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FOR THE UNIFICATION OF THE ANGOLAN FIGHTING FORCES

The history of the MPLA's efforts to achieve the united action of the Angolan patriotic forces has involved about twenty-three attempts to do so, three of them sponsored by the Heads of State and six sponsored by the OAU, through its special committees.

As is known, weary of these approaches which led to nothing, owing to the FNLA's systematic opposition to united action with the MPLA, our Movement concentrated all its attention on strengthening and expanding the battlefronts. Powerfully backed by the successes it had achieved throughout the period of the war, the MPLA once again undertook to unify the Angolan liberation movement.

It will be recalled that the 8th OAU Summit, when it decided to withdraw recognition of the so-called Angolan government in exile, decided to set up a Presidential Commission of four Heads of State (Congo, Tanzania, Zaire and Zambia) with the twofold aim of helping to unify the MPLA and FNLA forces and of establishing ways and means for the MPLA's trained militants and material to cross Zaire.

It was to this effect that, on 4 May this year, the President of the MPLA addressed a letter to the four Presidents comprising the Commission, ~~requesting~~ requesting them urgently to fulfil the mandate they had been entrusted with.

The President of the People's Republic of the Congo, Commander Marien Ngouabi, offered his country as venue for the first meeting of the Commission, which took place on 8 June 1972, in Brazzaville, where the President of the Republic of Zaire consented to go in order that the first steps in this mission might be ^{taken} ~~breached~~. The Presidents of Tanzania and Zambia were not able to attend and entrusted their colleagues with fulfilling their mission.

The meeting was attended by MPLA and FNLA delegations headed by Comrade Dr. Agostinho Neto and Mr. Holden Roberto.

The four delegations attending had the occasion to voice their respective views and to discuss the problem thoroughly. A Joint Communiqué was then

Government of the Republic of Zaire (then Congo Kinshasa) and, later, by the OAU, the MPLA was expelled from that country. Since 1961 the MPLA still has not obtained the authorisation of the Kinshasa authorities to transport war material across their territory.

The MPLA's opening of the Cabinda and Eastern fronts, thanks to the facilities granted by the Governments of the People's Republic of the Congo, Tanzania and Zambia, gave rise to new prospects for the Angolan people's struggle. Today the MPLA is developing the struggle in five military regions and our Movement's Action Committees are leading the insurrection in the Kunene area, where the people recently rose up in arms against the Portuguese colonialists.

Furthermore, the MPLA's politico-military orientation and its social and administrative achievements in the liberated areas have won it the support of the great majority of the Angolan people.

The MPLA's dynamism and its consistent policy of defending the Angolan people's most fundamental interests have made almost all the anti-colonialist forces, and the OAU and the African countries in particular, give it their active support.

In 1968 the OAU ceased to recognise "GRAE", which is today a decrepit and discredited body.

However, the fact that our militants are forbidden to transport our war material across the territory of Zaire is a handicap both to the unity of all Angolan fighters and to the progress of the liberation war which is imposed on us by the same colonialism.

Moreover, according to statements made by His Excellency the Head of State of Zaire, General Mobutu Sese Seko, and by his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Mario Cardoso, the Government of the Republic of Zaire recognises the legitimacy of our struggle. The Government of Zaire recognises that the division of the nationalist forces weakens the struggle and delays the liberation process. It has declared itself to be prepared to aid all efforts aimed at uniting the Angolan patriotic forces. It states repeatedly that only after unity has been achieved will the MPLA be able to cross Zairean territory with its equipment and trained

militants. (See, among other things, the speech made by the President of the Republic of Zaire on 30 December 1971 and the speech of the Zairean Minister of Foreign Affairs at the 1630th meeting of the Security Council held in Addis Ababa, 31 January 1972.)

On the other hand, the Government of the Republic of Zaire allows the FNLA exclusive enjoyment of its hospitality and protection, without, at the same time, one being able to see any tangible process in the liberation struggle in the north of the country since 1961.

The FNLA, however, has still not declared itself to be in favour of unity.

For this reason, wishing to ~~disse~~ dissipate all past misunderstandings:

- in the highest interests of the fighting Angolan people,
- in the interests of the people of the Republic of Zaire, often the victims of attacks by the colonialist armed forces,
- in the most profound interests of all the African peoples,
- conscious of its responsibilities and deriving its strength from the confidence that it inspires in the Angolan people,

I

THE MPLA CALLS UPON Their Excellencies the Heads of State of the People's Republic of the Congo, the United Republic of Tanzania, the Republic of Zaire and the Republic of Zambia urgently to fulfil the mandate they were entrusted with by the 8th Ordinary Meeting of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity, to assist ~~them~~ in the unification of the MPLA and FNLA forces and to establish ways and means for transporting all the material ~~is~~ intended for the Angolan people, as well as trained militants, across the territory of Zaire.

II

THE MPLA CALLS UPON His Excellency the Head of State of the Republic of Zaire ~~as follows:~~

1. That the MPLA be recognised by his Government as an organisation which is effectively fighting for the liberation of Angola and that it be granted the necessary facilities for performing its tasks;

2. That in considering the problem of Unity and the practical effects of crossing the territory of Zaire, the two parties to be united be placed on an equal footing, without either of them being granted privileges to the detriment of the other. Consequently, the necessity and the demand for unity should not, in our opinion, be expressed solely in respect of one of the parties to be united, but of both.
3. Therefore, MPLA militants should not be subject to persecution on the territory of Zaire and control of their actions should be the sole responsibility of the Zairean authorities.

III

THE MPLA PROPOSES once again to the FNLA:

1. That it clearly state its position on unity with the MPLA.
2. That the two organisations commit themselves forthwith to ceasing all acts of any kind of hostility against the other organisation or against its militants.
3. That there should immediately be set up, under the auspices of the OAU, a joint MPLA and FNLA Committee to study ways and means of achieving political and military cooperation between the two organisations.

The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola avails itself of this opportunity to renew to Your ~~Exxi~~ Excellencies the assurances of its highest consideration.

Agostinho Neto
President of the MPLA

Note addressed to:

1. His Excellency the President of the People's Republic of the Congo.
2. His Excellency the President of the United Republic of Tanzania.
3. His Excellency the President of the Republic of Zaire*
4. His Excellency the President of the Republic of Zambia*
5. His Excellency the Secretary General of the OAU.
6. His Excellency the Executive Secretary of the African Liberation Committee.
7. The President of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola.