

M P L A      M E M O R A N D U M

TO THE

G . U      C O U N C I L      O F      M I N I S T E R S



ACCRA, October, 1965

MEMORANDUM

to the

OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Excellencies,

On behalf of its people in arms, the PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF ANGOLA (MPLA) takes this opportunity to greet brotherly the Honourable African Ministers of Foreign Affairs and wish them all success.

This meeting is held at an important moment for our peoples who are seeking better conditions to reinforce African Unity and bring about faster liberation of the African peoples still undergoing colonial and racialist slavery, exploitation and oppression.

By considering the importance of this Assembly, the MPLA is presenting this Memorandum, sure of the fact that it is representing here a people fighting, arms on hand, facing problems but also firmly determined to overcome or die for their country.

Africa will never be free as long as her people are oppressed and murdered, as long as racialist minorities rule and spread terror in our Continent's soil. That is why the MPLA calls the Honourable Delegates's attention to the situation prevailing in Angola today.

Despite the fact that three colonies under Portuguese domination - Angola, Guinea-Bissao and Mozambique - are carrying out an armed fight for their national liberation, fascist Portugal is always clinging to her ultra-colonialist position of keeping her rule in those countries at all costs.

Supported and encouraged by the South African racialists and the NATO powers providing her with huge material, financial,

economic and military aid, Portuguese colonialists have lately intensified their repression.

Meanwhile, the Angolan people is more determined than never to face Portuguese repression. Led by its national movement, the MP MPLA, our people is winning important victories both at the political and military level and in the effective mobilization for new battle-fronts to widespread our political-military struggle throughout our national territory.

Less than one year after the African Leaders decided to judge fairly our people's courageous fight, by recognizing our Movement, the results of our activities are positive ones:

In CABINDA our guerillas have killed several hundreds of Portuguese soldiers and damaged some important business there. Our forces are now harrassing the enemy and carrying out recognition missions in order to launch a wide offensive in a near future and thus bring about the total liberation and control of the Cabinda District. Already 25% of the territory is free and under our guerilla's control. The MPLA is reorganizing these regions by returning the populations to their original places. We are getting ready to open schools, dispensaries, etc., in those free regions so that there may be a new life for those thousands of children, women and old people who had to leave their villages after the Portuguese bombed there. The MPLA has published literacy primers for children and adults and an especial training for nurses and midwives is provided for refugee women so that they may return to their villages and attend to their people there.

Political and trade-union courses are given to our cadres while CABINDA new recruits are starting their military training and popular militias are organized to protect the civilians.

There is an intense mobilization in the hinterland. We have learnt from our errors and are now doing our best to have the fight start this time under better conditions there and upon foundations capable to speed up our country liberation.

In the town, the MPLA has just set up underground groups. In Luanda, the Angolan capital, they have blown up industrial enterprises while the MPLA watchwords appeared everywhere, even in the

people, the MPLA brings some important facts which may help the Honourable Ministers to examine courageously and to solve certain problems still preventing a rapid and harmonious development of our national liberation fight.

- On the "Angolan Revolutionary Government in exile"

Since last June, African and world opinion have been aware of the crisis within "grae". It is only an extension of the crisis "grae" underwent in July 1964 at the Cairo Summit Conference when Mr. Jonas SAVIMBI, "grae" former minister of foreign affairs resigned and charged "grae" president with serious misdoings such as, the halting of the armed fight, "grae" incapacity to lead the armed fight for national liberation, embezzlement of funds generously granted by the African states, as well as the selling of arms given by Tunisia and Algeria.

Since 1964 other leaders resigned in their turn in order to protest against the wrong way the fight and funds were being dealt with: the Director of the Angolan refugee Relief Service (SARA), the Head of Staff, the "grae" representatives in CAIRO, EUROPE, LUSAKA, NAIROBI and so forth, whereas "grae" military cadres have all been arriving passively in Brazzaville to join the MPLA.

In a press statement of last June 21st, Mr. Alexandre TATY, "grae" former minister of armament and defence, announced the dismissal of Mr. Roberto HOLDEN as "grae" president and the creation of a "military junta" to replace the "grae". We are quoting some passages from Mr. Taty's press statement:

" During years, moral and financial aid granted us with a great sacrifice, have been wasted in personal affairs and fratricide fighting among the Angolans in Leopoldville itself." "In our Movement one can see poverty and frustration of entire families who left their places full of hope in our movement.

Owing to Holden's incapacity, passivity and dishonesty, I could not organize an ordered and powerful army..."

European quarters, calling upon our people to get ready to face courageously Portuguese fascist repression and not to be deceived by the colonialist propoganda. The Portuguese press itself is not hiding its anxiety: signs are placed on the walls calling upon the settlers for a general mobiliyation. Their newspapers are advising the settlers to have ready their own firearms. Europeans are invited to attend shooting training... Africans are warned/: "everyone ,ust present his firearms to the Military Command headquarters." "Those who do not deliver them and all having connections with the communist firm with headquarters in Brazzaville will be severely punishéd"...

The MPLA is also present in southern and eastern Angola. Thanks to the acting solidarity and understanding of the TANZANIA and ZAMBIA brotherly governments, a grat mobilization and integration of our masses is now being done at a full step. The results of all this are very encouraging. Our cadres have organized popular resistance at home now acting there.

The MPLA is proud to state these victories at this high assembly. Banned by our brotherly states in 1963-64, what an obstacle, what a difficulty our Organization faced in those dark years of martyr Angola's history... at that time when the Angolan national liberation movement almost ended in chaos while Portuguese colonialism was surviving!?

The MPLA is recalling this painful fact to help our brotherly Leaders who are responsible for Africa's destiny to understand how difficulty our task has been and with what a dedication our masses and militants at home have devoted themselves to bring our Orgqnization back to action, at a moment when we were all of a sudden almost completely alone, rather rejected by the community of African states.

Also;thanks to the solidarity of a brotherly state and the wisdom of its leqders, Angolan nationalism did not drown. We are paying here our deepest homage to Congo-Brazzaville understanding and knowledge of our problems which enabled us to keep up our people's trust to overcome all difficulties. Today we are the only force that, arms on hand, is fighting Portuguese colonialism.

We are sure of the justness of our positions. We have never given up to difficulties on our path. That is why, on behalf of its

Mr. ... ros WEBBKA ... U.N. founder' who had then replaced the SARA director in July 1964, declared last June in a communiqué to the press :

" For years, Holden Roberto has prevented the operation of the 'Angolan Refugee Relief Service' through his incompetent interference into our organization. All this time Holden's henchmen have first of all, taken away clothing and medicines for their friends, even if the latter were not Angolans. Thus, only a small part reached the refugees.

Vehicles to assure the relief service along the border were used in Leopoldville by Holden Roberto's friends for completely private goals..."

Thus, in less than one year other leaders resigned and accused Holden and the "grae" with serious charges. Holden Roberto has never denied those charges in public.

In July 1965, Mr. Rosario Neto, the "grae" minister of Information resigned in his turn and decided to sell drinks in a Congolese province from the funds he had managed to collect. Messrs. NASCIMENTO and JULIAO WEBBA, responsible people of "fnla" or the "grae" and very close to Holden, also left their organization and Leopoldville for Nigeria where they have devoted themselves to the Gospel.

Two years after the OAU Ministers of Foreign Affairs met in Dakar and decided to recommend the recognition of the "Angolan revolutionary government in exile" to the African states, what does remain from such a "government" today?

A set-up in permanent confusion, with incapable structures to carry out the armed fight, internal fighting among the leaders now reduced to a few people faithful to Holden Roberto's person and whose majority are members of his family. From this reality the 4th Conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity in Winneba in May 9-16, 1965, decided unanimously to expel definitively the so-called "FNLA" from which "grae" was built. And the 2nd Conference of the Nationalist Organizations from Portuguese Colonies (the CONCP) which took place in Dar es Salaam from the 3rd to the 8th October this year, has decided to exhort the OAU Heads of State to revise courageously in the interest of the Angolan people

and of Africa, the recognition of that "government".

### THE QUESTION OF UNITY OF ANGOLAN NATIONALISM

Cairo Summit Conference in July 1964 had recommended, among other decisions, to create a Committee, made up of GHANA, the UAR and CONGO-BRAZZAVILLE, in order to achieve unity between the MPLA and the "grae".

Meanwhile all attempts from the Committee of Three to unify the Angolan nationalist movement failed.

In October 1964, after the Conference of the non-aligned states, the Committee of Three summoned the "grae" and the MPLA for a unity meeting, but only the latter was present. The "grae" justified its absence by saying that it did not recognize the Committee of Three authority.

Last November the "grae" leaders refused to participate in another similar meeting in Dar es Salaam.

In September 1965 in Cairo; the "grae" has again refused to take part in a meeting by apologizing that it lacked funds for the Leopoldville-Cairo ticket. Yet, only a few days later, Mr. Holden Roberto was visiting Tunis and Algiers at the head of an Angolan delegation... Thus trampling down the decision of the African Summit Conference; the "grae" totally refused to cooperate for the necessary unification of the Angolan nationalist forces.

Its lack of respect for the Committee of Three is, in our opinion, a serious affront to the dignity and the honour of the leaders of those states and to the whole of Africa. Were proofs necessary, the "grae" would thus show the justness of our positions and the undenied fact that the "grae" has never been interested in the unification of the Angolan nationalist movement and, therefore, in the real liberation of Angola.

By refusing systematically to consider all forms of cooperation to solve this question of dualism of the Angolan nationalist movement, the "grae" is revealing itself to be a tool of non-African powers to keep division within the Angolan movement

for national liberation. Thus, the slogan "divide to rule" has its meaning.

From these facts and on behalf of the highest interests of its people fighting Portuguese colonialism, the PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF ANGOLA (MPLA), demands the Honourable Delegates to consider the following:

- 1.- Revision of the recognition of the "Angolan revolutionary government in exile (GRAE);
- 2.- Aid for Angola must be granted exclusively through the MPLA, the only organization leading the armed fight in Angola;
- 3.- The OAU Military Committee must inquire the political-military activities of each Angolan Organization.

As yesterday, today and tomorrow the MPLA will ever fight for the real liberation of its people from foreign yoke.

On behalf of the MPLA STEERING COMMITTEE  
Dr. AGOSTINHO NETO  
(President)

