



ANGOLA in ARMS

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MPLA statement on OAU's withdrawal of recognition of "GRAE"

The Organisation of African Unity has just made a decision which we have no hesitation in considering to be a historic one: the eighth Summit of African Heads of State and Government has withdrawn recognition of the so-called "revolutionary Angolan government in exile" (grae), refusing to accept this puppet body among its members.

The resolution, which does honour to the OAU, is not only the just reparation of a tragic mistake, but it is also a tribute paid to the MPLA militants in their armed struggle for national liberation. This resolution crowns the ceaseless efforts our Movement has consistently made to show that the MPLA alone represents the Angolan people's aspirations for national independence.

Here we briefly recall the main stages which have led to the present situation:

1. On 5 April 1962, two tribally-based political groupings, UPA and the PDA, which had come together nine days previously in a cartel named the FNLA, announced the setting up of a so-called government of the Angolan republic in exile.

2. Immediately afterwards, on 15 April 1962, the Executive Committee of the MPLA addressed a memorandum to the Heads of State to warn them of the dangers implied in recognition of this "government." The conclusions of the memorandum were as follows:

"It is certain that the formation of the alleged provisional government of the republic of Angola will sanctify old factors of division between the Angolan people and introduce and maintain new dividing factors. Furthermore, the Angolan people's aspiration to freedom and the sacrifices they are making to free



themselves from foreign domination are being betrayed. Africa's personality and freedom are also diminished by this intrinsic alienation of the alleged provisional government of the republic of Angola to foreign interests".

3. However, the Organisation of African Unity was created in 1963 and it considered that the liberation struggle should be led by a unitary movement or, in the absence of one, by a united front of all the movements fighting in the same territory.

4. Arbitrarily basing itself on the creation of the FNLA, and at a time when the first meeting of the African Liberation Committee was taking place in Dar es Salaam, on 29 June 1963, the Congo Kinshasa government, through its Secretary for Foreign Affairs, announced its de jure recognition of an Angolan government, but this time a revolutionary one and still in exile: "grae."

5. The second African Summit of Heads of State and Government, meeting in Cairo in July 1964, recommended the recognition of "grae" and called upon this puppet body and the MPLA to "suppress their differences and form a common action front." Furthermore, the resolution "requests the Liberation Committee, aided by Congo Brazzaville, Ghana and the UAR, to use its good offices to reconcile, by all means of persuasion, the revolutionary Angolan govern-

ment in exile and the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, in order to ensure the establishment of a united front of all nationalist elements in the independence struggle". (AHG/Res 18).

From that time, the MPLA carried on a consistent campaign to explain the unjust nature of the OAU Summit's recommendation. The MPLA nevertheless worked for the unity of Angola's nationalist forces, at the same time developing its political and military activity in the field, against numerous obstacles.

After the last meeting of the "Committee of Three", held in Cairo from 10 to 15 October 1966, the two movements signed an agreement in which they agreed as follows:

(a) The immediate cessation of all forms of hostile propaganda under the supervision of an OAU body;

(b) The immediate release of all members of the two movements detained by one or the other side;

(c) The setting up on an OAU Military Commission of Enquiry to re-evaluate the situation in Angola and to make recommendations on the form of assistance required to intensify the common armed struggle and make it more effective;

(d) Immediately on conclusion of the work of the OAU Commission of Enquiry, a joint MPLA and GRAE

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committee will be set up with a view to examining practical forms of co-operation between the two movements, in both the military and political spheres."

It would be over-fastidious and superfluous to enumerate the unilateral violations of this agreement which, moreover, was never ratified by the policy-making bodies of "grae." The puppet body has always, in substance, been an obstacle to the Angolan people's liberation struggle.

True to its political line, the MPLA expanded and consolidated military operations in Cabinda, on the north-western front and in the south-east of the country, not without encouraging the reconciliation work of a committee of five member states (Congo Brazzaville, Congo Kinshasa, Ghana, the UAR and Zambia), decided on by the OAU Summit, meeting in Kinshasa in September 1967.

6. The meeting of the Committee of Five for Angola, held in Addis Ababa from 22 to 27 June 1968, adopted a resolution expressly recommending to the Conference of Heads of State and Government to "withdraw the recognition of the revolutionary government of Angola in exile granted to the FNLA as a step likely to promote reconciliation." The Committee of Five had reached this conclusion having noted "that the recognition of the status of government in exile granted to the FNLA had encouraged this movement to rest on its laurels and had considerably weakened its combative enthusiasm."

Military Commission which went to an area of the Third Military Region in March 1969.

In the conclusion to its report, the Commission stated flatly that the MPLA was the only force fighting effectively in Angola.

As can be seen, all of this lengthy process has ended in the historic decision taken by the eighth OAU Summit.

Such a far-reaching victory, while made possible thanks to the tenacity of the struggle of the MPLA militants, is also the victory of the governments of those African countries which have never been sparing in their aid to the MPLA, particularly Congo Brazzaville, Zambia and Tanzania. President Kenneth Kaunda, who was elected the current chairman of the seventh Summit, has also been an architect of our triumph.

It is true that the government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo still recognises the defunct "grae". This is a decision which falls within the scope of the normal prerogatives of its sovereignty. But it is our belief that the DRC would gain by conforming to the spirit and letter of the OAU resolution. A change in its attitude, which has up to now been intransigent

towards the MPLA, which gets no support from Congo Kinshasa, would be a very important contribution towards completing the liquidation of the colonial presence in Angola. We are prepared to enter into a dialogue on these lines with the DRC authorities.

The dynamic advance of our national liberation struggle is forcing the Portuguese fascist government in collaboration with the racist Vorster government, to reinforce its strategic and military apparatus in order to pursue its genocidal colonial war in Angola. It is therefore essential that all African countries and progressive forces throughout the world increase their aid in every sphere to the only vanguard movement, the guarantor of the Angolan people's aspirations to national independence: the MPLA.

Strengthened by its victory at the OAU and conscious of its historic responsibilities, the MPLA hails the current chairman of the OAU, His Excellency Mokhtar Ould Daddah and all the African peoples fighting for the total liberation of the continent.

The Executive Committee of
the MPLA

Lusaka, 25 June, 1971.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN

