

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION  
OF ANGOLA

M. P. L. A.

STATEMENT OF THE MPLA EXECUTIVE AND CONGRESS DELEGATES

The development of our national liberation struggle made the plenary Meeting of the Executive Committee decide in September 1971 to call the First MPLA Congress as soon as possible.

A number of difficulties, especially due to the great distances between the fighting fronts, made it impossible to implement that decision. At the same time external conditions contributed to the widening of differences that existed within the Movement, which ended with the successive appearance of two factions contesting the authority of the MPLA Executive.

At all times, the Executive, wanting to safeguard internal cohesion, tried to find the causes of the factions' demands. These factions, hiding behind excuses without reason nor foundation, refused to discuss inside the Movement, and from the very first forced the differences to be aired outside the Movement. In fact 'internationalised' the differences.

In this situation the OAU and neighbouring countries became first intermediaries, and later a good offices committee, between the supposed parts of MPLA in opposition.

The past historical experience of MPLA, namely over the period 1963-64, as with the liberation movements of other fraternal countries, has already shown us the impossibility of resolving such problems by the simple fusion of factional groups. When the contradictions reach breaking point, it is difficult, if not impossible, to avoid a break-up while the contradictions persist, which are often the reflection of powerful external interests.

Aware of this historical experience, but imbued with a spirit of conciliation and unity, we agreed to constructively participate in the Congress in the last attempt to find a common basis for understanding.

Always having in mind the unity of MPLA and looking for an internal solution to the problem, we went a very long way in our concessions, viz:

- During the OAU Conference in Mogadishu a tripartite delegation was present, allowing a suspended leader, head of a faction, to speak in the name of MPLA.
- Participation in equal parts in the Congress Preparatory Commission
- Meeting of the Preparatory Commission were held outside MPLA areas.
- Non-statutory criteria for Congress participation, in which the Movement is obliged to appear with the same number of delegates (165) as one of the factions, and the other faction participates with the whole number of its followers (70), many of whom have doubtful, or non-existent, membership of the Movement. According to statutory participation MPLA should have had nearly 70% of the delegates, whereas the proportion it actually had was 40%.



- Agreement to hold the Congress outside our country, because of the the significant and extraordinary fear of the factions of meeting amongst their own people.
- The choosing of observers and guests without taking into account traditional bonds of friendship and solidarity that link us to other countries.

These and other concession meant at the same time that the factions refused to recognise the legality of the Executive of the Movement and went to the point of not accepting that the Congress should be opened by the President of MPLA

At the Congress itself our concessions continued, but anomalies appeared which completely held up all possibility of work.

- In the checking of delegates credentials on 13th August 1974 it was discovered that there were 14 members of FNLA integrated in the so-called "Eastern Revolt". At the plenary Session on 21st August, another member of the same faction also announced himself to be a member of FNLA.
- In spite of rigorous demands that the Congress should be held behind closed doors, there is an abundant production of biased news spread by certain news agencies, apparently without contact with the Congress.
- Right from the opening of the Congress there was a circus atmosphere, which checked the solemnity and seriousness of an occasion of this nature.
- In spite of the concession listed above, and in spite of our spirit of conciliation reflected in our proposal to approve fundamental decisions by a two-thirds majority (which was to establish a consensus of the Movement) the two factions took advantage of this, by together being in a majority, to continuously attempt to trample on the Executive, and with it the whole Movement, so as to later impose solutions on it, completely contrary to the interests of our People.

Faced with this situation which showed the futility of compliant efforts to find a solution, demonstrated by our constructive spirit, and systematically answered by destructive attitudes;

- Strengthened by the unconditional support of our People, our militants and the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola;
- Aware of its unchangeable duty to defend the revolutionary victories of thirteen years of armed struggle;
- Aware that the indefinite dragging out of an abnormal Congress only makes the internal situation in Angola worse, for which we feel ourselves responsible, and at the same time allows imperialist forces to organise themselves in the Country.
- Aware that only in the territory of our struggle and amongst our people can we find solutions that will achieve our sacred wishes;
- Encouraged by the support of the great mass of the people for MPLA and its President, shown by dozens of demonstrations all over Angola, by thousands of signatures on messages, letters and telegrams arriving at the Congress;

the Executive of MPLA and the militants sent by the Movement to this special Congress declare:

- A) The impossibility of continuing to try to find an understanding with factions whose objective is the total and systematic negation of the spirit of unity which brought us to this meeting;

- B) Its unchanging decision to continue the struggle by all means until the achievement of complete independence of Angola;
- C) That the first Congress of MPLA will soon be held in the liberated areas of our country;
- D) The illegality of the holding of any pseudo-Congresses or conferences in the name of MPLA by any factions or grouping of factions, as well as the abusive use of MPLA' name by any faction.

The Executive of MPLA expresses its most grateful thanks for the fraternal presence of FRELIMO and PAIGC and for their support for the correct way to unity for which we struggle.

The Executive of MPLA expresses its recognition of the OAU and all the countries and organizations that contributed so that this Congress might take place. We would especially like to thank the People's Republic of Congo and the Republic of Zambia for the facilities and aid granted, and with special respect for the Zambian authorities and their honourable President Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, who during this period lavished the best of this attention upon us.

MPLA calls upon all the countries in the world, all organisations and friends to maintain high their unchanged support for the just struggle of our People and MPLA, so that Angola may live.

The Executive of MPLA extends a fraternal hand to those militants who today present themselves as members of factional groups, and invites them to come and participate in the First Congress of MPLA with full independence of opinions that will lead to a unity of principles for common objectives.

The independence of Angola is close and requires the presence without reservation of the useful contribution of every patriot.

The Executive of MPLA calls upon the Angolan People, on all its militants and sympathizers to intensify their total participation in the fight for the liberation of the Country.

LONG LIVE M.P.L.A!

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!



Lusaka, 22nd August 1974