

PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT
OF ANGOLA

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BRAZZAVILLE

Rep. of the CONGO

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P E T I T I O N

from

PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF ANGOLA

to the

MEETING OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTERS of the O.U.A.

Lagos, February 24, 1964

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ON BEHALF OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE'S SACRED RIGHT TO BE MASTER OF ITS OWN
DESTINY AND CHOOSE ITSELF THE MEANS TO ACHIEVE IT;

ACCORDING TO THE AFRICAN UNITY CHARTER AND ITS PRINCIPLES WHICH SAYS AT
ARTICLE 3:

- 2 - No mingling into the internal affairs of the states;
- 4 - Peaceful settlement of disputes through negotiation, mediation, conciliation and arbitration;

ACCORDING to the decision taken by the African Heads of States at Addis Ababa at the formation of the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (O.U.A.) about pointnumber 1 of the agenda - DECOLONIZATION - and especially points 10, 11, 12, 14 ad 15 on:

- a) An urging invitation "to all liberation nationalist movements to coordinate their efforts by creating common fronts of action in order to reinforce the struggle efficiency and use wisely the coordinated aid which will be given to them";
- b) Creation of a "COORDINATING COMMITTEE" responsible for harmonizing the aid provided by the African States" for the liberation nationalist movements;
- c) Creation of a "SPECIAL FUND ... to provide the necessary material and financial aid to the several African movements of national liberation";
- d) Decision of "welcoming into the African independent states nationalists from the liberation movements in order to assure their training in all aspects...";
- e) Decision of "favoring in each state the handling of material aid";

ACCORDING to the resolution of the Coordinating Committee which met in Dar-es-

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Salaam, June 25-July 4, 1963, after the recognition of the so-called Angolan government by Mr. Cyrille ADOULA's government, the Coordinating Committee appointed, for Angola and Guinea (Bissao), "special missions of goodwill, responsible for stimulating harmony and achieving unity among the several nationalist movements which have a common desire for freedom"...

ACCORDING to recommendations from the goodwill Mission on Angola and their influence upon the recommendations of the Coordinating Committee and the meeting of Foreign Affairs Ministers of O.A.U. held in Dakar last August, 1963;

ACCORDING to the state of war between the Angolan people and Portuguese colonialism since February 4, 1961;

ACCORDING to the responsibilities taken toward the Angolan people by the People's Liberation Movement of Angola before, during and after the launching of the armed fight in Angola;

SINCE the aim of this responsibility is the conquering of independence for Angola and, therefore, it is necessary to have the Angolan people, the African States and all countries concerned with the Angolan question aware of the facts and rights at the MPLA side;

I

CONSIDERING, on one hand,

THAT the unilateral recognition by Léopoldville of the so-called Angolan government, on June 29, 1963, is in flagrant contradiction with the decisions taken by the African Heads of States on May 25, 1963, after a long and careful analysis of the Angolan question;

THAT the conclusions of the goodwill Mission and, therefore, the rushed decisions of the Coordinating Committee in Léopoldville in face of an accomplished fact of unilateral recognition, have questioned the decisions of the African Heads of States themselves;

THAT Mr. Cyrille ADOULA's government, through its frequent, excusing promises about transit of MPLA arms and concession of a training camp for MPLA soldiers, tried to asphyxiate on purpose MPLA military action before and after the above mentioned decisions from the African Heads of states. Evidently, its aim of presenting the Angolan National Liberation Front (F.N.L.A.) as the only active party in the armed fight does not correspond at all to reality in any aspect;

THAT the Coordinating Committee has given itself powers beyond those established at Addis Ababa by trying to set the strategy of the liberation struggle and by decreeing on the degree of representativity of such and such movement;

THAT the Coordinating Committee itself surprised and anxious at the unilateral decision of Mr. Cyrille ADOULA's government, during its first meeting in Dar-es-Salaam with representatives from the African nationalist movements quickly sent a goodwill Mission to Léopoldville charged with very limited reconciliation powers;

THAT because of Mr. Cyrille ADOULA's and his representatives's firm opposition to each effort to reconsider such a biased attitude toward MPLA (Mr. ADOULA himself warned the goodwill Mission members on this matter at the garden-party given at their arrival), the Goodwill Mission adopted a procedure very similar to one from a court - at which MPLA was supposed to play the roll of charged with one waders what crimes. At least, one can notice this attitude at the following points:

1. Adoption of a procedure and of a self-attribution of powers which, from the beginning forecast the failure of all reconciliation in profit of the organization sponsored by Mr. Cyrille ADOULA's government;
2. A free and long hearing (as it were fair) of the FNLA president;
3. Refusal of hearing the President of the Angola Democratic Liberation Front (F.D.L.A.) as such, pretending lack of time;
4. Hearing of a member expelled from MPLA;
5. Refusal of hearing the MPLA president as such, pretending a matter of procedure;
6. Confidential hearing of the Congolese government representatives;
7. Deliberation, conclusion and recommendations without any examination of the facts that were told;

THAT today it is stated that the goodwill Mission, in its recommendations, has gone too beyond its task of "stimulating harmony and achieving unity". At the contrary, it did no visible effort in this sense;

THAT the principles to be considered for an eventual choice of an organization to benefit of a SPECIAL FUND from the O.A.U., principles numbered by the chairman of the goodwill Mission at his opening speech, have been established by the Committee of Nine. Moreover, such a procedure is in contradiction with the principles of the O.A.U. Charter. Therefore, the Committee of Nine alone was enabled to choose, if necessary, one organization to benefit from such funds. Those principles were not intended for the use of the goodwill Mission which had not and could not have such powers because of its very nature;

THAT the refusal of hearing MPLA president when he presented himself as FDIA president was contrary to the aims of the Mission itself. Thus, it turned down the only possibility of an agreement by confronting the two present fronts and assuring the fact that the true reasons which prevent a unity of action are strange to Angolan nationalism and they are the responsibility neither of MPLA nor of FDIA. No procedure justifies such a refusal, especially after hearing a member expelled from MPLA;

THAT the formation of FDIA, prepared long time ago and achieved on July 7, 1963, three days after the end of the first meeting of the Committee of Nine, was according to the resolutions on unity of the nationalist movements;

THAT the roll of "court" that the goodwill Mission attributed to itself, was not even played with calm, impartiality and a non bureaucratic spirit of research required by such a delicate and important affair. The result was that the goodwill Mission drew its conclusions and based itself upon uncontrolled, deceiving statements not proved by the FNLA chief and upon biased declarations from Mr. Cyrille ADOULA's representatives (e.g., a false charge that MPLA has "contacts with the opposition group to the Congolese government" and that MPLA had set up an office in Stanleyville at the time of Mr. Antoine Gizenga. MPLA has never been in Stanleyville).

THAT MPLA, wherever it has been, never mingled itself into the internal affairs of its host states;

THAT the goodwill Mission, by giving itself the power to decree about the worthy

of such and such organization, underestimated the fact that MPLA has always suffered prejudices - its members have been arrested several times, its arms have been seized - the fact that MPLA military action has been systematically asphyxiated by Mr. ADOULA's government whose representatives, however, now question MPLA military action. Proof of such a suffocation is the repeated and useless steps taken by MPLA and by representatives from several African Heads of States toward Mr. ADOULA in order to have an authorization for transit of MPLA arms;

THAT the goodwill Mission only took into consideration the witness from the Central Government representatives and it was not concerned with knowing the authorized opinion of the provincial governments near the border such as, Kwango, Congo Central, Unité Kasayenne, Kataga and Kwilu, as well as from the Angolan masses settled along the CONGO-ANGOLA border;

THAT a recommendation about the recognition of a government brings internal and external implications of such an order that it should not come from such a light, hasty and summary analysis like the one carried on at Kalina Palace by the goodwill Mission;

THAT the simple acceptance of conclusions from the goodwill Mission would bring the adoption of a new concept of "African legitimacy" in face of the concept of "international legitimacy" which would question the sound lawful bases upon which the African Organisation wants to build;

THAT no African planned or strategic action against Portugal and concerning Angola can consider the present reality of Angolan nationalism without both the MPLA and the FDLA playing a foreground roll;

II

On the other hand, CONSIDERING the fact

THAT repercussion on the conclusions and recommendations from the goodwill mission has already caused grave incidents on the Angolan question, such as:

1. Recognition by some African States, trusting seriously those recommendations, of a "government in exile" which, by its own nature, is not representative at all and it is incapable of carrying on until the end the struggle of the whole Angolan people;
2. Stagnation, rather retreat, of the Angolan liberation struggle since the conclusions of the goodwill Mission;
3. Disorder among the mass of freedom fighters and Angolan refugees, a disorder that has reached the heart of FNLA itself - there were several mutinies at the Kinkouzou camp which resulted in casualties and wounds and led to the control of the camp by the Congolese authorities of Léopoldville (see enclosed Documents)
4. Closing of MPLA and other Angolan parties offices in Léopoldville, imposed by the Congolese authorities, despite Mr. ADOULA's assurance, on the eve of his own unilateral recognition, that hospitality from the Congolese government would continue to be granted to the other Angolan nationalist organizations;
5. Closing down of the Angolan Volunteer Corps for Refugee Relief (CVAAR),

organization founded by MPLA and which, with an all-Angolan medical and nursing personnel, was the only Angolan organization present and efficient where the refugees are;

6. Numberless protests from the Congolese authorities along the border and thousands of refugees, against the abandon into which they have been thrown since the CVAAR was closed down;

THAT since the recommendations of the goodwill Mission, FNLA disguised into "government" has accomplished no striking achievement to dignify and make more efficient the Angolan liberation fight;

THAT FNLA has taken no steps toward the indispensable unity of action and it has not even answered the invitation concerning it from FDLA;

THEREFORE

THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF ANGOLA

- i) REJECTS the conclusions of the goodwill Mission and therefore the recommendations of the Committee of Nine and those from the Conference of the Foreign Affairs Ministers held in Dakar, on the Angolan problem;
- ii) DECIDES to present the enclosed MEMORANDUM-REMINDER for a benevolent and careful analysis from the African Heads of States;
- iii) DEMANDS a revision of the Angolan question - revision which is in agreement with the sense of unity of Angolan nationalism - and the setting up of an Investigation Committee formed by the countries of the Committee of Nine and also representatives from Morocco, Ghana and Congo-Brazzaville (countries more directly concerned with the Angolan question). This Committee would be responsible for such a revision;
- iv) REQUESTS urgent measures so that MPLA may have, in all African countries and especially in those having a common border with Angola, the same facilities granted to any other organization fighting for Angola independence;
- v) REAFFIRMS the fact that lack of acceptance by MPLA of the goodwill Mission conclusions and recommendations sprung from them, do not lessen at all its enthusiastic adherence and unyielding trust in the Organization of African Unity which setting up is in agreement with the aspiration of the Africans, the Angolans and MPLA;
- vi) REAFFIRMS its gratitude toward the people of Congo-Léopoldville and the respect due to its authorities. The remarks written here are only MPLA legitimate right to oppose itself to the error being committed against the Angolans, heavy on its consequences upon Africa itself;
- vii) URGES the African countries to take up their responsibilities on the Angolan affair.
MPLA will take its.

Brazzaville, February 20, 1964

On behalf of
MPLA POLITICAL DEPARTMENT

Agostinho NETO