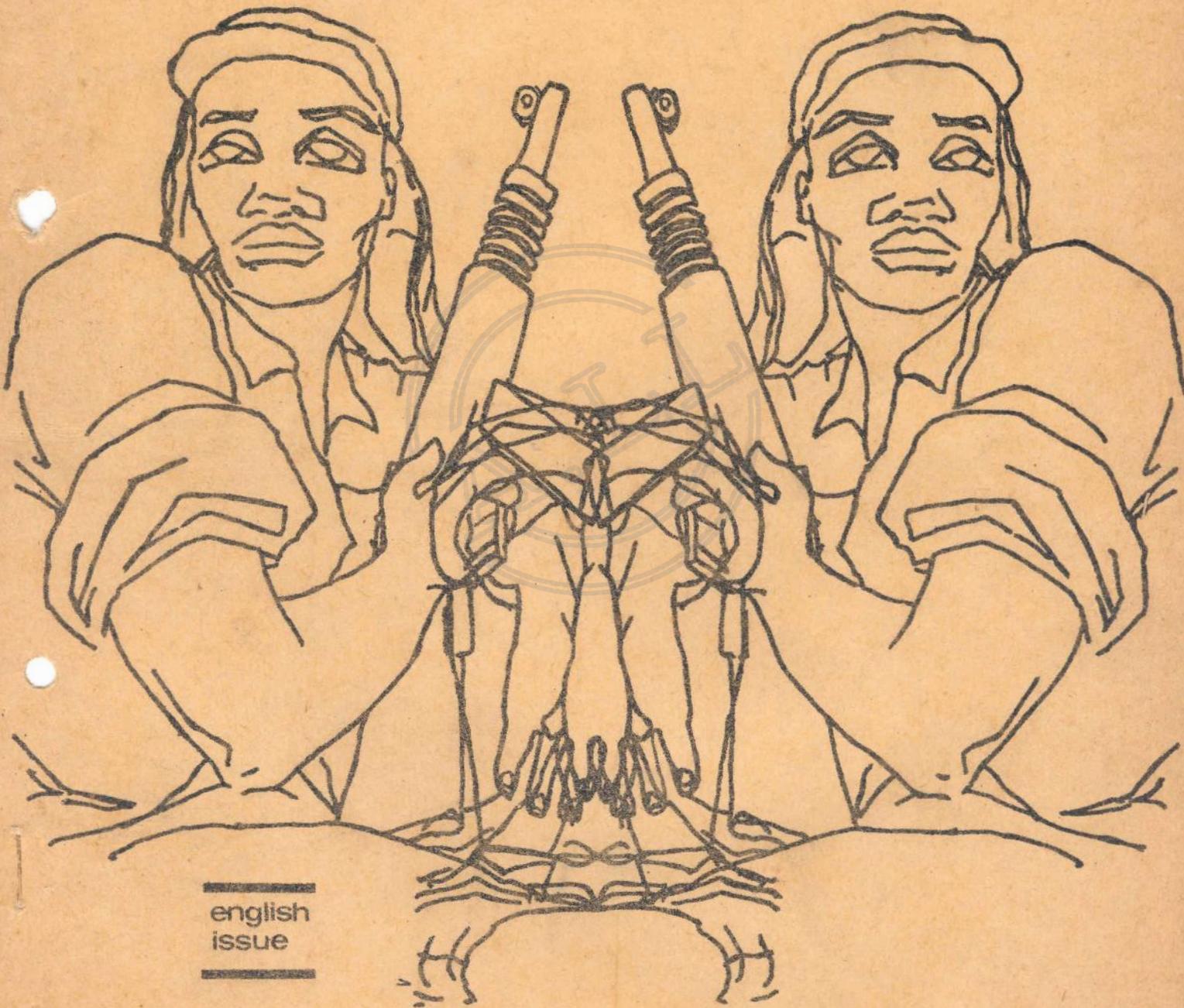


# mpla

informations



english  
issue

MOVIMENTO POPULAR DE LIBERTAÇÃO DE ANGOLA



Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, President of FRELIMO

On the 3th February 1969, Eduardo MONDLANE, was assassinated in Dar es Salaam.

This abominable crime comes to add itself to the long list of crimes committed by imperialism which aims at maintaining Africa under its subjugation. Dr. MONDLANE was above all a Freedom Fighter.

In him there was reflected the courage of the People of Mozambique in their struggle for liberty.

By this People and their vanguard, FRELIMO, we see vast regions liberated from portuguese occupation.

We see the "25th SEPTEMBER" still present and the cry "INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH"!

Before the memory of this combatant for the common cause, we incline our flags.

MONDLANE is one of the worthy sons of Africa, and Africa will never forget him!

**VICTORY IS CERTAIN!**

"MPLA informations"

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Algiers, March 1969

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PART TWO

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# balance sheet of activities

Our country, Angola, was the first portuguese colony to take the road of armed struggle, on the 4th February 1961. Soon we shall be entering upon the ninth year of war, and at the same time we are celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of MPLA.

Our People have generously given their blood and the lives of their best sons, to ensure that the whole People shall enjoy the sacred right to Freedom.

The developments of our war since 1961 are well known. The MPLA has had to face not only the enemy forces, but also puppet groups of Angolans who have aligned themselves with the imperialists.

But that has not prevented the truth from prevailing; nor has it prevented the very great advances in a country which is the vastest and richest portuguese colony, with the greatest number of military effectives.

May I allowed to submit a brief outline of last year's events which have led to the present situation.

One essential fact must be borne in mind: as from 3rd January 1968 the Executive Committee of MPLA decided to establish the Organization's Headquarters inside the country.

Throughout the year, the patriotic activities of the Angolan People, under the leadership of the MPLA, were divided into two distinct phases. During the first few months we witnessed the expansion of the zones of action, the creation of new regions of struggle in the districts of Lunda, Malange and Bié and, towards the end of the year, an offensive favoured by the dry season which included heavy bombing and attacks by helicopter-borne troops on the villages and the bases in the zones controlled by the MPLA. We therefore had a first phase of expansion followed by a defensive phase and the consolidation of positions.

It is my privilege to announce here, for the first time, that with the extension of the armed struggle to the district of Bié -the geographic heart of Angola- a new military region has just been set up: the fifth region.

The operational zones of the MPLA cover one-third of the territory divided as follows:

- (a) the First Region, comprising the district of Luanda,

Cuanza Norte, Uige and Zaire;

- (b) the Second Region, the Cabinda district
- (c) the Third Region, the districts of Moxico and Cuando Cuabango;
- (d) the Fourth Region, the districts of Lunda and Malange;
- (e) and, lastly, the Fifth Region, comprising the Bie district.

(a) The development of the struggle in the First Region is affected by logistic difficulties. A long frontier separates the northern region from Congo-Kinshasa, but under present conditions, the MPLA is unable to use it.

Nevertheless and in spite of the scarcity of news reaching us, we are informed that our activity is being maintained. Owing to the lack of supplies, the MPLA guerrilla units are advancing slowly in the new zones. There is a great deal of activity around the controlled zone. The operational zone in this Region extends to outskirts of the capital -Luanda- such as the villages of Caxito and Catete.

More than 50,000 men, women and children are continuing to seek refuge in the controlled zone and are suffering from all the ill-effects of the prolonged war; they lack drugs, essential elements for food such as salt, and clothing. This population, however, is keeping alight the patriotic flame lit on 4th February 1961.

(b) In the Second Region there was a new upsurge in our activities during the last few months of the year. Several battles took place and the portuguese sustained heavy losses.

This action even provoked a threat from portuguese government against the Republic of Congo-Brazzaville, aimed at stopping that country's aid to the MPLA as regards the transit of equipment and cadres.

American interests have grown in Cabinda, owing to exploitation of oil and phosphate. The imperialist presence, which is manifested in the hundreds of technicians, once more shows the alliance of the NATO countries and the assistance given to Portugal to continue to dominate our country. The corruption and the manoeuvres which our enemies are carrying out in this district are a difficulty we come up against, but it has not succeeded in demoralizing the fighters.

In this district, the enemy sustained more than 500 losses out a force estimated at 10,000 men.

(c) In the Third Region, the enemy's losses amount to about 3,000 soldiers killed, 2,600 wounded, 60 PIDE agents killed in action and 3 executed; 8 portuguese bases, 10 concentration camps and 2 airfields attacked; 96 vehicles destroyed; 5 steamers sunk; and a large quantity of war material taken, including light

arms, ammunition, grenades and miscellaneous equipment. Thanks to this activity it was possible to free 5,000 workers and their families from strategic hamlets which were controlled by the Portuguese colonialists.

The civilian organization of the population is improving from day to day, despite the fact that agricultural production has hardly increased as a result of the many bombing raids.

It is in this Region -which is the largest (385,000km<sup>2</sup>)-that the MPLA is most active and where civilian institutions are most developed.

In August 68, the First Regional Assembly was held in the liberated zone, attended by 83 militants of MPLA, most of them members of the Executive Committee, and by politico-military leaders. It adopted important decisions regarding the spread of the armed struggle. The proceedings of the Assembly were followed by seven journalists, who published their impressions in different newspapers. Some of them spent three months in the controlled zones and made a film on our struggle.

During the early part of the year, a great many refugees in Zambia returned to the country to take part in the patriotic activities. The flow of refugees was checked by the enemy's offensive action during the last few months, during the dry season, but the Angolans who have sought refuge in the neighbouring countries still want to return to their country and fight.

(d) Fourth Region - Last year there was very vigorous action in this Region. In their advance towards the diamond zone, in the north of the district of Lunda, our guerrillas carried off brilliant victories over the colonialists forces. These victories, seriously disturbed the Portuguese leaders, as could be seen from the press.

(e) Fifth Region - The district of Bié was also the scene of armed struggle under the leadership of our Movement. It is the bridgehead which will serve other districts in the centre of the country.

Summing up our activities, we are happy to say that the MPLA is continuing to advance all over the country and that it has imposed struggle on ten out of the fifteen districts of Angola, that is to say, on more than one-third of the territory. The basis for extending the struggle is there: our people are firmly resolved to pursue the struggle. The year 1969 will certainly be marked by further progress and success in the armed struggle.

Para-military activities have developed in the controlled zones. Thus the "National Union of Angolan Workers" (UNTA), which had its headquarters in Kinshasa, has also transferred to Angola, where it is playing an important role in the trade-union education of the masses and agricultural production.

The Women's Organization (OMA) and the Youth Organization (JMPLA) continue their activities.

New primary schools have been set up. Textbooks for the primary schools have been published by our Movement.

Further Centres of Revolutionary Instruction have been opened, and hundreds of militants are being trained abroad, in friendly countries.



## THE MOST IMPORTANT ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE MPLA IN 1968

During 1968, the MPLA put into practice the watchword "EXTENSION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY" and "EVERYBODY INSIDE THE COUNTRY". Hundreds of Angolan families who at the beginning of the armed struggle had taken refuge in the Congos or in Zambia left the neighbouring countries to respond to the MPLA's appeal that all should return.

During 1968, the MPLA scored great victories over the enemy one the most outstanding being the fact that it held the First Regional Assembly of the Third Region in our country from 23 to 25 August. It was presided over by comrade Agostinho NETO and attended by foreign journalists.

The Regional Assembly was of capital importance in that politico-military problems arising out of the advance of the Angolan people's struggle were discussed. Because of its importance and owing to the fact that it was the first Assembly held inside the country, it marked a new page in the history of our people's struggle.

The struggle of Angolan People, under the leadership of the MPLA, spread to the district of Bié, Lunda and Malange. The MPLA, which up to 1967 had fought on three fronts, is already fighting in five Regions, while the sixth Region is in the process of being formed. The fronts have increased, their activities creating new zones, and an extremely important factor is the beginning of operations in the towns.

During 1968, there was actions in some cities and towns such as Cazombo, Gago Coutinho, Silva Porto, Serpa Pinto, Luanda, Teixeira de Sousa, Benguela and Nova Lisboa.

During that year further schools were established. In the Third Region, Centres of Revolutionary Instruction (CIR) as well

6/10/71

**BELOVED SON OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE**

**HEROIC FIGHTER OF THE MPLA**



**MAJOR HOJI IA HENDA**

# henda

BELOVED SON OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE  
HEROIC FIGHTER OF THE MPLA

On 14 April 1968, Commander HENDA, a member of the Executive Committee of the MPLA and co-ordinator of the Military Commission, was killed in action while commanding an assault on the portuguese base of Karipande.

His name was José Mendes de Carvalho and he died aged 26. He was born at Dalatando, the name of which town the colonialists portuguese changed to Salazar.

After receiving his primary education in American Protestant missionary schools in Angola, he started his secondary studies at Luanda, but was unable to complete them because he had to take refuge in Congo-Kinshasa to avoid PIDE persecution. Indeed, with his extraordinary qualities this young man had at an early age engaged in clandestine work in the city of Luanda, where he took part in various activities including worker and student agitation on political problems, the distribution of leaflets, taking part in mass meetings, etc.

As a member of the MPLA, when he reached Kinshasa, in 1960, he adopted the war name of HOJI IA HENDA, which literally translated means THE LION OF LOVA; and he was known to all patriots as Commander HENDA (Love).

After completing his military training, he carried out his first mission in 1961, joining the Tomas Ferreira Column which was taking arms and ammunition to supply the MPLA guerrillas operating on the northern front. The column fell into an ambush laid by one the Upa bands, near the Fuesse, on the congolese frontier. HENDA escaped.

In 1964 the Executive Commander appointed him Commander of de Cabinda Region, where he personally took part in most of the big operations carried out against colonialists troops, driving them far back from the Congo Brazzaville frontier.

In 1966, he was promoted Co-ordinator of the Military Commission of the MPLA and assumed chief responsibility for military organization throughout the national territory.

In order to organized plans for the offensive and for extending the struggle to the eastern front, he moved to the Moxico district. There he was hit in the head by an enemy bullet when he was at the Karipande base, commanding an assault on that barracks in which the portuguese lost several dozen men. He was the only MPLA fighter killed in this battle.

He was an honest militant, with integrity, modesty, intelli-

gence and great activity. He was liked by all his comrades and did not need to make any effort to assert his authority as a chief where necessary.

The MPLA lost one of his best militants, and the Angolan People one of his best sons. The Regional Assembly held in the Moxico district in August 1968 therefore decided to award Commander HENDA the posthumous title of "BELOVED SON OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE" and "HEROIC FIGHTER OF THE M.P.L.A."

The life of this young revolutionnary will fore ever shine in the golden pages of the history of our people's struggle, as an example for generations to come.



**henda**  
**one of the**  
**pillars of**  
**our**  
**revolution**

## STATEMENT BY THE M.P.L.A. on the KHARTOUM conference

The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, (MPLA) is very satisfied with the atmosphere of fraternity and mutual understanding which prevailed at the "International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Portuguese Colonies and Southern Africa", with the broad international support for the struggle of our people demonstrated by the presence of representatives from fifty countries and, above all, with the downright positive results achieved.

After a profound analysis of the situation in our countries, all the delegations reached the unanimous conclusion that the struggle in Angola, in the other portuguese colonies and in Southern Africa went far beyond the limits of a confrontation with the colonialists and racist regimes of Portugal and Southern Africa, and came within the broad framework of the world anti-imperialist struggle. It was noted that the armed struggle, was the only course open to the peoples of the portuguese colonies and Southern Africa, and that it could lead to the elimination of colonial and racist domination.

The Conference also noted that Portugal is today the weakest link in the imperial-colonialist chain, and that the intensification of the international struggle against the Portuguese colonialists is a matter of paramount importance.

During the Conference, an exhibition of photographs was held, showing various aspects of the struggle in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea. Films made on the Eastern Front of Angola and in Guinea were also shown.

The Conference further confirmed that the level attained by the armed struggle in the portuguese colonies and the political atmosphere prevailing in Portugal were factors which permitted a **vast offensive at international level and an intensification of the armed struggle in each one of the colonies, in order to weaken the enemy still further.**

The delegates carefully considered the concrete problems arising from the existence of various liberated areas in Angola Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, and guerrilla activities in Zimbabwe and Namibia, and enthusiastically hailed the brilliant victories achieved by the MPLA, the PAIGC, FRELIMO, ZAPU/ANC and SWAPO.

On these four fundamental premises, the Conference established a complete strategy of international support for the struggle of the Peoples of the portuguese colonies in Western Europe, to multiply the number of national committees of support of our struggle; in some countries, such as Italy, a programme of conferences

on the portuguese colonies has already been drawn up.

The MPLA therefore considers that this conference has seen the birth of a new spirit, one which might be called the spirit of Khartoum and which can unleash a vast campaign of world mobilization concerning the burning problems of the portuguese colonies and Southern Africa.

But for the spirit of Khartoum to be effective, it is essential that all the resolutions adopted should be implemented within the shortest possible time, and new and more fruitful initiatives should be set in motion.

In short, the MPLA hopes that this conference may be the starting point for a vast and irreversible process that will channel dynamic support and the largest possible volume of international aid to the people fighting in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Southern Africa and Namibia.

The MPLA therefore hails all friends of the struggle of the Angolan People and pledges that by helping Angola they are also helping their own peoples.

VICTORY OR DEATH!  
VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

The Executive Committee of the MPLA

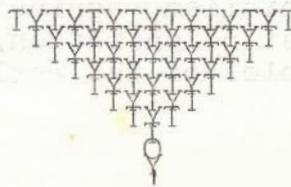
A GREETING TO THE IMPRISONED PATRIOTS A GREETING TO THE IMPRISONED PATRIOTS

Let us therefore be more active. In our action lies their HOPE.

FREEDOM

FOR ALL THE

IMPRISONED PATRIOTS!



## after the KHARTOUM conference

The Khartoum Conference suggested that National Committees be set up in every country in the world, in order to mobilize the various strata of international opinion and get them to organize demonstrations against the portuguese government, as the oppressor of the peoples in its colonies.

The peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and St. Tomé want indipendance and freedom. That is why our People in Angola took up arms against the colonialists and were the first colony to ressort to arms to win indipendance. Later the armed struggle started in the other colonies. It was on 4th February 1961, eight years ago, that our People started the armed struggle. Since that time conditions have changed in Angola and in the other colonies.

Despite the fact that the fascist government has an army of more than 150 thousand men, the war was continually spread, and in Angola we are now fighting in five different regions; the enemy is unable to contain the impetus of the people's will, and we are moving surely towards to generalization of the armed struggle throughout the national territory.

This situation is even affecting Portugal's social and economic equilibrium. Politically, the fascist and colonialist government of Marcello Caetano is becoming increasingly weak and isolated. In Khartoum, Portugal, which is discredited throughout the world, was regarded as the weakest link in the imperialist chain.

That is why victory is possible. That is why action must not let up. The armed struggle must be intesified. Diplomatic action must be intensified. Political action must be intensified. Inspired by our people, the whole world will launch a vast campaign for the liberation of our country. Let us therefore hail the Kharthoum decisions and help put them into pratice.

It must not be forgotten that the brunt of the struggle must be borne by ourselves, with our arms, our soldiers and our strength. In support of the Kharthoum decisions, we are going forward with great determination to extend the armed struggle in the fields and in the towns. Let us struggle wherever there is a colonialist. Let us organize, organize, organize and struggle with great vigour against colonialism, against oppression. Let us continue the offensive against colonization. Let us be worthy of the political aid all the peoples of the world will give our people.

# guerrilla warfare

## ONLY VALID FORM OF STRUGGLE

The entire world was shaken at the end of last year by the news that Marcello Caetano had been appointed to succeed the old dictator Salazar at the head of the portuguese government.

A number of African political leaders immediately started to speculate about a change in the portuguese attitude towards the colonies, since the reputation and ambiguous speeches of the new head of State and aroused the hope of "liberalisation".

Having intimate knowledge of portuguese policy and the reactionary forces now in power, the MPLA always expressed its apprehension about these hopes, which were not founded on concrete facts.

Salazar was not a lone man in his country. He was the representative of portuguese financial oligarchy, which is itself subordinate to international high finance. In governing, he was defending certain interests, those of exploiters.

These very same business circles chose Caetano to replace Salazar. The very same government teams is in power. The fall of the dictator changes nothing in Portugal's fascist and colonialist policy. Changing one person, even if his name is Salazar, cannot change the portuguese constitution, which designates the colonies as "overseas provinces".

In any case, neither the portuguese government nor the settlers are prepared to yield their domination and influence in Angola and Mozambique to the political, economic and military expansionism of South Africa, which is highly industrialised and showing a tendency to interfere increasingly directly in the affairs of non-independent countries of Southern Africa.

For the time being, therefore Portugal has to continue the war. Caetano has already confirmed this line in the speeches made same time after he came to power. He has shown himself to be clearly in favour of the continuation of colonial war.

He has sent already at least 7 battalions (3,500 soldiers) to Angola and Mozambique and he intends to increase troop effectives in Angola by 20,000 men. He reprimands those who speak against the war, notably young portuguese catholic circles who on 1st January, for example, demonstrated in favour of ending the war in a Lisbon church. These young people have been accused of treason.

It is the new portuguese government which is brandishing threats of reprisals against the Republic of Congo Brazzaville if it continues to aid MPLA.

At the present juncture it is therefore impossible that any substantial change might be ef-

fected in portuguese colonial policy.

The MPLA has reached the conclusion that under the present conditions the only possible form of struggle in Angola is armed struggle, and to wage this hard and protracted struggle it is necessary for the whole of Africa to commit itself and sincerely to come to aid of the Angolan People through their organized representative and dynamic force, the MPLA.

Armed struggle is not simply a

sacrifice to those who are fighting on the side of justice and against tyranny, to those who aspire to freedom. It is above a force. It is not simply a burial ground. It does not simply stain the battlefields with blood of the best sons and daughters of our Peoples. It is also a school. It is also a means of ensuring that the people will continue that struggle in the future, after political independence, so as to be completely free: politically, economically and socially.



#### THE MOST IMPORTANTS ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE M.P.L.A. IN 1968

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as a further first-aid training centre were set up.

During 1968, the MPLA affirmed itself as the only organization fighting in Angola. The OAU, which in 1963 had recognized the "grae", a "government" which lacked prestige and was not representative, and which served as a brake in the Angolan People's struggle, finally withdrew recognition of the "grae" and recognized the MPLA as the only organization fighting in Angola, giving it full assistance.

The position acquired will undoubtedly help the MPLA develop the Angolan People's struggle under the best possible conditions.

Africa has recognized the MPLA as the sole organization fighting in Angola, and it has responded to the interests of our fighting People.

Although it is true that we scored great victories in 1968, we can say that during that year our Movement lost one of its best cadres, Commander HOJI IA HENDA, whom the First Assembly of the Third Region decided to grant the posthumous title of "BELOVED SON OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE AND HEROIC FIGHTER OF THE M.P.L.A.", and comrade Américo BOAVIDA, the only Angolan doctor who responded to the MPLA's appeal and who worked in the Third Region.

By order of date, the most outstanding events for the MPLA were the following:

- 3 January - Press conference of comrade Agostinho NETO, President of the MPLA, at which he announced the transfer of the MPLA's headquarters into the country.

(see page 14)

By Tommy Chibaye

# struggle

**M**OXICO, Angola. — I have just attended the first regional conference of the Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) to be held inside Angola.

The conference was held here on August 23-25. It was opened by MPLA President, Dr Agostinho Neto, and was attended by almost the entire central committee of the party.

In all 83 delegates were present. They came from the five zones constituting the Eastern Front, which covers the provinces of Moxico and Cuando Cubango.

The conference met freely and without incident inside territory the Portuguese claim to control.

It resolved to establish a national headquarters this month within guerrilla-controlled Angola and, by mobilising the Angolan people, to spread the armed revolutionary struggle throughout the country.

Dr Neto told a Press conference of three American journalists, two Italians, an Indian and myself that the Angolan revolution was now in the stage in which national independence could be achieved.

## Policy

The extension of the struggle, he said, would make it possible for all Angolan refugees abroad to return to their country.

It would also help the MPLA to adopt a structure on which to base its policy of establishing a national front.

The Portuguese, he said, no longer patrolled the guerrilla-controlled areas for fear of ambush. These areas covered more than one-third of Angola.

"The fact that we have defeated the enemy on the ground will force him into face-to-face discussion with us on the complete achievement of independence for the African peoples of Angola," Dr Neto said.

But, the MPLA leader warned, if Portugal did not want such discussions, the armed revolutionary struggle would be intensified.

MPLA also intends to expand its political activities and expects to bring about a direct confrontation with the Portuguese administration.

The re-organisation of its guerrilla system will bring changes in the operation of the MPLA children's schools, its medical assistance, its campaign for adult education and the aid it gives to widows and their families.



DR AGOSTINHO NETO, MPLA president, (right), is saluted by a guerrilla at Moxico

MPLA, according to Dr Neto, is also determined to eradicate tribalism and racialism from the movement and to make it clear that all people can serve the Angolan cause without discrimination.

"The struggle we are carrying on is a general struggle for the freedom of all men against Portuguese oppression and racialism," Dr Neto said.

He criticised other "so-called nationalist parties" which had been formed in collaboration with imperialists to work against MPLA.

At present, he said, their membership outside Angola was dwindling and there was no trace of their existence inside Angola.

In contrast MPLA was being recognised by more and more people throughout the freedom-loving world. Dr Neto said to shouts of approval from the surrounding crowd in the thick Angolan jungle.

During the conference some changes were made in the MPLA central committee.

Two members, Samuel Mukendenge and Timoteo Miguel, were excluded for inactivity.

Promoted as effective central committee members were former junior members Masungoi Kota, Eastern Front political commissioner Janginda, Eastern Front first commander Spartacus Monimamby, and Kibululu.

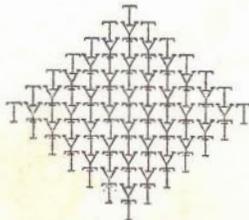
Six militants were nominated as junior members of the central committee.

MPLA extend

THE MOST IMPORTANT ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE M.P.L.A. IN 1968

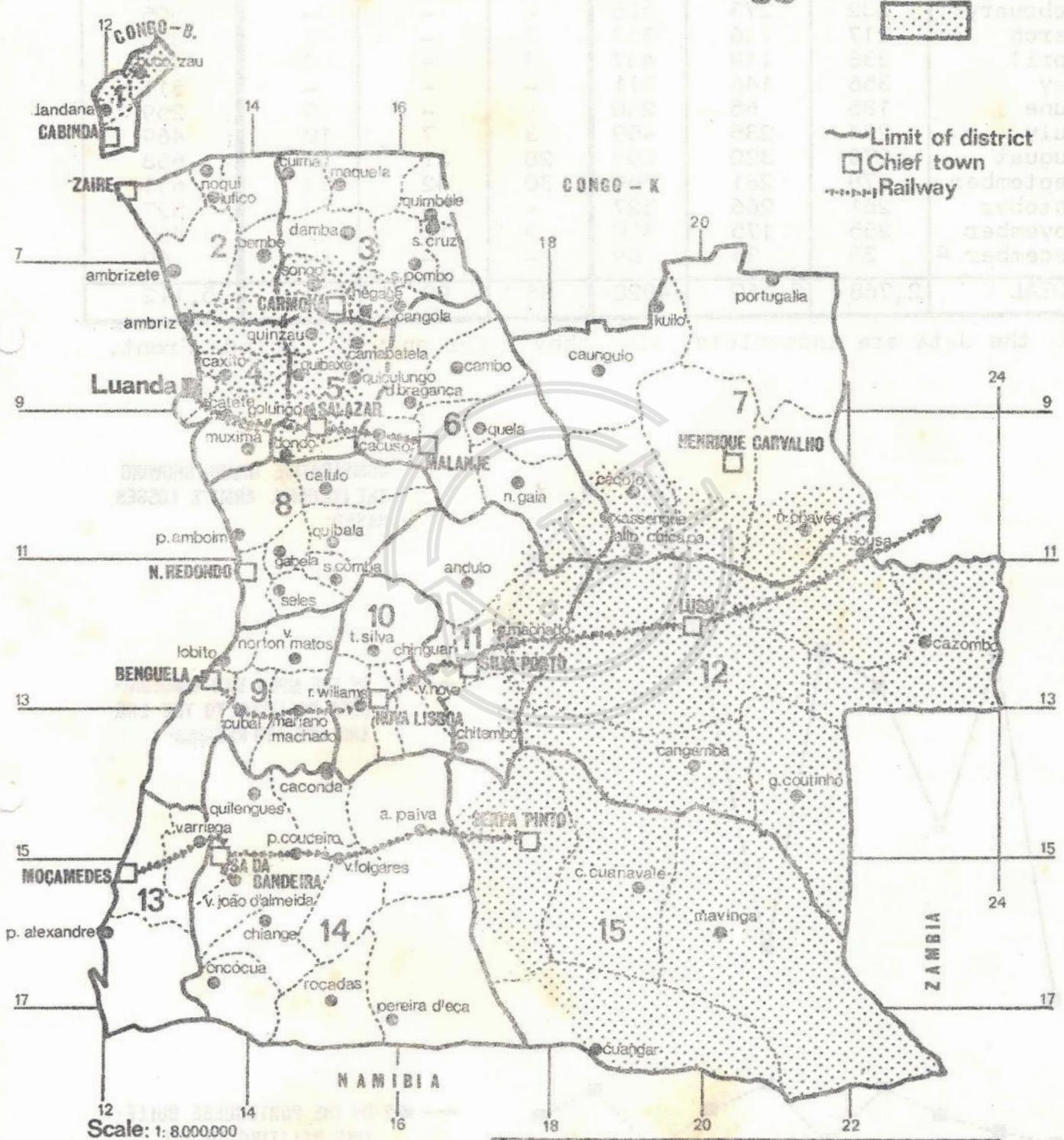
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- 9 to 16 January - Meeting of the Liberation Committee at which it was decided to ask for a revision regarding the "grae".
- 11 to 13 January - Participation in the commemoration of the fourth anniversary of the Revolution in Zanzibar.
- 4 February - Commemoration of the seventh anniversary of the beginning of the armed struggle in Angola.
- 19 to 23 February - First Assembly of the First and Second Regions of the MPLA, in Dolisie (Congo-Brazzaville).
- 14 April - Attack on the Karipande barracks and death of Commander HOJI IA HENDA.
- 8 May - Beginning of activities in Lunda (Fourth Region)
- 6 June - Beginning of military activities in Bié (Fifth Region).
- 24 to 26 June - Meeting of Conciliation Commission in Addis Ababa. The Commission was convinced that the MPLA alone was fighting in Angola and decided to recommend to the African Head of State a revision of the recognition of the "grae".
- 17 to 20 July - Meeting of Liberation Committee in Algiers. It was decided to withhold aid from "grae" and that MPLA should alone benefit from OAU aid.
- 27 July to 6 Aug. - JMPLA participation in the 9th World Youth Festival.
- 23 to 25 August - First Assembly of Third Region, in Angola.
- 13 to 16 Sept. - Assembly of Head of State and Government in Algiers. Recognition of "grae" withdrawn.



# angola

## zones of armed struggle in 1968



Scale: 1: 8,000,000



**DISTRICTS:**

- |             |               |               |             |                     |
|-------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|---------------------|
| 1 - CABINDA | 4 - LUANDA    | 7 - LUNDA     | 10 - HUAMBO | 13 - MOÇAMEDES      |
| 2 - ZAIRE   | 5 - CUANZA N. | 8 - CUANZA S. | 11 - BIE    | 14 - HUILA          |
| 3 - CONGO   | 6 - MALANJE   | 9 - BENGUELA  | 12 - MOXICO | 15 - CUANDO CUBANGO |