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REPORT OF THE CONCILIATING COMMITTEE  
BETWEEN THE ANGOLAN REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNEMENT (GRAE)  
AND THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF ANGOLA (MPLA)

Due to the decision taken by the first session of the Conference of the Heads of State and Government, held in Cairo in July, 1964, a Tripartite Committee (Ghana, Congo-Brazzaville and UAR) was set up and mandated to seek the means to arrive to an "agreement, co-operation or unity" among the several Angolan liberation movements. In other words, the Committee should achieve reconciliation among the several movements and mainly between the MPLA and the GRAE in order to form a united, political and military front.

The Committee met in Cairo from the 12th to the 14th October, 1964 and found it timely, in a first stage, to summon separately the GRAE and the MPLA representatives and request them to outline their ideas on conciliation.

Notice that Mr. Holden Roberto, the GRAE leader has opposed himself to the Committee and refused to meet it. His apology was that this Committee did not concern him and, therefore, he could not be obliged to co-operate with it.

The Committee took note of this attitude and decided to inquire previously near the MPLA representatives who emphasized the following facts:

- a) Mr. Holden has achieved no attempt towards their movement, but on the contrary it was evident that Mr. Holden acted in order to set them apart.
- b) On their side, they were ready to participate in a dialogue with the FNLA to form a united front through a confrontation between the two movements from an equal position.
- c) This united front could either be political or military. The essential is to unify the efforts to consolidate the fight to achieve the total liberation of Angola.

At the end of this first stage of its work, the Committee received a letter from the GRAE emphasizing that Mr. Holden had decided to reconsiderate his first attitude towards the Committee. The letter mentioned that, respecting the spirit of the recommendations from the Committee of Nine sub-committee that had been in Léopoldville in 1963, recommendations unanimously confirmed by the OAU Minister Council in Dakar, in August of the same year and approved by all Heads of African States in

July, 1964, the GRAE was at the disposal of the Special Committee to facilitate its work, yet at the moment efforts to bring together the several Angolan groups were being carried in a strictly national level.

The Committee asked the OAU Secretary General to contact again Mr. Holden and request the latter to be in Dar es Salaam on the 10th November, 1964, to attend the conciliating mission.

Unforeseen circumstances made this meeting to be postponed for the 23rd November. The Executive Secretary of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, who accompanied it, was requested to inform personally Mr. Holden of this postponement and invite him to come to Dar es Salaam the 23rd November, 1964.

Having the MPLA representatives stated that they had a wide national support in Angola and that their military activities covered a part of Cabinda, in order to accomplish scrupulously its mission, the Committee thought it indispensable to go to Congo-Brazzaville, center of the group and general headquarters of the MPLA, to judge itself the fairness of the already mentioned statements.

The Committee went to Brazzaville where it had the occasion to visit MPLA offices and to see the activity and the administrative organization of the movement. From Brazzaville the Committee thought it useful to go to the border of Congo (Brazzaville) with Cabinda to visit the military camps and the training centers of the movement. It has visited one of the camps closest to the border. On the other hand, the Committee was invited to pay a visit to the farthest camps and even inside Cabinda. Convinced of the seriousness of MPLA activities, the Committee found unnecessary to do so, despite MPLA guerilla men's insistence, to proceed a more exhaustive inquiry in the other camps.

During these visits, the Committee had the opportunity to discuss with a large number of MPLA adherents from the Political Board and the Central Committee members to the young militants and guerilla men.

It drew up the following conclusions:

1. The MPLA has already a military and political and administrative organization.
2. MPLA militants are moved by a very developed national and patriotic feeling, but they need the most necessary means to carry to the end their goal of total liberation for Angola.
3. Considering the importance of the problem and the limitations of their military potential, the MPLA

leaders are content, for the moment, with a strict action not unproportionally to the means at their hand, but which could be increased as they get the necessary military material.

The Committee held its third session in Dar es Salaam on the 23rd November, 1964, as it had been previously foreseen.

It had the intention of trying once again the reconciliation between the MPLA and the GRAE. Unfortunately, only MPLA representatives were there. GRAE leadership did not tell the reasons of its absence. The Committee has then made its report and decided to present it to the Liberation Committee during its extraordinary session on the 24th November, 1964.

Convinced that the fight for the total liberation of Angola must not be unconditionally subordinated to the Unity of the different liberation movements and accordingly the deliberations of the first conference of Heads of States on this point, the Committee decided to make the following recommendations:

- 1 - The MPLA is a serious, active and capable movement able to lead an efficient fight and, therefore, it deserves an aid and assistance from the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa.
- 2 - Aid from the Committee of Nine should have two aspects:
  - a) Technical assistance  
Intensification of the training  
A more co-ordinated military assistance
  - b) Material assistance
- 3 - Yet, the Liberation Committee should continue to seek the means to achieve the conciliation of the two movements.