



**M. P. L. A.**

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# **MEMORANDUM**

to the

**CONFERENCE OF HEAD OF STATES  
AND GOVERNMENTS OF O. A. U.**

*Cairo, July 17 1964*

**People's Liberation Movement of Angola**

**VICTORY OR DEATH**

## M E M O R A N D U M

Since the solution sought up until now for the Angolan problem has not yet succeeded in giving our struggle a feature of rhythm and efficacy, MPLA is addressing itself to the honourable OAU Head of States and of Governments to take into consideration the fact that:

I - MPLA which revolutionary capacity and activity proved on the bloody struggle between the Angolan people and Portuguese colonialism cannot be questioned, remains the most Angola rooted political organisation among the Angolan people as a whole and, therefore, the ablest organisation to gather all sound forces for the decisive step of the Angolan people's violent struggle for liberation.

II - This stage demands that each African brotherly country, independently from its own position towards the Angolan nationalist organizations, engages itself to allow the Angolan movements a complete FREEDOM OF ACTION without any distinction and according to the spirit of paragraphs 10 and 14 stated in Addis Ababa in the Decolonisation Resolution.

MPLA is now mentioning in this Memorandum some important facts to allow the honourable Head of States and Governments of its African brotherly countries to judge MPLA principles, methods, activities and the support it has from the Angolan people.

I

On December 6, 1960, after having exhausted all means at hand to settle peacefully the issue between the Angolan people and Portuguese colonialists, MPLA was the first Angolan organisation to give the watchword of "DIRECT ACTION" against oppression and for national independence. MPLA launched the armed struggle in Angola on February 4, 5 and 6, 1961.

These events mark the first irreversible rupture of Angolan nationalism with the Portuguese colonial regime have confirmed the Angolan people's political maturity and doubtless they have placed MPLA at the head of Angola revolutionary movement.

MPLA was the first Angolan nationalist organisation to develop an intense political activity among the masses inside Angola herself in 1956. MPLA is the political organisation that received more blows in all its levels from the Portuguese repression. Most nationalist cadres now in the colonialist prisons belong to MPLA.

MPLA has about 70,000 enrolled members with cards and several other thousands who, because of underground conditions, do not have their cards. MPLA membership itself has a national feature and vocation.

Thousands of MPLA militants are fighting side by side with the people in all regions where the war against Portuguese colonialism is going on. Rather than a party, MPLA is a Movement. However, it cannot be defined as an ideological, class, regional or tribal

movement. MPLA is a national movement called to represent the universality of the Angolan nation by its members real composition. It has always been determined to be a democratic movement by definition, its methods and goals. It is a movement that built its doctrine upon the foundation of an experience of anticolonialist fight from all African peoples.

Its program sets, for a free and independent Angola of tomorrow, the need of assuring the most basic freedoms and rights as defined by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Right of private property, cooperation of all Angolan social strata based on social justice, a state with a democratic structure and function, a government from national coalition which respects the principles of the United Nations Charter and carries out an independent foreign policy in the sense of African Unity.

MPLA has been able to establish concrete bases to overcome the difficulties which, since February 4, 1961, hinder the nationalist forces development.

In our case, negative aspects of the insurrection have the following features: a static resistance, absence of a unique commandment, deficiencies in the political goals and division within the nationalist movement. It was then necessary to plan an action capable of changing the conditions in which the Angolan masses were fighting and to rise up the level of the political and military struggle. At the same time it was necessary that the groups which, within Angola, bear the weight of the colonial army, might maintain a consequent and positive military activity.

Thus, MPLA has speeded up the freedom fighters military training, brought in guerilla techniques, and the political and military engagement of the people and has reinforced the organisation structure inside Angola.

Moreover, MPLA has achieved a true mobilization of its militants for the armed struggle, established a military structure adapted to the conditions of the struggle development and it has carried out its organic structures reinforcement throughout the country.

Several regional chiefs became MPLA members. Each day, underground activity is increasing in the Angolan towns and villages despite daily arrestations.

In more than 50 villages, thousands of freedom fighters under MPLA flag are maintaining an active resistance nucleus and using all kinds of weapons and ammunitions which, despite all difficulties, the People's Liberation Army of Angola (EPLA) carries to them.

Their permanent activity helps maintain most of the colonialist army at the Angolan Northwestern area.

EPLA has created an Operational Command which has guerilla unities to train civilian freedom fighters. People from all national levels participate in these unities and MPLA has had them trained in Algeria, Morocco, thanks to our brethren's solidarity.

Since January 1963, MPLA has another battlefield in the Cabinda enclave, along the Congo-Brazzaville border. Guerilla activities in this region have already proved their military capacity through the battles they have fought against the Portuguese colonial army. Portuguese colonialists themselves do not hide their anxiety each time they have to face MPLA guerilla men.

EPLA forces had other big encounters near the Kwango river in the Malange area, between Malange and Luanda. There were other less important battles in Lobito and Porto Alexandre regions.

### MPLA AND THE WORLD

In order to pursue her extermination war against the Angolan people, Portugal obtains moral and material support from her NATO allies, South Africa and other countries. Some of these allies, by their agreed investments, are true masters of important sectors of our country economy. This fact shows in one hand, Portugal's underdevelopment and places Angola, on the other hand, at the center of a controversy on the Western world level.

MPLA diplomatic action made efforts to reflect the Angolan problem evolution in all its context.

Denunciation of the Portuguese ultra colonial regime, defense of a police in agreement with popular aspirations search of a wide support for national liberation have been the major concern of MPLA delegations abroad.

First of all, demonstration of our solidarity towards the nationalist movements fighting Portuguese colonialism go back to 1958 with the creation of MAC (Anticolonialist Movement), later on FRAN (African Revolutionary Front for National Independence), organisations that coordinated the struggle of people from Angola, Guinea (Bissau). Later on in April 1961, at a conference in Casablanca, CONCP (Conference of Nationalist Organisations from Portuguese colonies) was created and it included for Angola: National Union of Angolan Workers (UNTA) and the People's Liberation Movement of Angola (MPLA). For Guinea and Cape Verde: the African Party for Guinea and Cape Verde Independence (PAIGC) and the Liberation Movement for Guinea and Cape Verde (MLGC). For Goa: the People's Party of Goa, the National Congress, the Liberation Council and the Goa League. For Mozambique: the National Democratic Union of Mozambique (UDENAMO) and later on the Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO). For Sao Tomé and Príncipe: the Liberation Committee of Sao Tomé and Príncipe (CLSTP).

MPLA has always inserted the Angolan problem into the African context. It has been concerned with placing the Angolan question beyond all divergences among our African brothers. This fact is proved by the many visits payed to African countries and our presence at several inter-African and African-Asian meetings at the level of heads of states, political and trade union organisations.

MPLA political delegations participated as observers at the Conference of Heads of States in Monrovia (May 1961), in Lagos (January

1962), at the Conference of non-aligned countries in Belgrade (September 1961), at the meeting of the political committee of the "Casablanca group" (June 1962), at the UAM Conference of Head of States in Libreville (September 1962) and in Cotonou (August 1963), at the Constitutional Conference of the OAU in Addis Ababa (May 1963), those of the External Affairs Ministers in Dakar (August 1963) and in Lagos (February 1964) as well as to the 16th and the 17th sessions of the United Nations General Assembly.

MPLA has actively participated in the Pan-African Conferences in Tunis (January 1960) and in Cairo (1962), in the African-Asian Solidarity Conferences in Conakry (April 1960) and in Moshi (April 1963), in both Freedom Fighters Conference called by President Nkrumah at Winneba (June 1961 and 1962) as well as in the Seminary of the Young Workers on Portuguese colonies in Casablanca (April 1962), in the Pan-African Youth Conference in Conakry (May 1962), in the World Assembly of Youth in Aarhus, Denmark (July 1962), in the Seminary on rural exodus in Cotonou (November 1962) and in several WAY, COSEC and UIE assemblies.

OMA, the Woman's organisation, attended the first West African Woman Conference in Conakry (June 1961). The Angolan writers participated under MPLA leadership at the 1st and the 2nd Conferences of Black Artists and Writers in Paris (1957) and in Rome (1959) and at the African-Asian Conference of Writers in Cairo (March 1962). Angolan lawyers were at the 2nd African-Asian Conference of Lawyers in Conakry (October 1962). MPLA journalists were at the 3rd meeting of Journalists in the Mediterranean (September 1963).

MPLA militants represent Angola at the Secretariat of the African-Asian jurists and at the Secretariats of the Organisation of African-Asian Solidarity and of Pan-African Organisation.

In co-operation with MPLA, supporting Committees for Angola have been formed in France, Western Germany, Belgium, Italy, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, Brazil and in India.

Towards the African-Asian countries and generally the UNO member countries, MPLA has made efforts to isolate Portugal more and more.

To emphasize at the external level the agreement of our policy in favour of unity of the Angolan fighting forces, several African Heads of States offered, under our suggestion, their good offices in order to approach the tendencies of Angolan nationalism. They know that it is not MPLA that opposes itself to Unity of Angolan nationalism.

At the moment when the African countries themselves make their efforts to consolidate African unity, MPLA is itself also concerned with this problem. We go forward with the African forces which place as their fundamental task unity, cooperation and solidarity taking as base a common history and conditions.

What we propose to the independent African countries is that they only intervene in the Angolan affair to reinforce the potential of nationalist forces and not to deepen the existing division.

There is no question of engaging our policy in either bloc which are trying to share the world between themselves. Our only attitude related to the blocs is to make sincerely our efforts to wipe out the attempts of installation of an atmosphere of cold war among the Angolan freedom fighters and prevent complications of international manoeuvres in tomorrow Angola.

We are pursuing the mobilization of international opinion against our direct enemy, Portuguese colonialism, and the campaigns of appeal to solidarity of all anticolonialist organisations.

Thus, we adopt the same attitude sanctioned by the O.A.U.

The non-alignment of our foreign policy does not hide any deliberated choice of an ideology and should not be considered as a blackmail tactic. On the contrary, it is a realist statement and the only possible behaviour in a world heavy of threats, in which people still under foreign domination would have much to lose if they become prisoners of the game of competition between the blocs.

Finally, our diplomatic action is also based in our ~~stubber~~ stubbornness towards Portuguese colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

#### MPLA SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

##### Technical training

In face of the tragic situation of more than 300,000 refugees, MPLA created in Léopoldville the ANGOLAN VOLUNTEER CORPS FOR REFUGEE RELIEF (CVAAR) which has among its technical personnel eleven Angolan doctors with an indiscutable professional experience and 40 registered nurses. Some teachers completed the CVAAR technical body which, since 1961, developed a great activity to lessen the Angolan refugee tragic social conditions in the Congo since the beginning of the armed struggle.

CVAAR set up two main dispensaries in Léopoldville and in Matadi and 22 medical and school stations along the Congo-Angola border. These dispensaries and stations assisted free of charge, thousand of refugees by carrying out medical consultations, aiding with medicines, injections and other treatments, by distributing clothes, food and by achieving an intensive activity of basic educational and professional training.

Where the Congolese dispensary did not exist, CVAAR helped Congolese patients too. Some provincial governments among which those of Kwango and Central Congo, have shown their deep concern to Mr. Adoula for difficulties risen to MPLA and CVAAR which caused an acute dissatisfaction among the provincial populations and left these governments unarmed toward refugee's shower.

Foreseeing Angola needs in technical training, MPLA has in several European and American countries more than three hundred students who, with those already technically trained (the majority

belongs to MPLA) will be the intellectual base to assure Angola's economic, cultural and social development tomorrow.

MPLA efforts for Unity  
of Angolan Nationalism

The idea of a united front has always been a constant political action of MPLA. In press statements, communiqués for Angolan militants and people, to the UNO, in Memoranda addressed to Head of states and governments, MPLA has never ceased to express with strength its firm decision to develop its action in favour of a Liberation United Front.

For example, one can read the following text in the Memorandum addressed to the Conference of Head of States from the non-aligned countries (Belgrade, September 1961):

" At this stage of the Angolan people's liberation struggle, MPLA considers as a first need the increase and rising up of the fighting militarily and politically.

But this action must be led by an Angolan Liberation Front which modalities have to be set up with the other nationalist groups. MPLA itself does not cease to appeal to all responsible people from Angolan nationalist movements for the holding of a Unity Conference."

We think that Angola independence, if it is achieved in the present conditions of an armed struggle based upon a United Front, will have better chances of liberation from all-foreign domination and exploitation."

It is always convenient to remind MPLA efforts for the setting up of a Liberation Front.

In January 1960, there were talks between MPLA and UPA. The latter did not carry out the agreements.

In April 1961, two MPLA leaders duly accredited had talks with UPA, ALLIAZO (today PDA) and MLEC leaders about the project of a front. UPA president and some of his leading fellows opposed themselves from the beginning to the idea of a front itself.

On June 23 1961, a new MPLA step did not find a favourable echo from UPA.

On August 23 1963, however, under pressure from the masses, UPA announced in a communiqué that it admitted the idea " of constitution of a front under UPA leadership" what could not be accepted by the other Angolan nationalist organisations.

Few time before the formation of FNLA - gathering UPA and PDA - Mr. Matumona, then PDA Vice President warned already,

" Certainly for reasons of opposition, UPA did not want to associate itself with ALLIAZO (PDA). But observers well informed on the Angolan problem see in the eventual cartel UPA/ALLIAZO the formation of a 'Northern force' against the 'Southern force' incarnated by MPLA. Once this cartel formed, then UPA would conquer the whole country and impose there its law." (See "Courrier d'Afrique" of February 5 1962).

On March 27, 1962, PDA and UPA associated themselves into a cartel named FNLA.

On April 5 1962, leaders of this "Front" proclaimed the setting up of a "government" of the Angolan Republic in Exile... MPLA was neither warned nor invited to any of these two operations.

On May 3, 1962, Mr. Cleophas Kamitatu, former Minister of the Interior of Congo-Léopoldville government, with the Angolan nationalist organisations tried to find a platform for their "unity". Mr. Kamitatu himself could be aware of the goodwill of the project of a front presented by MPLA and witnessed the stubborn position of UPA leaders who wanted to impose a front under their leadership.

On June 6 1962 at the Freedom Fighters Conference in Accra, President Nkrumah presented his "POINT OF VIEW" on unity of the Angolan nationalist forces to MPLA, UPA and PDA delegates. It planned a "military alliance", the creation of a Unified military command and of a "national council" formed by representatives from the three political organisations.

This "POINT OF VIEW" should be discussed in Léopoldville what was done without the last positive result on August 5 1962. Dr. Agostinho Neto who had just escaped from Lisbon where he had been deported, took part in this meeting. At this occasion UPA president refused to meet Dr. Neto, on the excuse that there were offensive terms on the letter that Dr. Neto had written him.

On January 25 1963, when an Algerian goodwill mission led by Commander Slimane was in Léopoldville, UPA refused all meetings aiming at unity. One of the meetings should even be held in the office of the Minister of External Affairs of Congo-Léopoldville, then Mr. Justin Bomboko.

Since February 1964 in agreement with the pressing appeals from the anxious masses after the bad turn taken by the Angolan problem, MPLA has launched the watchword of an all nationalist forces Congress in order to set up a plan capable of safekeeping Angolan nationalism from the dangerous situation into which it has been placed. Thousands of Angolans have already shown their agreement with such a Congress and they only looking for the day it will be held.



### FDLA FORMATION

The systematic refusal of UPA/PDA (FNLA) cartel to study a platform of common action with the other Angolan nationalist organisations, the increasing demoralization of the masses in face of the existing division, led MPLA to undertake talks with other Angolan nationalist organisations since January 1963 in order to gather their efforts for the liberation fight.

Addis Ababa decisions reinforced this determination which was well founded upon the revolutionary principle of gathering all energies capable of contributing to the fight for national liberation.

At the meeting of the Committee of Nine in Dar-es Salaam (June 1963), MPLA was accompanied by a representative of one of these organisations according to the decision of a common action in all fields, adopted by the Unity Committee mandated by the participating organisations.

In July 1963, in order to facilitate the task of the Goodwill Mission sent by the OAU Committee for Africa liberation to "stimulate harmony and achieve unity among the several nationalist movements with a common aspiration for liberation." (See Final Communiqué of the Coordinating Committee for Africa Liberation, Dar es Salaam, June 4 1963). The Unity Committee of these organisations brought into being the Democratic Front for Angola Liberation (F.D.L.A.) formed by MNA, NGWIZAKO, UNTA and MPLA.

This Front did not reject a priori the eventual adhesion of other Angolan nationalist organisations, ready to engage themselves to act according to the following adopted principles:

- I - Definitive liquidation by all means of Portuguese colonialism in Angola.
- II - Consolidation of national independence through the practice of a non-aligned policy.
- III - Fight neo-colonialism under all its forms.
- IV - Setting up of a democratic regime in Angola under which all Human Fundamental Rights will be guaranteed.
- V - Admission into the Front of all nationalist organisations willing to do so, after a discussion at the same equality level.
- VI - Increasing of both the armed and the political struggle.
- VII - Formation of a political council which must approve all opinion expressed on behalf of the Front.
- IX - Formation of one Liberation Army under one Command.

- IX - Formation of one organisation for social relief and mass education.
- X - Condemnation of fratricide fight and all signs of tribal, regional, racial and religious hate.
- XI - Increase of brotherhood and mutual aid among the Angolans from all social strata.
- XII - Constant defence of national unity and the country territorial integrity.
- XIII - Solemn and active engagement to the achievement of African Unity in the spirit of the Addis Ababa Charter.
- XIV - Respect of personality of each organisation participating in the Front.

At a press conference held in Léopoldville on July 10 1963 by Dr. Agostinho Neto, FDLA expressed its readiness to negotiate without any previous condition with FNLA (formed by UPA and PDA) in order to have only one Front. Up until today FDLA has not yet received any answer from FNLA.

II

MPLA does not want to insist now on action and recommendations from the Good-will Mission in Léopoldville in June 1963 to gather the Angolan freedom fighters.

Our opinion about this question has already been told several times in different documents which we had the honour of sending to the African Governments and to the OAU bodies.

The Good-will Mission was practically prevented from seeing deeply the Angola problem because of the especial conditions it had to deal with. These circumstances did not inspire the Good-will Mission to take a trip into Angola or at least along the border (where more than 400,000 Angolan refugees are settled). Such a trip could help the Good-will Mission to inquire on the situation and surely to arrive to a different conclusion. Today the disastrous consequences of these recommendations are too evident and they do not bring any doubt to those indeed interested in our national liberation

cause. MPLA wants never again to turn to this question.

The essential point now is to find a capable way to avoid the fact of preventing an active participation of all Angolan revolutionary wishes into the national liberation process. Reinforcement of the revolutionary action against Portuguese colonialism must be its basic element.

The Angolan people's experience of struggle allows MPLA to state to the Honourable African Head of States and Governments that as long as the same conditions to struggle are granted to the Angolan nationalist organisations deeply engaged in the national liberation struggle, it will be possible to reinforce the Angolan nationalist movement and change it into a unique patriotic stream mainly dedicated to the task of liquidating colonial domination. On the contrary, the policy of setting up unequal conditions for the several nationalist groups, especially if this policy aims to handicap a political movement like MPLA which revolutionary capacity and devotion cannot be question, such a policy brings no positive and concrete contribution and it will only be a loss of energy in actions unable to take the struggle forward and to finish up the enemy.

In a revolutionary action there must be a perfect and total basic agreement. The several groups undergoing more directly arbitrariness and atrocities from Portuguese domination, can usually reach common action through their freedom of action. Thus people are drawn into unity, organisation, a more and more complete understanding of the goals to be reached. Separation of the people's most consequent wishes can only help to stop its efforts in a hard activity because often the latter becomes an ennefectual activity.

For these last months unveiled reality is mainly characterized by a clear set-back of the armed struggle and the increasing number of Angolans who, sceptical about the end of their heroic struggle, are seeking shelter in the Congo.

This set-back in the armed struggle even caused the departure of a Portuguese battalion from Angola to Guinea (Bissao) and the transfer of nazy commander Schultz from Angola to Guinea (Bissao) where he became a governor.

Rich from its people struggle experience and better aware than no one of the Angolan problem in its totality, MPLA firmly challenges and will always challenge each attempt to draw away any group of the Angolan nationalist forces from the responsibility of leading the struggle.

Union of all revolutionary forces can be achieved in the struggle and the Angolan people will only reach the level and intensify desired by the Honourable African Head of States and of Governments who, at this moment have the historial responsibility of our people's liberation, through freedom of action for all nationalist forces sincerely engaged in their own country national independence struggle.

Our armed action, though an effective one, could not develop itself normally up to the desired fulness due to the fact that we were forced to a political and military activity based on the context of

some well known circumstances which reacted in a systematic way to carry out within Angolan nationalism an unbalance of forces to wipe our organisation out.

And at a certain moment, imperialism decided to put Africa before the accomplished fact of recognition of a fraction of the Angolan nationalism forces and thus it found a legal basis for a direct repressive action upon Angolans by the Africans themselves who should understand better and support our struggle.

Exactly because MPLA is a movement having a broad social deeply mass supported basis, right because of its wide task accomplished despite short of means, because of its cadres quality and quantity, in short because of the strength of its principles and understanding from the people and government of the Republic of Congo-Brazzaville, MPLA was able to resist all these difficulties and became itself a firmer nationalist movement engaged in the process of national liberation. MPLA will always remain so until the Angolan people's rights are recognized and applied. Because of its truly national origin, its policy of supporting the Angolan oppressed majority interests, its choice of a non-aligned policy, its African feature led toward progress, its serious political and military activity, its democratic structure, and the size of its trained and training cadres, because of all this, any attempt to stop MPLA activities can only cause a dangerous set-back on the Angolan nationalist forces.

All friend and unfriend peoples following the development of our struggle know that the queer situation aiming the liquidation of MPLA revolutionary strength has failed and it will never succeed. Barriers risen on our way have been systematically turned over.

Our organisation once shaken by difficulties from imperialism was able to recover itself and today it remains stronger than never.

Our guerilla units whose courage and patriotism past over the suffocating situation forced upon us, have achieved a huge task. They have been able to carry on and reinforce their armed action against Portuguese colonialists whose bridges do not stop blowing up and whose arms are always being seized.

MPLA suggests that the OAU sets up a committee to see on the spot the accomplished task in this armed sense. MPLA takes the responsibility of having this committee cover some hundred kilometers inside Angola under MPLA guerilla men's protection.

More than 2,000 MPLA members took part in the last Assembly of one zone inside Angola. This meeting gathered representatives from several areas and two leaders from the outside delegation. MPLA finds support from all social levels of the Angolan people: farmers, intellectuals, civil servants, industry and trade workers, women and youth who all form MPLA cells both in the countryside and in urban centers.

MPLA demands a sacred right: FREEDOM OF ACTION in all African countries in the same conditions as any other Angolan

nationalist organisation for our country national independence.

MPLA believes in the OAU wisdom and devotion to Africa's liberation cause. MPLA hopes that concern for justice and love for freedom will inspire African responsible leaders in their task of finding the most elementary conditions for the Angolan people to fight on and set itself free.

