

MEMORANDUM  
TO THE O.U.A. COUNCIL FOR FOREIGN MINISTERS



PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF ANGOLA - M.P.L.A.

FEBRUARY 28, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO

THE OAU COUNCIL FOR FOREIGN MINISTERS

The MPLA greets the Honorable Members at this session and wishes them all encouragement.

It is the duty of our Movement to remind you the urgent need of application of the decision from the Accra Summit Conference concerning FREEDOM OF ACTION to be allowed to the movements of the Portuguese colonies by all neighboring states.

In fact, despite the steps taken near the Congo Léopoldville government and despite also the other measures taken near all member states, the Congo Léopoldville Government is still preventing movement of men and the necessary materials for the development of the struggle led by MPLA at home.

Having acquired the essential conditions and the indispensable material means for the development of the struggle in Angola, the MPLA takes this opportunity to remind you that today only the stubbornness of not allowing FREEDOM OF ACTION to MPLA, is preventing the beginning of new battlefronts and therefore, hampering the development of our liberation struggle across our national territory.

Our Organization considers division of Angolan nationalism caused abroad by several forces interested in maintaining confusion within the Angolan nationalist ranks, should not prevent the development of our national liberation struggle.

Often people are pretending to explain the slowness of the development of our struggle by the division of Angolan nationalism. Meanwhile, those people are forgetting the fact that action against Portuguese colonialists cannot be efficiently carried out if the states bordering on Angola keep on refusing at least FREEDOM OF CIRCULATION for the nationalist organizations.

MPLA Steering Committee is completely convinced that the problem of Unity should be considered in connection with FREEDOM OF ACTION or at least the simple crossing of men and war equipment through the states bordering on Angola. We are sure that FREEDOM OF ACTION will help to bring about Unity!

Since 1964 when the MPLA was recognized and with the kind toleration of the African Liberation Committee and of all OAU organs, people have been witnessing the systematic refusal of a member state of the African Liberation Committee, a signatory of the Addis Ababa Charter and of the last African Summit decisions, the Republic of Congo Léopoldville, on granting FREEDOM OF ACTION to MPLA. Meanwhile, self-styled Angolan political parties have been springing up.

abundantly and almost every week in the very Congo-Léopoldville. Those parties have no influence at home and no action against Portuguese colonialism.

Some examples of the struggle in Portuguese colonies have proved that in the so-called Portuguese Guinea and in Mozambique there was also the false problem of division which, as in Angola, was incited in by African and non-African forces trying to set up the so-called nationalist organizations in order to bring in confusion.

Yet, because the states of great Africans like Sékou Touré and Julius Nyerere have allowed FREEDOM OF ACTION to the most dynamic, authentic and determined organizations ready to fight Portuguese colonialism, the PAIGC and the FRELIMO, FREEDOM OF ACTION has succeeded to separate immediately those two organizations from the self-styled nationalist groups there. The struggle led by the above mentioned two organizations has been progressing on since then. It was necessary to separate the true from the false!

In the case of Angola, one cannot help to notice that our armed struggle in the Angolan region of Cabinda is not due to Unity with reactionary organizations or with the ones cooperating with our oppressors in Congo-Brazzaville, but rather it exists thanks to the political probity of the great African President Massamba-Débat who has allowed a wide FREEDOM OF ACTION to MPLA.

Now one has to recognize that despite the errors committed by the OAU, at home the MPDA is the only authentic organization capable of waging on the liberation struggle. The MPDA will achieve unity of the Angolan people through action. Facts are proving it. Future will confirm it. FREEDOM OF ACTION is sufficient to clarify this matter.

To connect FREEDOM OF ACTION to a unitarian platform with the so-called "Angolan government in exile", an openly anti-unitarian organization always refusing to come before the Committee of Three, an organization which is the major obstacle for unification of the nationalist forces in Angola, does not resolve the unity problem.

Let us point out the fact that the anti-unitarian principles of this grouping have exactly taken the Board of the Nationalist Organizations of Portuguese Colonies (CONCP) to interpret the unanimous feeling of the decisions of its second Conference held in Dar es Salaam last October, in a message addressed to the President of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Accra, demanding to include into the African Summit Agenda the question of REVISION THE RECOGNITION OF THE SO-CALLED "grae".

The latter is isolated both at national and international levels. No other organization is considering the "grae" but the OAU and the Congo Léopoldville government. After having considered the situation in Angola, the Fourth Conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization held in Winneba - Ghana last May 9-16, has UNANIMOUSLY decided to expel from its ranks the "Angolan national liberation front" led by Mr. Holden Roberto, because of his anti-unitarian action.

There were several attempts from the so-called "Angolan government in exile" to take part in the recent and historical Tricontinental Conference. Anyway, all its endeavors failed and only the PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF ANGOLA (MPLA) has been invited to participate as a member and as the legitimate representative of the Angolan people.

Through its anti-unitarian action and its policy of serving non-African interests, the self-styled "grae" has thus consecrated its isolation. Its representativity is challenged both at national and international levels. At the international level, only the imperialists are supporting "grae" in order to use it against the Angolan people's interests.

That is why MPLA thinks that in face of these irrefutable facts and of the events which have taken place within the "grae" whose balance presented to Africa and the world is a shame, the question of FREEDOM OF ACTION for MPLA should not be subordinated to Unity. As long as the so-called "grae" is sabotaging all steps toward unity, to deny FREEDOM OF ACTION to MPLA means to bring our struggle to a halt.

Aware of the importance for Africa and our peoples, of the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism, we hope that the OAU Council of Ministers will play its great role by doing all to hasten the liberation of our country from colonial yoke.

FREEDOM OF ACTION FOR MPLA, IN THE STATES BORDERING ON  
ANGOLA!

REVISION OF THE SO-CALLED "grae" RECOGNITION!

Brazzaville, February 28, 1966

MPLA INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE!

