

editorial

NON-INDEPENDENT STATES AT THE ECONOMIC COUNCIL FOR AFRICA

A recent resolution from the African states meeting of the UN Economic Commission for Africa has approved the admission of the true representatives from the non-independent states. This is a step forward in the path to set Portugal aside from the African political scene.

MPLA rejoices with this new measure. Henceforth, MPLA will send delegates to participate actively in the Economic Commission work and to give a positive contribution to the plan of rebuilding Africa.

In fact, there is no question of filling these places conquered by the states fighting for their independence with the meaningless presence of simple stooges.

The countries fighting for their liberation can already present some studies and save methods to have the national economy in their own hands, immediately after their independence. This achievement will allow the independent states to take into consideration the data given by the non - independent countries.



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INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

AN INSOLENT CHALLENGE

Colonialist Portugal is only digging more deeply her own tomb and damaging probable future relations between the African and the Portuguese communities by clinging herself more and more to the barbarous methods of treading under her feet the right of the people from territories under her rule to self-determination and independence.

Admiral Thomaz's recent trip to Mozambique and Angola - he is Portugal's president - is an insolent challenge to the world now condemning Portuguese attitude through international bodies.

Last 3rd July, the UN Special Committee on ending colonialism adopted a resolution on the territories under Portuguese rule. It condemns Portugal's stubborn refusal to apply the Declaration on granting independence to dependent countries and people. Portugal was invited to practice all preceding resolutions, namely the Security Council resolution of 31st July, 1963.

This resolution mentioned the repeated violations of the principles of the UN Charter by Portugal and invited the latter to

- recognize at once self - determination right
- immediately stop all repressive acts and to remove her military force
- promulgate a political amnesty

- 1961
- d) engage negotiations with qualified representatives of the political parties both inside and outside Angola. Negotiations should start from Portugal's recognition of her colonies right to self-determination.
- e) grant immediate independence to all these territories accordingly the peoples' aspirations.

Moreover, the UN Special Committee calls the Security Council attention to the seriousness of the situation in these territories and it suggests that a Sub-Committee may study the activity of foreign companies settled there and working against the natives' political aspirations.

Other international organisations have just branded Portugal's colonial policy. They find her undeserving of taking part in their sessions, beside people who having undergone colonial oppression. The latter can understand better the drama of the people under Portuguese colonialism.

The I.L.O. Conference and with more outcry the Public Education Conference at which the Western states refusing to accept Portugal's exclusion, have boycotted the meeting, show on one hand how much Portugal's behaviour can hurt international co-operation and on the other hand the good co-ordinated efforts from the anti-colonialist states in order to call Portugal to reason.

The African states firm determination to continue Portugal's boycott till she fulfils her duties towards colonial peoples has been confirmed by the recent Cairo summit conference that "has decided to create within the OAU Secretariat an office to co-ordinate the strictes application of the OAU resolutions, to harmonize co-operation from all friendly states in order to bring a successful issue to the the boycott of Portugal."

However, Portuguese government does not hide its contempt for the international campaigns of which it is the target.

Indeed, the breaking off of diplomatic and commercial relations just as any other boycott of Portugal could only really harm her if such measures were carried out by all UN member states particularly those which buy from or sell to Portugal. Her best customers just as her best suppliers are those states unwilling to boycott Portugal.

On the other hand, Dr. Hastings Banda has himself stated at the Cairo Conference that it was impossible for him to adopt OAU policy against Portugal because this measure could stifle his own country. One knows how the two Republics of Congo find also serious difficulties to apply OAU decisions concerning Portugal.

And it is not necessary to go too far to find the causes of these difficulties: our Continent's present political and economic context explains easily these difficulties. There is also

the fact that uneasiness within NATO resulted in two-side agreements among NATO members. Thus, Portugal's position came out reinforced.

Going through the almost entire support granted Salazar's government by the British government into consideration:

a) German military forces training in Beja number 11 aviation base and in the huge Santa Margarida camp in Portugal.

b) the mutual cause support translated into the transfer to Western German of war patients wounded in Angola and Guinea (Bissao), the building by Bonn of military hospitals in Portugal; and

c) building of war equipment depot and purchase of more than 100 million dollar military equipment from Portuguese factories. All this is not queer in face of the increasing Western German interests in Angola.

One must add the mysterious agreements that took Portugal to grant France a base in Azores for an experimental station.

Those who admired General De Gaulle's independent foreign policy and his reserved attitude towards Portuguese colonial backward policy are anxiously wondering the meaning of such a grant. It does not seem to have only the aim of irritating the Americans, former tenants of an important air base in Azores...

All these facts emphasize the difficulties for an efficient boycott of Portugal.

As for the Angolan people, they are planning to achieve soon the only strategic action capable of giving a decisive turning to the liberation fight - the setting up of a true revolutionary liberation front.

The fact that some African states without giving importance to the Angolan realities long ago stated by MPLA, had wanted to grant the fight monopoly to an organisation - FNLA - devoided of a national program and fastened to the vices of Congo-Léopoldville policy has revealed itself sufficiently luckless. The wisdom of OAU Heads of state and government of listening to MPLA urgent appeals of a full FREEDOM OF ACTION has decided to form a three-member Committee (Congo - Brazzaville, Ghana and the United Arab Republic) to inquire on some points and correct the methods of aiding the Angolans.

The Angolan people and

with them MPLA, by not forgetting the awkward 1963 Good-Will Mission, beware of all untimely enthusiasm and they trust in a fair solution.

Surely, the only way to success remains on the intensification of the armed fight. MPLA is sure that all means will be put at its disposal to carry out this self-imposed task: the end of colonialism and imperialism in Angola, the achievement of national Unity and the setting up of a new era of Freedom and Reconstruction.

Thus, Portugal's insolent challenge to the world will be lifted forever.

CAIRO SUMMIT CONFERENCE
AND
ANGOLAN NATIONALISM

Decolonisation was included in the agenda of the African Heads of state and government Conference as one of their main concerns.

Cairo conclusions on the question of Portuguese colonial domination have not been a disappointment for the Angolan freedom fighters. On the contrary, they justify some hopes and they are generally seen as a new starting point to a series of steps to be taken by the African leaders ready to correct the present situation fruit of the recognition of a so-called "government of the Angolan Republic in exile - Grae -".

The fact of setting up a Committee in which the Liberation Committee is not in majority and in which only one state, the United Arab Republic (UAR) has recognized the "grae" seems to emphasize without any reserve the African leaders' deep desire to achieve a sincere and reasonable re-examination of the Angolan national liberation movement.

Nearly a year ago, the Good-Will Mission could not avoid influence from Adoula's diplomacy. Leaning himself upon his country geographical situation with regard to Angola, the least effort was enough for the former Congolese Prime Minister to drag the Good-Will Mission into adopting the July 1963 recommendations, namely about FNLA and "grae" recognition to bring in a MPLA dissolution.

Results of these conclusions did not take long to appear. Events in ferment in the Republic of Congo-Léopoldville, came to light: Mr. Moisés Tshombe's rising to power, "grae" former minister, Jonas Savimbi's statement in Cairo, Dr. José Liahuca's resignation - the only Angolan physician who has ever worked with FNLA relief organisation - "grae" repressive measures against its own followers from which even its "staff chief" Commander Kalundungo himself did not escape. These events have precipitated the revelation of a situation that has existed practically from the beginning of the Angolan armed insurrection.

Neither the Congo - Léopoldville has proved itself capable of allowing the least reinforcement of the armed fight nor even "grae" bluff has shown the minimum solidity, maturity and prestige to assure at least some continuity of the insurrection.

If by their nature, Adoula's options represented a difficult handicap to overcome and allow a development for the Angolan people's fight, every hope on "grae" activity can only contribute to delay Portuguese colonialism agony and increase the concern shown in Cairo at the debates on decolonisation of the African Continent.

It is timely to state two important points which, underestimated by the Committee of Three (Ghana, the UAR and Congo - Brazzaville) can deepen the Angolan nationalism present crisis.

First of all, every step must take into consideration the maturity, capacity and degree of radicalisation in the country of each of the forces fighting Portuguese colonial rule. Secondly, one should know whether contradictions in the bordering country or countries really allow them to become a logistical and adequate ground for the development of the revolutionary process.

With regard to us, the Good - Will Mission gave too much credit to Adoula's Congo-Léopoldville by overthrowing underestimated factors and by scorning MPLA importance for the Angolan liberation fight success.

We hope that this experience will inspire the Committee of Three and correspond to the African leaders' major concerns.

THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE
WILL OVERCOME

S T A T E M E N T

by

Mr. JONAS SAVIMBI
GRAE Foreign Affairs Minister

Mr. Chairman,
Messrs. Ministers,
Honourable Delegates,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Angola liberation problem is now in its fourth year and it has not yet found a sound way for the Angolan freedom fighters both inside and outside our country. This situation has already lasted too long and it should not keep on forever.

If we look at the road already trodden from 1960 when the Republic of Congo-Léopoldville became independent to today, we see that division among the nationalist movement made impossible all progress towards liberation. Since all attempts to gather the different and several political parties into one front have failed, the Organisation of African Unity thought it wise to follow the Congo-Léopoldville example by recognizing the G.R.A.E. We thought by then that this decision would speed up the Angolan patriots' fight and thus bring in the national liberation hour.

Today our African brethren free from the colonial yoke know very well the difficulty to unify the nationalist forces. Nevertheless, they know that unity of the living fighting forces is the indispensable condition for victory.

Mr. Chairman, Honourable Delegates, our four-year experience proves that this is true for Angola too.

Divided forces are preventing the Angolan mass mobilization. A liberation fight without mass participation is condemned to failure sooner or later. Only the masses are a lasting support for a liberation fight against an enemy like Portugal, an enemy with the material and moral support from colonialist and imperialist powers.

We congratulate the African states for having recognized the G.R.A.E. and their eagerness to give the Angolan liberation fight a political instrument capable of organizing the armed fight and liable to bring the indispensable diplomatic support for the international public opinion mobilization.

I call your attention to the fact that these goals have not been reached. Thus, it is the duty of all Angolans in particular and all Africans in general to study again this problem and suggest solutions. I think in a liberation fight like ours, there is no antecipatedly solved equation. In Africa's liberation movement history there has never had such a remarkable solidarity as this one for Angola.

Freedom fighters had never to face such an enemy like Portugal, chronically an under-developed country. Yet, never the nationalist ranks have had so much confusion as in the case of Angola.

Mr. Chairman,

Revolution is not a mechanical process. Whatever may be the material aid given to a liberation movement, the latter is vowed to failure as I have already said, if there is not a mass mobilisation and hence a mobilisation for the fighting forces union. Every pretext to justify the fight stagnation is useless for God helps those who help themselves.

Some African states refuse to study again the Angolan problem taking into consideration the Angolan realities.

These realities are:

- Absence of support of the harried forces inside Angola.
- Lack of achievement of the nationalist movements Unity.
- Changes into the countries bordering Angola.
- Lack of a program issued from a congress gathering all Angolan fighting forces.
- The danger threatening more and more southern Africa with neo-colonialism.
- Inefficiency of the Angolan Government in exile.
- Thence and above all the fact that the G.R.A.E., far from increasing military action and gathering the masses, the only way to speed up Angolan liberation, GRAE simply confines itself to short-lived statements.

I, Jonas Savimbi, G.R.A.E. Minister of Foreign Affairs, have decided to resign of my position in front of the African highest body. I have taken this decision to be in peace with my mind and because my functions are not in the Angolan people's interest and accordingly our brotherly states goals which have allowed themselves to undergo some sacrifices to help the Angolan people.

Mr. Chairman, Honourable Delegates, before leaving I call your attention to the fact that I am dedicated, my body and soul to my country liberation and I ask you to reconsiderate with all your attention the Angolan problem. I insist upon the need to summon soon a Conference of all Angolan fighting forces.

Mr. Chairman, I am now at the honourable delegates' disposal to answer their questions.

Cairo, 16th July, 1964
(signed) Jonas Savimbi

P R E S S S T A T E M E N T

I, JOSE JOAO LIAHUCA, physician, director of "Serviço de Assistência aos Refugiados Angolanos, S.A.R.A.", (Angolan Refugee Relief Service) in the Republic of Congo-Léopoldville, I announce to the Angolan people and to world public opinion my voluntary resignation to the position held at the above mentioned organisation (up until July 24th, 1964) as my protest against the lack of organisation and the halting of Angola's liberation struggle under Holden Roberto's responsibility.

I consider that only a true and sincere unity of the Angolan political parties can organize a fight capable of setting our country free from Portuguese colonial yoke.

I denounce Holden Roberto's tribal machinations. He is doing everything to be surrounded by his relatives in the Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile, GRAE, while at the same time he orders the emprisonment of hundreds of Angolan military and civil freedom fighters from the other tribes into the Congolese prisons of Ndolo, Makala, Luzumu and the Thysville Hardy military camp. Such measures are dividing our people, delaying our Revolution and prolonging the Angolan people's suffering and massacre.

Brazzaville, 25th July, 1964

(signed) J.J.LIAHUCA

VICTIMS OF REPRESSION

The fact that the Portuguese government is multiplying its repressive measures against the Angolan freedom fighters is no longer a secret for anyone. Besides the military side of its wild repression, the Portuguese government is also carrying out a violent political repression against the Angolan people. Victims of this political persecutions have always deserved the support and sympathy from all Angolan patriots.

MPLA has always fought both to reach better conditions for our imprisoned countryfellows and to have their entire liberation.

Today the Angolan political prisoners are in prison both in Angola and in the Cape Verde Islands. Among them one finds the leader Ilídio Machado. The Angolan priests are also under house arrest in Portugal namely Canon Manuel das Neves, the Abbot Joaquim Pinto de Andrade and priest Martinho Samba. Faithful to its better repression tradition against patriotic struggles, the Portuguese secret police, PIDE, keeps under an inhuman imprisonment almost all Angolan political prisoners. In fact, life in Portuguese political prisons is a true death.

The Angolan prisoners are prevented from keeping

on most of their contacts with the outside world. Mail to and from their relatives and friends is heavily restricted and when allowed, censorship takes a rigorous care of it. Prisoners may neither read newspapers nor listen to the radio.

Food is also very poor both in quality and in quantity. Prisoners have only right to two meals a day: at noon and at 7:00 P.M. Scarce variety of their food causes diseases such as scurvy.

Moreover, Portuguese authorities do almost nothing to take care of the ill prisoners. Only one physician and one nurse care for tens of prisoners. Patients are visited every three weeks by the physician. On the other hand, the almost complete lack of the most elementary medicines makes this situation much more difficult.

To make still darker the political prisoners' lives, they are forbidden to sing, whistle or even talk aloud.

The whole of these bad conditions brings a fast deterioration of most prisoners' health. Two of them, António Pedro Bengé and Joaquim de Figueiredo, died from these terrible conditions. The other prisoners' lives are also in danger.

Recent news from our country tells us of new arres-

tations. These prisoners are undergoing long cross-examination and all kind of physical torture.

In face of this alarming situation, MPLA addresses itself to the international public opinion once more to denounce the Angolan patriots suffering.

MPLA is sure that only pressure from international public opinion will stop the Portuguese secrete police hangmen's criminal hands.

Moreover, MPLA is willing to carry on a campaign for these prisoners' relief. This campaign must include consignment of medicines and clothes for the prisoners.

Collected items must be sent to:

M.P.L.A.
B. P. 2353
Brazzaville
Republic of Congo

Will you address your protests to the Portuguese government namely President of Republic, Mr. Américo Thomaz, Lisbon, Portugal.

" R E V O L U T I O N A F R I C A I N E "

PAYS A VISIT TO MPLA MAQUIS

MPLA guerilla men stationed inside Angola were recently visited in their battlefield by brother M. ASSAOUI who spent some time with them and felt their firm determination in this war against Portuguese colonialism.

Brother M.A. was surrounded by the friendliness of all our guerilla men from the sector he visited. He was praised for risking his life to give the "REVOLUTION AFRICAINE" readers a living picture of the Angolan Revolution.

This report success is an honour for its author.

Gone is the time when some so-called newsmen, overflying all revolutions like ravens, could slip into some credited publications terrible charges against MPLA. One only wonders the conditions in which they used to get such a misleading information.

(See "REVOLUTION AFRICAINE", number 78, Alger
25th July, 1964)

"THREE GLORIOUS DAYS"

A year ago, the Congo-Brazzaville brotherly people showed to the world their capacity and determination to build up a new society. A fairer and more human society accordingly its so proud and courageous people's revolutionary potentialities.

On 15th August, 1963, the Congolese people were finally the master of their destiny.

At the anniversary of the Revolution of 13th, 14th and 15th August, 1963, MPLA sent our brotherly people and their revolutionary Government a message from which we are quoting the following passages:

" The unforgettable days of 13th, 14th and 15th August, 1963 are a revolutionary torch. They are both a precious example for all people fighting oppression and a terrible nightmare for the colonialist and imperialist forces...

(...) MPLA militants, leaders and the Angolan people can never forget the fact that when imperialism had decided to smash our Movement, it was exactly the Congolese brotherly people and their Government highly led by Your Excellency, that gave a serious blow to the imperialist machinations.

(...) MPLA militants and leaders just as the Angolan people seize this opportunity to express sincerely to the Government and the Congolese brotherly people their best wishes of success in the pursuit of your revolutionary task..."

LANDMARKS:

+ Taking profit of the terror regime spread by Holden Roberto's armed groups in the Congo-Léopoldville, the Portuguese are inviting our people to return into Angola where - according to the Portuguese - our people can "live in peace". Their machination is clear: to prevent the refugee masses from any nationalist contact. The Portuguese goal is, once our people are in Angola, to have the colonialist army murder them.

But the Portuguese machinations are not getting any result. Except some desperate countryfellows, our people continue firm and today more than never, they give MPLA their helpful hand for our common struggle, our country's total liberation.

+ MPLA guerilla men are achieving a great task near the masses along the border with the Republics of Congo. Our guerilla men there are carrying out an intensive political and military task the success of which systematically brings a failure to the colonialists' psycho-social campaign. The greatest desire of most freedom fighters in these areas is to become MPLA members and to fight our enemies under MPLA banner.

+ Inside Angola, our political representatives are in touch with the people. Resistance cells have been organized and their representatives are often coming out for contact with our political and military cadres. Several ethnic group chiefs are requesting their membership and that of their people into MPLA.

+ The PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF ANGOLA YOUTH (JMPLA) and the ANGOLAN WOMAN'S ORGANISATION (OMA), two MPLA mass organisations are increasing their work of politization, organisation and integration of the masses. Hundreds of young people - girls and boys - have already been integrated into our ranks for our people's liberation fight.

+ Pursuing its training program for technical cadres of tomorrow's Angola, more than 60 Angolan young people have just left Brazzaville. Our militants have gone to Europe to pursue their studies. Most of them have attended MPLA preparatory courses in Brazzaville which include also literacy and foreign languages.

+ In the morning of August 9th, 1964, in the Cabinda region and 2 kilometers from the Sanga headquarters where Portuguese forces are settled, a Portuguese military convoy fell into an ambush set by a MPLA guerilla men's detachment.

Twenty seven Portuguese soldiers and two officers were killed and four armoured vehicles destroyed. At the arrival of enemy reinforcement and aircrafts, our guerilla men left, without any loss.

Some days before, our guerilla men had arrested another group of traitors used as guides by the colonial army. Their fate is being decided.

These operations have been led by Comrade SUKUHATA, a guerilla man from Group C. Members of MPLA Steering Committee and the Political Bureau have taken part in this fight.

On 11th August, the Portuguese colonial army carried out a show of force around the place of the fight. It has killed all the cattle belonging to the people who remain faithful to MPLA.

After these criminal and wild acts, the villagers came to our guerilla men to state again their entire support to the national liberation fight carried out by their vanguard Movement, MPLA.

Our forces are firmly pursuing towards their goals.

EXCERPTS FROM A MPLA PRESS STATEMENT
OF 13th AUGUST, 1964

Under the title, "Trouble at the Kinkuzu Camp", the Congo-Léopoldville daily newspaper "L'ETOILE DU CONGO" of 13th August, 1964, has reproduced the following news:

LEOPOLDVILLE.- A few days ago, incidents burst out at the Angolan revolutionary forces Kinkuzu camp (in the Lower Congo), according to a communiqué published yesterday in Léopoldville. Soldiers of the "Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile" led by Mr. Holden Roberto have rebelled against their leader and set the camp into fire. This camp was lent to them by the Congolese government. In Léopoldville it is said that the Congolese government has taken all measures to prevent this mutiny (their fifth uprising) from hurting the neighbouring dwellers. (AFP)."

This news takes the PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF ANGOLA (MPLA) to the following comments:

1. On 16th July, 1964 at the African Heads of State Conference, held in Cairo, Mr. JONAS SAVIMBI, resigned from his position of "grae" Foreign Affairs Minister.

2. On 25th July, 1964, Dr. JOSE LIAHUCA stated his resignation from FNLA organisations.

Because of their importance, we have published these two statements in this issue of our bulletin.

3. On 7th August 1964, the "grae" leaders have arrested Commander KALUNDUNGO, "ALNA" staff chief, other military leaders and hundreds of his military men who were at the Kinkuzu camp.

4. On 9th August, 1964, in an Appeal to the Congo-Léopoldville Government and the Organisation of African Unity, MPLA has exposed the Angolan freedom fighters' serious situation in the Congo-Léopoldville, following mass arrestations of FNLA military members. Their only "crime": to be against "grae" leadership and to state their attachment to Angolan nationalism Unity.

5. On 12th August, 1964, and after the arrestation of our militants by the Congolese Security, MPLA has sent a letter of protest to Mr. Joseph KASAVUBU, President of the Republic of Congo-Léopoldville. MPLA has protested against the Congolese Security interference in the internal affairs of a fighting people and we have requested freedom of action for MPLA throughout the Congo.

The news published by "L'ETOILE DU CONGO" does not surprise us at all. It is the logical continuation of a series of foreseen events of which "grae" falling apart is the most evident proof. It confirms what MPLA has always stated: "grae" is incapable of leading a liberation fight. It is an organisation built upon division and tribal hatred. Finally, it is a tool created by imperialism to bring the armed fight to a halt or to prevent its development.

Events taking place now at the Kinkuzu camp prove both our people's maturity and their firm attachment to Unity. Rising up against tribal tyranny imposed upon them by "grae" leaders, our countryfellows have thus answered to the popular masses' deep desire of unity of the fighting forces and opposition to division machinations and tribal hatred which stop the struggle and make their sacrifice useless, a sacrifice highly paid for during these four years of fight against the foreign oppressor.

The "Angolan government in exile" is the spear-head of imperialism in southern Africa.

Its connections are also evident. At the Kinkuzu camp its military cadres have been trained by a Negro American, a BERNARD MANHERTZ, who was a mercenary in South Vietnam in the repression against the Vietnamese patriots. For several times, Mr. Holden Roberto has wanted to engage some "anti-Castrist" Cuban physicians in his relief organisation. However, some African states advised him not to engage these physicians since it would be too much evident... His trade-union, the "Ligue Général des Travailleurs Angolais (LGTA)" was reorganized by a Cuban trade-unionist, CARLOS KASSEL (or GARCEL), who worked for the TRUJILLO government, this sadly famous dictator of the Dominica Republic.

The Angolan people have been abusively represented by a foreign body which has always wanted and is still willing to mortgage their future. They have been represented by a "government" three fourths of which have never had their feet in Angola and they were not even born there. These "leaders" are using our people's sacrifice for their personal business: they sell the arms given by the African states for our people's liberation and they embezzle the funds put at their disposal by the African states for their personal benefit.

We are allowing ourselves to quote here some passages from an article of the Léopoldville newspaper "Présence Congolaise" which has never been favourable to MPLA, has published on 20th July, 1964 under the title, "Mr. Holden Roberto does not seem to liberate Angola":

"While Mr. Cabral refuses the luxury of the neighbouring countries to quarter in the bush, the Angolan 'liberator' and his closer co-operators amuse themselves by misappropriating his movement funds to buy some 'Mercedes from the latest fashion' and to run across the African capital cities in order to get the withdrawal of the important aid that some brotherly states, despite OAU recommendations and whether we like it or not, continue to grant his MPLA opponents."

A true creation of imperialism, "grae" is agonizing. Only protection from imperialism is still slowing down its death agony. Only support from the Congolese security is preventing a solution of the situation and a fast and complete desintegration of this body called "Angolan revolutionary government in exile."

The PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF ANGOLA (MPLA) trusts its people.

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CONGO