

MEMORANDUM

OF THE

MPLA

TO THE MEETING OF THE

TRIPARTITE COMMISSION

— CAIRO, OCTOBER 13, 1966

PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT
FOR THE LIBERATION
OF
ANGOLA
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MEMORANDUM PRESENTED TO THE HONOURABLE
COMMISSION OF THREE IN ITS MEETING
HELD IN CAIRO ON OCTOBER THE 10th 1966

Mister President
Honourable Delegates

The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) takes this opportunity in which this meeting of the Commission of Three is held to salute the Honourable Members of the Commission and to present our wishes and encouragements that the mission trusted upon you by the Heads of States and Governments, during the African Summit held in Cairo on July of 1964, be accomplished.

On the 20th of September of 1965, less than a year ago, the MPLA had agreed, for the fourth time, following the convocation by this Commission, to attend the Conciliation Meeting held in Cairo, a meeting to which the FNLA was absent for the fourth time.

On the 10th of October of 1966, the MPLA responds once again to the convocation of the Conciliation Committee, taking the liberty to call to the attention of the Members of this honourable Commission to the proposals we presented on the 20th of September included in the following four points:

- "1- Cessation of the fratricide fights directed by the FNLA, and of all the quarrels between the FNLA and the MPLA; release of all the political prisoners, members of the MPLA, presently held in the KINKUZU base and in jails in Congo (Kinshasa) under the orders of the FNLA.
- 2- Immediate establishment of a Committee of Representatives composed of members of the MPLA and of the FNLA to study and analyze the basis for the formation of a common politico-military organism.
- 3- If necessary make a military inquiry in order to certify to the OAU what are the accomplishments and the politico-military activities of each of the organizations.
- 4- Revision of the recognition extended to the "angolan government in exile" by the OAU since this government was prematurely established and serves as an obstacle to the development of the struggle and the unity of the combative forces.

Today, although our problem has evolved and several transformations have occurred in the Angolan nationalist sphere, these propositions remain valid.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF UNITY-----

During the Conference of the African Heads of State and Governments, on July of 1964, it was decided that the Angolan affair should be seriously considered in order to find means to unify the MPLA and the so-called "GRAE" even though this one was already in a decadent state.

To this effect, on the light of a decision taken during the First Session of this Conference held in Cairo, a Commission of Three was established and the United Arab Republic, Congo (Brazzaville), and Ghana were elected members of the Commission. This body was given the powers to find the means to bring about a rapprochement, co-operation or unity of the several liberation movements of Angola. In other words, the Commission of Three was given the powers to reconcile the several movements, notably the MPLA and the so-called GRAE, in order that a United Front could be established.

The MPLA has always been willing and ready to participate in the meetings called by the Commission, thus giving always consideration to the efforts made this body, contrary to the other party which has always been absent.

Between the years of 1964 and 1965, the situation in which the Angolan nationalism finds itself changed considerably. Today it is more evident than ever that the MPLA is incontestably the only combating force in Angola. One may then ask oneself, very justly, whether the so-called "GRAE" still exists!

In reality, the admission of the existence of such organism is for us purely doubtful. Which is the composition of the so-called "government"? What is the support and the prestige it receives from the Angolan people? What are the activities it exerts within the country?

Neither in the Cabinda Front, nor in the Moxico Front--recently opened--and still neither in the Northern Front of the country one finds the presence of the so-called "GRAE." The "GRAE" is simple and completely null. Thus we ask ourselves, what significance or value could have, at this moment, the problem of unity between the MPLA and the so-called "GRAE"?

The MPLA considers that if the Honourable Commission of Three undertakes a serious inquiry of the situation, the Commission would verify that the existence of the so-called "GRAE" would be strongly questioned.

To this effect, therefore, it seems to us that our reservations and our doubts concerning the real existence of the so-called "GRAE" are more or less confirmed, especially if one takes into account, for instance, the content of a letter (attached document) addressed to the Director Committee of the Union of the Populations of Angola (UPA), specifically to Mr. Holden Roberto, and dated August 2nd of 1965, signed by the Democratic Party of Angola (member of the FNLA) and some individuals ex-MPLA members who have abusively adopted the title of leaders of the MPLA. We quote from a portion of this letter to bring it to the knowledge of this Commission of Three:

"In our opinion a Front such as ours, comprising already three parties should:

- re-enforce and orientate the Revolution differently putting our common energies to the services of an organized revolution instead of an anarchic revolt.
- define the objectives of the war, its political perspectives and to draw an Angolan policy designed to gain the support of all the social classes of Angola, keeping them united under a common ideal and under a revolution by common means of action and propaganda.
- define the prerogatives of our institutions and limited responsibilities in order to perform our tasks efficient and orderly, since disorder paralyzes and kills.

Your desire for unity is declining before these objectives since these may not be attained unless a joint discussion and confrontation of views concerning the basis for our unity are previously held.