on January 3rd of this year, MPLA announced that it was going to shift its HQ from Brazzaville to Angola. How do you think this will affect the course of the struggle?

MONIMAMBU: This is very important for us. As you know, every revolutionary struggle must be carried out inside the country. And this cannot be done very well if the leaders themselves are not among the people. We are a mass organization, a popular movement, so we must be among the people. They must see that the leaders themselves are inside to direct and orient the struggle. This will give more courage to the people, and even to the guerrilla fighters. All of our political leaders, except for two or three, have now been trained militarily. So they can go inside and lead and help train the local leaders. What we need, what we want, is for local leaders to become conscious enough to lead their own people in the villages. The top leaders must bring these people to a high level of political consciousness and understanding. Again, sending the HQ inside the country is going to increase our support from outside. They will see that we are very serious, that we are really leading the struggle inside Angola. A thing that Holden's GRAE has not done since 1963, though they have
had every chance to do so. This will also prove that MPLA, which has declared itself to be the vanguard force, has a liberated area, where we are free, have begun to build popular power and are carrying forward our economic and administrative programs...

LSM: So you think it affects the morale of both the guerrillas and the civilian population to see that the leaders are there, running the same risks as they are?

MONIMAMBU: Yes. This will give their morale a great boost. And they will not want to run away to become refugees sitting in another country waiting for others to help them. No! They will see that they themselves must be inside with the leaders, risking everything for their country.

LSM: Another problem seems to be that exiled leaders tend to accustom themselves to a much higher standard of life than the people they are leading, so that you get a privileged group within the movement which can have dangerous consequences.

MONIMAMBU: That is the point. We want our leaders inside the country, together with the people.

LSM: Maybe you could now comment generally on the relationship within Angola between the military and political leadership.

MONIMAMBU: Our principle is to combine the military and the political. Everyone must be both political and military together. We know that our basic problem is a political one, but it cannot be solved without violence. So, while the military aspect is secondary to the political, there is an interdependence between the two. The
We want our leadership, together with the people, to build popular power and develop parallel to one another. That is why we have both political and military leaders in the central committee, or as we call it, the Central Director. Here, both military and political people come together and lead the struggle together. But the people inside the country understand the necessity of representation outside, because without this there would be little chance of getting supplies or carrying out diplomatic activities.

LSM: How does the popular militia function in relation to MPLA's guerrilla forces?

MONIMAMBU: Without the militias the semi-regular forces of MPLA couldn't control this area. Mozambique itself, you know, is four times larger than Portugal. So, to control this area, we need the help of the militia. That is why we are working hard to organize and train them. Their leaders have been trained by us inside, politically and militarily. The problem is that they don't have effects the morale of both the civilian population to see where we will give their morale a strong boost. We must be inside with the thing for their country. It seems to be that exiled people have been more privileged than the people they are to lead. We must be inside, together with the people. This will also prove to be the liberated area, where we can have dangerous consequences. Everyone must be both political and military, together. We know that political one, but it can't be violence. So, while the ondary to the political, effort between the two. The military and political actions must compliment each other and develop parallel to one another. That is why we have both political and military leaders in the central committee, or as we call it, the Central Director. Here, both military and political people come together and lead the struggle together. But the people inside the country understand the necessity of representation outside, because without this there would be little chance of getting supplies or carrying out diplomatic activities.

LSM: Is the head of each zone a military leader, a political leader, or a combination of both?

MONIMAMBU: In each of the five zones there is a Military Command, headed by a First Commander who is himself both a military and political leader. Then in the whole of the Eastern Region, made up of these five zones, we have a Regional Command comprised of the five zone commanders. Four of these, including myself, are on the Eastern Region Steering Committee. So we are both political and military leaders. There is no difference between political and military leaders inside now. Every person holding a leadership position participates in both the military and political aspects of the struggle.

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sufficient arms. But with the three or four guns they have in each group they are able to patrol their area and help protect their people. You know there are people going to fish, to their gardens to cultivate, to the bush to collect honey from trees — they are still going everywhere. But each one has an important mission: to look after the place, to see who is coming in and who is going out. We have passes which are given to the leaders of the people and to the military leaders. Everyone who goes from one place to another must have his pass. Without this they will not be allowed to travel. They will be arrested, taken back to the place they came from, and then judged. If someone is a spy or a collaborator with the Portuguese he will be punished by the people themselves. They will just come to ask us what to do, telling us what they have decided and asking us what we think — because we have the power to look after everything. Even though they have their organization to look after the people’s troubles, we are the most powerful force inside the country so we have the final decision if a traitor is to be punished. The militias do fight sometimes, when they see Portuguese troops coming and have no time to tell us so we can send help. They fight with those primitive guns, muzzle loaders — that is why we need so much of that black powder, for those primitive guns. We can’t give them modern guns because we don’t have them in sufficient numbers.

LSM: When a Portuguese patrol approaches a village, do you have arrangements for village defense or do the people retreat into the bush until the Portuguese have passed through?
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these patrol approaches a arrangements for village people retreat into the bush have passed through?

LSM: Have you been able to train people to make gun-powder within the country?

MONINAMBU: The problem is that the chemical products which they need to make this powder are difficult to come by. We have tried already in Lusaka and here in Dar, but it has been very difficult up to now.
MONIMAMBU: When the freedom fighters are far from the place it is up to the militia to organize their own defense — until we can bring in some of our fighters to help them, if it is possible. If not they must defend themselves with their guns, their primitive weapons and their flesh. They are doing it . . . many of them. Some will collect the women and children and take them to a safe place and guard them; others, the men who are courageous or who know how to defend themselves, will begin to fight with whatever weapons they have — spears, bows and arrows, primitive guns, etc. Two or three of them will leave and try to find the guerrillas and bring them back to help the people.

LSM: What is the normal settlement pattern in this area? Do the people live in dispersed villages or are there distinguishable villages, units where you have several hundred people living together in a village?

MONIMAMBU: We never like to concentrate large numbers of people in one place. We divide them. Each traditional chief has his people in a particular place; the others are sent out to different places. This allows us to control a larger area.

LSM: How many people would you say are living in an average village in the semi-liberated area?

MONIMAMBU: It depends on the number of people who belong to such and such a chief. Sometimes there are 50, sometimes 80; and we have decided that no more than 150 can remain together in one place — with their houses close together but still a little separated. It depends on the bush. If it is not heavy, then not too many people will stay together; if it is heavy then they will be safe. All the houses will be well camouflaged and can't be seen from the planes.

LSM: In Vietnam they have to defend villages. By with tunnels they can dig and leave if they have and a great deal of not from one firing position be very effective assault force than they in fact. Peasants been taught or tunnels or does the terrain allow it?

MONIMAMBU: You know, of course. We have experience, the Cubans have the most advanced facilities in Vietnam; they have many tunnels and other useful tactics. We are no longer as the Vietnamese are doing it will be done in time people have not yet tried underground. But we on we have already tried tunnels underground. They see how a man can live they are not used to it not live without our household, and so forth — but they will follow: they see that we have done it. We are still giving them good and military education; you must know that we have decided that it is useful to do it. We are still giving them good and military education; it will understand and follow. That is the biggest problem we face.
Freedom fighters are far up to the militia to order — until we can bring in to help them, if it is must defend themselves with primitive weapons and doing it... many of the women and children the place and guard them; courageous or who knows, will begin to fight they have — spears, bows, guns, etc. Two or three try to find the guerrillas to help the people.

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LSM: In Vietnam they have used tunnel warfare to defend villages. By connecting villages with tunnels they can resist an incoming force and leave if they have to. With a few guns and a great deal of mobility — moving quickly from one firing position to another — they can be very effective and appear a much larger force than they in fact are. Have the Angolan peasants been taught or seen the value of tunnels or does the terrain not allow for it?

MONIMAMBU: You know, our struggle is not an isolated one. We are profiting from the experience of others. We must learn from the Chinese experience, the Cuban experience, etc. But now the most advanced form of guerrilla struggle is in Vietnam; they have developed many successful tactics. We are not yet employing tactics as the Vietnamese are doing. But we know this will be done in time — step by step. Our people have not yet tried to build those tunnels underground. But we ourselves, the guerrillas, we have already tried to make houses and shelters underground. The people are now beginning to see how a man can live underground, but they are not used to it. They say: "We cannot live without our houses, we will die underground," and so forth. They are still doubting — but they will follow our example when they see that we have developed this tactic, that it is useful to them... then they will do it. We are still giving them political and military education; in the future they will understand and follow our example. But you must know that we have troubles with the tunnels. Our ground here in the Eastern Region is very sandy; it is not strong soil, just sand. And during the rainy season it gets flooded. That is the problem... the biggest problem we face in doing what the
MONIMAMBU: The Eastern Front is about 800 km long and some 500 km deep. But these figures were calculated last year. Our people are still moving ahead; they are now in Bié and to the north we have already sent organizers and a guerrilla group into the Lunda district. So I can't tell you at this time exactly how far our zone of operation extends inside the country. As for the territories controlled by us, or semi-controlled by us, they are Moxico and most of Cuando Cubango districts — with many enemy posts in between. You can't find a single place in this area where people have remained in their traditional villages. They have already abandoned them. Or the Portuguese have caught them and brought them near their posts to live in concentration camp villages. Most have run away. But it is up to them to choose. They can either go to the Portuguese for help or to the freedom fighters. Most people come to the bush to live with us, some go with the Portuguese. But those who go with the Portuguese don't stay more than two or three months. After that they will die of hunger because they can't go into the bush to look after their crops. They are allowed to go there just one day a week, followed by Portuguese guards. But it is not enough for them; they feel they are in a prison, that they are not free there. So many of them run away and come to join us. Or when the freedom fighters go there they ask us to take them away from the place. There is not a very large population in these areas. Now we can say that there are more than 30,000 living with us in the semi-liberated areas. People have been politicizers to many places to mobilize them, organize those who quickly take are the young chaps. They want to be safe, to avoid just continue doing them that's all. It is very the old people... I But we know that you live where. They still need medicine, clothes, salt and most important needs of cause now many live with understand what our different these things. We have nothing about this. The thing is solved but a part has been given some satisfaction.

LSM: About how many people are living in the concentration camp villages?

MONIMAMBU: Maybe a few post you'll find 50, 100 vary. But many of them have gone to the bush.

LSM: Your own operation is restricted largely to ambush the Portuguese forces who are at their own bases. Does this come to the use of mortars? Do you ever use these Portuguese bases?
LSM: About how many people would you say are living in the concentration camp villages?

MONIMAMBU: Maybe a few thousand. In every post you’ll find 50, 150 or 200 — the numbers vary. But many of them are now hiding in the bush.

LSM: Your own operations so far have been restricted largely to ambush tactics, attacking the Portuguese forces when they leave their posts. You’re still operating with relatively small units and not hitting the Portuguese in their own bases. Does that mean that you have difficulties with training or supplies when it comes to the use of mortars, bazookas or rockets? Do you ever use these weapons to attack Portuguese bases?
MONIMAMBUL: We have some bazookas and mortars, and we have already attacked 10 posts in the Eastern Region -- but the results were not too successful, the barracks were not destroyed. They were attacked and many of them were hit, but after that we couldn't occupy the positions, we couldn't enter the posts because we lacked rockets and mortar shells. We have mortar shells, but lack sufficient detonator caps and batteries for the rockets. We are trying to get them, but haven't succeeded yet. That is our problem. So when we plan to attack a post, we go with grenades and rifles. We must do something to demoralize the Portuguese troops, to prevent them from living peacefully in their barracks. We must attack them and call them into the bush where our freedom fighters are arranged to ambush them. That is our tactic.

LSM: Do you ever use road mines against Portuguese motorized columns?

MONIMAMBUL: We don't have anti-vehicle mines -- not yet. Unfortunately, though we have the explosives to make those mines, we don't have the detonator caps. But we do use anti-personnel mines against Portuguese foot soldiers.

LSM: Last June, at a meeting held in the Eastern Region, a number of new programs were put forward. Perhaps you could comment generally on the progress that has been made. Let's take them one at a time, beginning with your efforts in the sphere of agricultural production.

MONIMAMBUL: Agricultural production in the semi-liberated areas is increasing. In every zone the people are organized in sectors; a zone may have five or six sectors. In each sector there is a Revolutionary Committee of Action, a people's
one bazookas and mortars, attacked 10 posts in the results were not too many of them were hit, didn't occupy the positions, posts because we lackedells. We have mortar efficient detonator caps and sets. We are trying to succeeded yet. That is we plan to attack a post, and rifles. We must do some Portugese troops, ting peacefully in their bar-­
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organization which concerns itself with the people's problems. They have a chairman, a secretary, a treasurer, etc. Committee members are elected by the people. There are about 500 villagers in an average sector. These people collectively cultivate what we call "people's plantations." All the people in a village work together in one field. The products which come from their collective work are then used for the benefit of the villagers themselves. These people's plantations don't develop quickly in all zones. Where we have made the greatest progress in agriculture is in Zones "C" and "D." We already have 35 collectives in these zones. The important crops grown are rice, cassava, potatoes, millet and maize. Apart from the collective each family has its own traditional garden. But on certain days everyone must work on the people's plantation, because on those days we use the militia to surround and protect the place. If they hear a plane coming from very far away they will go into their trenches and camouflage themselves. They are safe there.

LSM: How many days a week do they work on the people's plantation?

MONIMAMBU: They work two days on the collective, then two days in their own gardens. The other days are for meetings, literacy classes, political education, etc. So they have two days of agricultural work on the collective, two days of personal work, and two days of education; and then on Sundays they sing, dance, and so on, because national culture is important also. We want to develop it too.

LSM: Does MPLA tax these guerrilla forces get food units?

MONIMAMBU: Yes, of course help from outside when it are quite sufficiently help the country. We get collective plantations. They collect the food - times which go to different food for the guerrillas -- and give it to their women's presented to the chief is in charge of looking after there. This is how we get people.

LSM: Do the guerrilla units food?

MONIMAMBU: Yes, in the coming places to cultivate tomatoes and things like that. We need the vitamins very much better than the people themselves the basic foods. So the ourselves we cultivate in each zone. But groups which country, ambushing Portuguese controlling strategic points, jobs.

LSM: In the area of educating you have set up Centers Instruction (CIR). How have

MONIMAMBU: These Centers for instruction are very important at the end of 1967 we had already
concerns itself with the needs of their people. They have a chairman, treasurer, etc. Committees are elected by the people. There are lagers in an average sector, collectively cultivate everyone's plantations. All village work together in activities which come from the land, are then used for the lagers themselves. These units don't develop quickly as we have made the great cultural work in Zones "C", and have 35 collectives in important crops: rice, millet and maize. Each family has a garden. But on certain days we use the garden to protect the crops. On those days we use the garden to protect the crops. On those days we use the garden to protect the crops. On those days we use a plane coming from the central base to gather the food and protect the crops. We are quite sufficiently helped by the people inside the country. We get help from those collective plantations. The women do everything. They collect the food -- they have their militias which go to different places collecting food for the guerrillas. Then they will come and give it to their women's chairman. She will present it to the chief of the sector who is in charge of looking after the guerrillas there. This is how we get food from the people.

LSM: Do the guerrilla units grow any of their food?

MONIMAMBEU: Yes, in the central base we have places to cultivate tomatoes, onions, cabbages and things like that. We do this because we need the vitamins very much; and we do it better than the people themselves. They grow only the basic foods. So the things we need for ourselves we cultivate in the central base of each zone. But groups which go deep inside the country, ambushing Portuguese patrols or controlling strategic points, they must not do such jobs.

LSM: In the area of education and cadre training you have set up Centers for Revolutionary Instruction (CIR). How have these progressed?

MONIMAMBEU: These Centers for Revolutionary Instruction are very important for us. Before the end of 1967 we had already trained more than
2,000 cadres outside, in many countries. But we find that it is more important to train them inside the country. We lack materials and have to do without many things — but these CIR’s are very helpful to us now. Between August and February the first course was held and it was very successful. And many people’s cadres, people trained educationally, militarily and politically, are now able to go and organize people, be active among the people. They also learned how to maintain themselves — to keep chickens, cultivate, sew, and so on. They were taught many things there. On 14 March we started the second course, the second part of the program. Angola is a country with many illiterate people, uninformed people who don’t know how to read or write — probably worse than any other African country. The Portuguese have done it deliberately. Now it is up to us. We can’t wait until we are free, but must begin now to educate our people, to teach them how to read and learn.

LSM: What language do you teach them in?

MONIMAMBU: We have people who have been trained outside but who come from this region of Angola. They know every language there. The most important language is Luvala. But when one speaks Luvala, the Mbunda tribe can’t understand it, the Chokwe tribe can’t understand it. Now we have two languages: Luvala and Portuguese. But we also have people who translate from Portuguese to the other local languages.

LSM: Do the illiterate people who come to the CIR acquire literacy in their native language before they learn Portuguese? Do they first become literate in their traditional language?

MONIMAMBU: They do both. They are taught in both Luvala and Portuguese. They have our own language, will have to use Portuguese in Angola. None can be understood through that and that is why we have Portuguese. The engineers, those young cadres, go to the primary school in the CIR to learn Portuguese. And then in every sector the teachers have got many books, revolutions are teaching the primary school students, these young people are very important. The teachers have got many books, their generation which is tomorrow. And that is without schooling and party.

LSM: What is the basic education program? Is it in character or is it nationalist?

MONIMAMBU: Political and nationalist. The people are all Angolans, that is why we educate people. Our ideology is scientific, to be a socialist country. Angola must be governed by the Angolans, that is the Angolans who are fighting for our rights. Our ideology is scientific, we must try there is only one way. When we try there is only one way.
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their traditional language?

MONIMAMBU: They do both together. Learning a
word, how to write it and read it, they are
taught in both Luvale and Portuguese. Until we
have our own Language, a national language, we
will have to use Portuguese as the common lan-
guage in Angola. None of our traditional languages
can be understood throughout the whole country —
and that is why we have to use the colonial lan-
guage, Portuguese. There are also the Young Pio-
niers, those young chaps, who have had their pri-
mary school in the CIR — apart from the old men, 
women and so on. Our students are of all ages.
And then in every sector we have a primary school.
The teachers have got books. We have prepared
many books, revolutionary books, to help those who
are teaching in the primary schools. These young
people are very important to us; they are the fu-
ture generation which is going to be the cadre of
tomorrow. And that is why we can't leave them
without schooling and without assistance from the
party.

LSM: What is the basic content of the political
education program? Is it essentially nationalist
in character or is it socialist and international-
ist?

MONIMAMBU: Political education is, first of all,
nationalist. The people must understand that we
are all Angolans, that we are one people, that we
are fighting for our right to be free, and that
Angola must be governed by Angolans.

But we know that tomorrow there will be many prob-
lems in Angola and that to solve them requires
that we educate people in the ideological sphere.
Our ideology is scientific socialism. We are go-
ing to be a socialist country tomorrow. There is
no other way. When we become an independent coun-
try there is only one way to follow — the social-
MPLA cadres at meal of cassava. From left: Center for Revolutionary Instruction (CIR) Professor Mapamundi, Commanders Monimambu and Dino.

MPLA guerrillas meet villagers and Popular Militia members.
ist way. For us ideology is most important within the party because today we are just a mass movement, a popular movement, and not yet a real party, with the structure of a party. But tomorrow there will be a party with its philosophy, its determined ideology and its structure. And to reach that level we must begin to prepare the way from today. That is why the MPLA is very interested in giving ideological education to our militants. For the people in general, at least for now, they need mainly a nationalist education.

LSM: Maybe now you could comment now on the people's shops and trade centers--on that part of your program which deals with the distribution of goods and services?

MONIMAMBU: This was the major problem...which made people fear living in the bush. They didn't want to live like animals—without clothes, salt, soap, medicine and so on. They found it difficult in the beginning. We saw this as an urgent problem which had to be solved. We tried to organize, first of all, the distribution of goods sent by friendly countries to help us in our struggle. These were sent for the guerrillas, for the freedom fighters, but we are not fighting alone. Without the people, without their support, we couldn't move ahead, couldn't recruit more fighters, etc. We had to give satisfaction to the people's demands, which were just clothes, salt, soap and medicines. But just distributing the goods from outside sent to the guerrillas was not sufficient. So we have organized our budget and the party itself now allocates part of its funds to help solve this problem. We have also set up people's stores. We buy goods outside and our trucks take them to the border. Then the people come and collect
them and take them to their sectors. The goods are given to the action committees which turn them over to the people who run the people's stores for general distribution. In each sector we have one of these stores. Since these goods are paid for out of the party's budget, and in order to keep getting more goods, we have to fix prices. We can't just give them to the people free. They pay in Portuguese currency or with products. People bring in fish, meat, rice, potatoes, honey -- anything they happen to have -- and exchange it for clothes, salt, soap, etc. Medicines are free. The food and other products they pay with are then used as part of the rations for the guerrillas. The money is sent through the action committees to party headquarters. It is then exchanged for Zambian money to buy more goods or sent for various purposes to Cabinda, the Northern region, or our offices here in Dar es Salaam, Lusaka, etc.

LSM: Have you attempted to produce any of these basic goods within the semi-liberated areas? Have you set up any field factories or centers of production -- apart from agriculture -- inside the country?

MONIMAMBU: This is one of our objectives. But it was only last June when we began these programs and we had to start at the beginning. We have built a rice-husking factory, but we are still waiting for the machines. In Zones "C" and "D" we have plenty of rice now; we are just waiting for those machines to process it. This is our first project. Secondly, we are trying to organize people in cooperatives, as I mentioned earlier, so that they can exchange their products for the things they need. This problem is already settled between MPLA and the Zambian Government -- they are ready to buy our Angolan produce. It is up to us now to arrange.

LSM: Do you as yet travel inside Angola?

MONIMAMBU: No. They are not able yet to travel inside the country.

LSM: Are you able to use vehicles inside the country?

MONIMAMBU: There is already traffic between Angola and Zambia. In other zones we have not yet started to travel with vehicles. We keep one mechanic here to do repairs on our vehicle.

LSM: Are you able to use electrical power supplies inside the country?

MONIMAMBU: No, we are not able to use electrical power supplies inside the country. We know there are many difficulties at this time -- lack of equipment, etc.

LSM: You mentioned making people aware of their national culture? What are you doing to make people aware of their national culture?

MONIMAMBU: Apart from education and dances, in our Construction we are trying to give consciousness of themselves in theatrical performances.
The goods are distributed by committees which turn over to the people in their sectors. The goods are then used as part of the party’s budget. The money is sent to party headquarters for Zambian money to be exchanged for various purposes in the region, or our offices here in Angola, etc. The money is then used to produce any of these goods. The semi-liberated areas? Have we any centers of production — inside the semi-liberated areas? Have we any centers of production — inside the country? Have we any centers of production — inside the country?

LSM: Do you as yet train any people technically inside Angola?

MONIMAMBU: No. They will be trained outside. We are still not able to train technicians inside the country.

LSM: Are you able to use and repair your own vehicles inside the country?

MONIMAMBU: There is only one zone where we can use vehicles inside...because from there we can travel between Angola and Zambia. We have already brought in some materials by truck from Zambia. In other zones, for many reasons, we are still not able to bring in our supplies by car. We keep one mechanic inside and one outside to do repairs on our vehicles.

LSM: Are you able to generate any of your own power supplies inside the country?

MONIMAMBU: No. We are still using batteries. We know there are many rivers which can help us with electrical power and irrigation, but there are many difficulties which make it impossible at this time — lack of technicians, lack of equipment, etc.

LSM: You mentioned national culture. What are you doing to make people aware of their Angolan national culture?

MONIMAMBU: Apart from Angolan traditional songs and dances, in our Centers for Revolutionary instruction we are trying to give people a consciousness of themselves as Angolans. We put on theatrical performances showing the people what
it was like before the Portuguese came to Angola, how the people were living, what their societies were like. Then what it was like after the Portuguese came and how our people resisted them. Then, after that, how the struggle for our liberation began, and how it is progressing. This is what we're trying to organize, so that tomorrow we will have cultural unity throughout Angola. This is for the people to enjoy, but it is also very important educationally. If the people see what it was like before the Portuguese, after they came, during the early resistance and the present liberation struggle, it will be easier for them to see themselves as Angolans. We have many intellectuals in Angola but most of them are not in the revolution; they are reactionaries collaborating with the Portuguese. Some try to be neutral but at this time there can be no neutrals, they must be either revolutionary or reactionary. They must choose. But aside from those who are working only for themselves, living their bourgeois lives, we have our own intellectuals within the revolution. And they are helping us with national culture. Some of these young chaps just coming from school are poets, like Dr. Neto, and we are trying to use their poems to build our theatre, trying to execute them in theatrical form. That is another part of the effort we are making. In addition, there are now many revolutionary songs which we are teaching the people.

LSM: MPLA mentions in one of its publications that it is building rudimentary organs of people's power in the semi-liberated areas. You've already mentioned the revolutionary action committees, but perhaps you can go into this question in a little greater detail. How do the people participate in decision making at different levels? How do you engage them in the process of making
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Commander Monimambu, watching play presented by Center for Revolutionary Instruction (CIR) - presented at the First Eastern Regional Conference of the MPLA, August 1968.
new kinds of decisions?

MONIMAMBU: The action committees, you know, are related to MPLA's Central Committee, the Comité Directeur. The instructions come from the Central Committee and are passed through the military command to the action committees. But it is not possible for the Central Committee to control everything directly. That is why we have created three regional steering committees -- whose members also serve on the Central Committee. They represent the Central Committee in the regions. So the instructions come from the Central Committee. They meet in various places, make their decisions, and if these decisions pertain to the people inside the country they are sent through the military command (for security reasons) to the action committees at the zone level. These action committees will then meet and transmit the information to the people through the committees at the sector and group or village levels. We have four levels then: group, sector, zone, and region. Within a sector there are many groups, which are the village units. There is only one chief in a sector, but he has responsibility for a large area within which there are several small villages. These groups have their own organization. They, the people in each group, elect members to serve on their action committee.

LSM: Do you find that people in the groups and sectors tend to elect traditional leaders to the action committees? Or do they elect people with more progressive ideas?

MONIMAMBU: Today the traditional leaders are still respected. But if a traditional leader is not very interested in the struggle he will not have power, he will not be elected by the people. Someone else will be on the top. The chief will remain chief but he will not if he is a good chief, is better for him to leave power to someone else.

LSM: So at the group level if they elect a traditional leader to their action committee is he not able to stay?

MONIMAMBU: Yes. And in the sectors they send their representative to the sector action committee. They send their representative to the sector action committee, in who are very intelligent and have very progressive ideas. The regional committee selects who are militants, who are educated, who are militarily trained, and they represent the Regional Committee. The sector action committee meets in various places, make their decisions, and if these decisions pertain to the people inside the country they are sent through the military command (for security reasons) to the action committees at the zone level. These action committees will then meet and transmit the information to the people through the committees at the sector and group or village levels. Within a sector there are many groups, which are the village units. There is only one chief in a sector, but he has responsibility for a large area within which there are several small villages. These groups have their own organization. They, the people in each group, elect members to serve on their action committee.

LSM: Do you find that people in the groups and sectors tend to elect traditional leaders to the action committees? Or do they elect people with more progressive ideas?

MONIMAMBU: Of course. People now see their problems and some of them are happy now that
LSM: So at the group level people elect their own action committee which sends representatives to the sector action committee.

MONIMAMBU: Yes. And then from the sector level they send their representatives to the zone action committee. In each zone there are some traditional leaders who are very intelligent and they represent their people on the Regional Committee. The Central Committee selects one or two from each zone who are militants, who are already politically educated, and they represent their zones on the Regional Committee. With the help of the military command these action committees keep registers of all marriages, births, deaths, and so on. They also administer justice. Those traditional chiefs are well versed in local laws and customs, but we must take care with the traditional laws and habits which are not adapted to the revolutionary conditions of today. So we must help them to settle some cases. In addition, they have their own police, recruited from the militia. The militia is para-military, but within a militia group they choose some to be police. They keep order in the villages, or groups, and in the sector.

LSM: Do you find that in the revolutionary situation of today people are considering different kinds of decisions than they would have before their areas were semi-liberated?

MONIMAMBU: Of course. There are many changes now. It is part of the progress we have made. People now see their problems differently. Most of them are happy now because they haven't paid...
their taxes or tribute to the Portuguese for almost two years, and their products are not collected by the Portuguese in return for a very low price. They are very happy about this. And they think differently than before, their mind is now revolutionary and nationalist. They understand that Angola is our country and that only by struggle are we going to get it back in our hands.

LSM: There have been many reports of South Africa assisting the Portuguese with helicopters, mercenaries, etc. How do you think South African intervention will affect your liberation struggle in the long run?

MONIMAMBU: This is no secret to anyone. It has now been proved that South Africa is involved in the Angola struggle. First of all they see our liberation movement as a security problem for the whole of southern Africa.

These racists and white settlers want to keep South Africa, South-West Africa, Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola safely in their hands. They want these countries to remain under their control for economic and political reasons. You know that Mozambique and Angola occupy two strategic points. The South African racists know that if Mozambique and Angola become free the liberation forces will use them as base areas from which to attack the apartheid regime. We have already found young South African soldiers among the Portuguese troops. At Karipande, which is open to people coming from Zambia to shop, we have found soldiers who spoke African but no Portuguese. Then in Bie they use African soldiers to guard the rich foreign-owned Cassinga iron mines. South African helicopters also come to supply their soldiers with ammunition, food, etc., and to do reconnaissance for the Portuguese. As you know, there are such as the GRAE of Holden, medicine, food and clothes all puppets of the American. And the number used in Angola will grow in the future.

LSM: In what ways does the Portuguese in Angola...

MONIMAMBU: Portugal is not ready to do everything. They can't do everything not go ahead with those Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique help of the NATO powers, West Germany, United States itself has also helped in Angola. They want to protect their interests. You know policies which are leading you find Portuguese troops, guns, planes, bombs, equipment, etc. The United States and South Africa will use CIA-supported guerrilla warfare, the experience from their aggressive Vietnam. They also help with weapons, both the American States and South Africa. They are also the only ones such as the GRAE of Holden, medicine, food and clothes all puppets of the American. And the number used in Angola will grow in the future.
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lids who spoke Africans
in Bié they use Africa-
the rich foreign-owned
South African helicopters
ier soldiers with ammun-
to do reconnaissance for
the Portuguese. As you know, there is an Agree-
ment between South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal.
They meet every month to study how to stop the
"terrorism" in southern Africa, how to carry on
counter-guerrilla actions against the liberation
movements in the various colonies and neo-col-
ones. There are thus many proofs that South
frica is already deeply involved in the Angola
struggle. And the number of South African troops
used in Angola will probably increase in the near
uture.

LSM: In what ways does the United States assist
the Portuguese in Angola?

MONIMAMBU: Portugal is an underdeveloped country.
They can't do everything themselves. They could
not go ahead with these ultra-colonial regimes in
Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Angola without the
help of the NATO powers -- particularly the Unit-
ed States, West Germany, Belgium and Italy. The
United States itself has many economic interests
in Angola. They want to protect and increase
these interests. You know it is these big mono-
polies which are leading everything. That is why
you find Portuguese troops using many things --
guns, planes, bombs, equipment, cars, etc. -- from
the United States. And they give them medical
assistance, technicians -- those who repair their
planes and so on -- and military experts in anti-
guerrilla warfare, . . . because they have much ex-
pereince from their aggressions in North Korea and
Vietnam. They also help train the Portuguese for-
ces -- both the Americans and the West Germans are
doing this. But they are not only helping the Por-
tuguese. They are also helping our adversaries
such as the GRAF of Holden, giving them money, med-
icine, food and clothes through Mobutu. They are
all puppets of the Americans or CIA agents. And
these CIA-supported organizations are always after
the revolutionaries and progressives here in Africa. They are the ones who trained some people to make trouble for the MPLA in the Congo (K). You know those American monopoly capitalists know very well that the Portuguese will lose one day, and they are preparing their men for tomorrow to rule the neo-colonial regimes. That is why men such as Holden and Savimbi and the other Angolan reactionaries are wanted by the Americans and are helped by them.

LSM: Do you teach people in your political education program about American imperialism? About international capitalism?

MONIMAMBU: Our first enemy is Portuguese colonialism. And the people must know this. But the most powerful enemy is the United States, and that is why we make great efforts to educate our people against imperialism — and particularly the leader of the imperialists, the Americans. They are the greatest enemy of the people in the world.

LSM: Do you also explain that even within the United States there are progressive and socialist forces which are also fighting against U.S. imperialism?

MONIMAMBU: As I told you, we are not racialist in the MPLA. That is why you will see many mulattoes in our party. And we understand that tomorrow there will be Portuguese, Americans, etc., who will have the right to live in our country. But we must choose who is good and who is bad. Who is a friend and who is an enemy, with regard to our objectives. We know that in America there are some progressive people who are against what their government and military leaders are doing. We know that there are some communist parties and some philanthropic organizations in favor of the war, which progressive people will be against. It is very important for them to know it, because organizations, such as UP which are trying to turn white men and mulattoes, and some of them are the sons of a Portuguese. You know those Americans who are helping our genuine friends; and whatever his color, and he is not such.

LSM: How do you see the future of your struggle in Angola and how does it compare to the Vietnamese against U.S. imperialism?

MONIMAMBU: Morally, speaking, the Vietnamese struggle is the most powerful enemy in the world. The Vietnamese struggle is the freedom now in the world. We are fighting with the Vietnamese in solidarity with those struggle. We believe that the victory which is to be won — and they are going to fight and confident also.

The enemy can be very powerful. They are, or as the NATO powers, ready to defeat them. The proof is that they have almost achieved their objectives. We know that in America there are some progressive people who are against what their government and military leaders are doing. We know that there are some communist parties and
and progressives here in the one who trained some people for the MPLA in the Congo. American monopoly capital—which the Portuguese will lose by preparing their men for to­ polo­colonial regimes. That does not mean and Savimbi and the others are wanted by the Americans.

People in your political edu­ American imperialism? About ism?

enemy is Portuguese coloni­ e must know this. But the s the United States, and snow efforts to educate our alism—and particularly erialists, the Americans, enemy of the people in the lain that even within the re progressive and socialist fighting against U.S. im — you, we are not racialist why you will see many mul­ And we understand that to­ Portuguse, Americans, etc., it to live in our country. is good and who is bad. So is an enemy, with regard to know that in America there people who are against what military leaders are doing. some communist parties and some philanthropic organizations which are not in favor of the war, which want peace, and such progressive people will be welcomed in Angola. It is very important for our people to know this, they must know it, because there are some Angolan organizations, such as UPA and the Savimbi group, which are trying to turn the people against all white men and mulattoes. They say that every mulatto is the son of a Portuguese and must be killed, and that everyone who is white must be killed. No! We must not follow this path. We are ready to welcome those who are good, those who are our genuine friends; and the enemy is an enemy, whatever his color, and he must be treated as such.

LSM: How do you see the relationship between your struggle in Angola and the struggle of the Vietnamese against U.S. imperialism?

MONIMAMBU: Morally, speaking in moral terms, the Vietnamese struggle is the leading struggle for freedom now in the world. So we are in great so­ lidarity with those struggling in Vietnam. And we believe that the victory of the Vietnamese is our victory too. Because if Vietnam is facing the most powerful country in the capitalist world and is able to win—and they are near to their vic­ tory now—it shows us that we must be determined to fight and confident also of our victory in An­ gola.

The enemy can be very powerful, as the Americans are, or as the NATO powers are, but we shall still defeat them. The proof is that in Vietnam they have almost achieved their victory fighting against the most powerful enemy. And then our relation­ ship with the Vietnamese people is very close. We too are oppressed people together with the Viet­ namese. They are fighting for the same rights. And
we are both fighting against the same common enemy -- first of all the imperialist one. That is why some of our bases are given names such as Viet-Angola, Nguyen Van Troy Base, Ho Chi Minh Base, etc., in solidarity with the struggle being carried on by the heroic people of Vietnam. One day we hope to have some of our people trained by the Vietnamese, in order to benefit in full from their rich experience in guerrilla war.

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From left: Commanders Janginda and Toka, President Agostinho Neto, Commander Montmambu, Eastern Region Director Anibal De Melo, Commander Kota

From an excerpt from the LSM Constitution "Aims and Objectives"

"The major objective of the LSM is the genuine National Liberation Movement against Imperialist System. Such support is possible through research and publicity, and technical assistance.

"Within North America, vast human energy has already served the pressing needs of imperialist oppression, and the peoples in their struggles to achieve genuine political and social freedom. Though of different national origins, ONE PEOPLE WITHIN THE AMERICAN EMPIRE serves the pressing needs of imperialist oppression achieved by OUR PEOPLE in their own struggle. Though of different national origins, ONE PEOPLE WITHIN THE AMERICAN EMPIRE serve the pressing needs of imperialist oppression achieved by OUR PEOPLE in their own struggle. Through the press, the masses have become aware of their own decisive victories and their own developing revolutionary struggle.

"We believe that far too little pressure has been given in support of National Liberation movements both capable and, in theory, desireable. The Liberation Support Movement was founded in order to redress the glaring contradiction between theory and actuality of our own contribution to the national liberation struggle.

LSM Information Center function of the LSM Executive Committee of LSM. In Support Movement publications, distributes material of national liberation movements.

Funds are needed to cover printing and mailing costs. Your contribution would be greatly appreciated.

Please send checks or money orders to LSM Information Center, P.O. Box 15210, Seattle WA 98115.

Please indicate if you are desirous of becoming an LSM member or an Associate Member.
Against the same common imperialist one. That are given names such in Troy Base, Ho Chi the heroic people of with the struggle ari ty with the struggle, in order to have some of our Vietnamese, in order to for rich experience in

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an excerpt from the LSM Constitution: "Aims and Objectives"

"The major objective of the LSM is to provide concrete and meaningful support to genuine National Liberation Movements and Struggles within the U.S. - Dominated Imperialist System. Such support is to consist primarily of essential supplies, research and publicity, and technical aid.

"Within North America, vast human and material resources are at our disposal to serve the pressing needs of Imperialism's super-exploited masses in their just struggles to achieve genuine political, economic and cultural independence. Such struggles, and the peoples engaged in them, are in a very real sense our own. Though of different national, ethnic and linguistic groupings, WE ARE ALL ONE PEOPLE WITHIN THE AMERICAN EMPIRE. The victories against exploitation and oppression achieved by OUR PEOPLE in the 'countryside' of the Empire serve to hasten the total destruction of the Imperialist System. They thus bring those of OUR PEOPLE who dwell in the 'metropole' of the American Empire closer to their own decisive victories and liberation.

"We believe that far too little practical and fraternal assistance has been given in support of National Liberation Movements by North Americans who are both capable and, in theory, desirous of providing such vitally needed support. The Liberation Support Movement was established in order to help resolve this glaring contradiction between theory and practice, between the potentiality and actuality of our own contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle."

LSM BRANCHES
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LSM INFORMATION CENTER
LSM Information Center functions under the direction of the National Executive Committee of LSM. In addition to publishing Liberation Support Movement publications, the Information Center publishes and distributes material of national liberation movements, such as the MPLA.

Funds are needed to cover printing costs and increased promotion - your contribution would be greatly appreciated.

Please send checks or money orders to LIBERATION SUPPORT MOVEMENT Information Center, P.O.Box 15210, Seattle WA 98115.

Please indicate if desirous of becoming a subscriber to LSM publications, or in Associate Membership.