

**ORGANIZATION OF  
AFRICAN UNITY**

**SECRETARIAT**

**P. O. Box 3143**

**ADDIS ABABA**

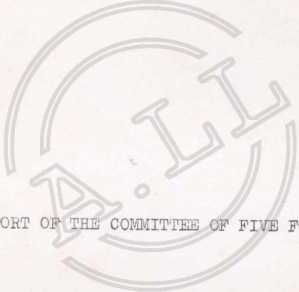
**ORGANISATION DE L'UNITE  
AFRIICAINE**

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COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
Eleventh Ordinary Session  
Algiers - September 1968



REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF FIVE FOR ANGOLA

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF FIVE FOR ANGOLA  
HELD IN ADDIS ABABA FROM 22ND TO 27TH  
JUNE, 1968

The Committee of Five for Angola met for the first time in Addis Ababa from 22nd to 27th June, 1968. Representatives of the five countries which make up the Committee - the Republic of Congo, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana, the United Arab Republic and Zambia - attended the meeting as well as representatives of the OAU General Secretariat and the Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee.

The list of delegates is attached as an annex to this report. Zambia and Ghana were elected as Chairman and Rapporteur respectively.

Applications were received from Ethiopia, Somalia, Tanzania and Tunisia for observer status and these were approved. Representatives of MPLA were also admitted into the meeting.

The Committee started its business with an address by the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU who counselled the Liberation Movements in Angola to end their fratricidal strife and personal rivalries and concert their actions against the Common enemy - Portugal.

The Chairman of the Committee explained that the Committee was meeting in response to Resolution CM/Res.101(IX) and CM/Res.137(X) in which the Council of Ministers charged it, inter alia, to "meet immediately in order to bring MPLA and GRAE together in a united front". To enable the Committee discharge this mandate, it was considered necessary for the Committee to hear a progress report on the situation prevailing in Angola. Consequently statements were made by the OAU Secretariat, the Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee, the countries bordering on Angola -- the Republic of Congo (B), the Democratic Republic of Congo (K) and Zambia -- and the President of MPLA.

A great deal of concern was expressed by the failure of GRAE to send representatives to the meeting more so since this is about the fifth time that GRAE had shown lack of co-operation in attempts by previous OAU bodies to reconcile the two movements.

The O.A.U. Secretariat announced on the second day of the Committee's meeting, that it had received a message from GRAE in which the latter had tried to explain that the difficulty of obtaining flights from Congo (K) had prevented them from arriving in Addis Ababa in good time for the meeting. GRAE however hoped to be in Addis Ababa on 27th June, 1968.

In his statement, the Assistant Secretary General of the O.A.U. expressed deep concern about the uncompromising attitude shown by Portugal vis a vis the possibility of a political settlement to the Angolan problem. It was pointed out that Portugal had allocated 42% of its budget requirements for military purposes and had reduced the age for conscription from twenty to eighteen. Reference was made to a statement in which the Foreign Minister of Portugal had said his country was in Africa to serve and protect the interests of the West and of the so-called Free World. In spite of the various forms of difficulties encountered by the freedom fighters their struggle had been waged with increased vigour and determination.

The Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee reported that both MPLA and GRAE had a degree of influence in certain parts of Angola although it was difficult, immediately, to suggest that either of them was controlling liberated areas. GRAE's influence appeared to border on the Democratic Republic of Congo while the MPLA was fighting in four areas viz:

- (1) The West side of Angola
- (2) In Cabinda
- (3) Eastern side of Angola
- (4) In the region bordering on Katanga which can be considered as the area of most intense activity. The Liberation Committee was continuing its assistance to the Liberation movements.

Following these remarks and at the request of the representative of Zambia, representatives of Congo (B) and Congo (K) spoke on steps that their respective countries had taken to make reconciliation possible and particularly, the release of prisoners held by either movement.

In his statement the representative of Congo (B) spoke of an agreement between his country and Congo (K) whereby the latter would take back from GRAE the arms it had confiscated from the MPLA freedom fighters, those arms would be handed over to the Congo (B) authorities with a view to returning them to the MPLA. The agreement also concerned the issue of prisoners who might be held in the camps of either movement. Noting the delicate nature of the release of prisoners the two countries had decided to set up a joint Committee to look into the matter. After some initial difficulties, the joint Committee visited MPLA camps where no prisons or prisoners were found. The second joint Committee visited the GRAE camps at Kinkuzu but it left Kinshasa two days late, the visit took place at night and the Committee departed after a stay of a couple of hours only in the Kinkuzu camp. Thus the visit was effected under difficult and as was termed suspicious circumstances.

In his intervention, the Representative of Congo (K) announced that his Government had returned the confiscated arms to MPLA through the Government of Congo (B). Congo (K) was unhappy with the report of the joint Committee which had reported on the non-existence of prisoners on either side. That Government was keen on helping reconcile the two factions but did not consider the release of prisoners as a necessary precondition to this effort.

The representative of Zambia spoke of the facilities that his country had provided to the MPLA, the only movement with an office in Lusaka, and of the President of Zambia's unsuccessful efforts to help reconcile the two factions. There had been very close cooperation between the Zambian Government and MPLA and Zambia had concrete evidence of the tremendous progress made by MPLA in the liberation struggle.

With the permission of the Committee, the President of MPLA addressed the Committee and analysed the activities of his party in the struggle against the Portuguese. The MPLA's activities were not confined to military matters only but were also of a political and social nature. The MPLA was reported as being in control of nine of the fifteen districts of Angola despite the increased assistance continuously offered to the Portuguese Government by NATO countries particularly the United States of America, West Germany, and South Africa. The MPLA's greatest military requirements were in logistic support.

On the social level, great strides have been made in providing schools and hospitals in the liberated areas. Here again the difficulty lies in the scarcity of teachers and doctors. The lack of adequate food supplies has given the MPLA some concern.

Following the statement of the President of MPLA, the representative of Ghana observed certain discernible conflicts in the MPLA statement and that made earlier by the Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee in as far as the question of liberated areas was concerned. The Ghana representative herefore suggested that the O.A.U. Military Commission should visit the liberated areas and submit a report. On the item dealing with the ways and means of uniting the two liberation movements, the O.A.U. Secretariat made certain recommendations for the Committee's consideration.

- (a) An appeal to the two movements to cease all forms of hostile propaganda.
- (b) An appeal for the immediate release of prisoners detained by either side.
- (c) An invitation to the two movements to set aside all interparty bitterness and strife
- (d) The formation of a joint Committee of MPLA and GRAE under the auspices of the O.A.U. to study the modalities of Cooperation between the two movements both in the military and political fields.

Following this, the representative of MPLA also made the following recommendations:

- (a) The Government of the Democratic Republic of Congo grant freedom of action to MPLA Cadres particularly to enable such Cadres to send arms to Katanga and operate from there.
- (b) That the Committee sends a delegation to Congo (K) to try and obtain the release of MPLA prisoners.
- (c) Appeal to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government to review the O.A.U. recognition of GRAE as a Government in Exile.

These proposals were generally well received by the Committee. The representative of Congo(B) repeated his constant submission that there were no prisoners in Congo (B). The representative of Congo (K) undertook to convey the MPLA recommendations to his Government while the representative of Ghana lauded the cooperative attitude of MPLA and cautioned it not to be too complacent but to continue to assist the O.A.U. in effecting a reconciliation. The delegate thought one of the difficulties involved in promoting an accord between the two factions was because of the direct assistance offered to them by certain big powers. The Committee was requested to appeal to all friendly countries wishing to assist the liberation movements to channel all their assistance through the Liberation Committee.

The drafting Committee made up of the United Arab Republic and Ghana submitted a draft resolution to the Committee for adoption: This is attached as an annex to this report.

Before consideration of the draft resolution was undertaken, there was a great deal of discussion on the acceptability or otherwise of the credentials of the delegation from GRAE which arrived on 27th June, a day after the scheduled ending of the Committee's deliberation. It was recalled that in Cairo in 1966 at the meeting of the Tripartite Committee, a stronger letter of credence had been signed by Holden Roberto, President of GRAE in respect of the GRAE delegation. However the agreement signed between representatives of MPLA and GRAE had been dishonoured by the latter because the GRAE representatives were said to have been unauthorised to sign any such agreement. The fact also that the President of GRAE, Mr. Holden Roberto had himself not seen it fitting to attend the meeting personally was deeply regretted. A compromise agreement was reached to allow the GRAE delegation to address the meeting.

In his statement the GRAE representative argued that since in 1963 the O.A.U. had recognised the F.N.L.A. as the only Organization of the Angolan people, it was incumbent upon that same organization to back that decision. According to him MPLA was but a small isolated political group whose claim to control over certain areas in Angola was only a sham. He called for an on-the-spot investigation by a Military Mission.

GRAE's denial that she was detaining any members of MPLA generated some heated exchanges between the representatives of Congo (B) and Congo (K). The Congo (K) representative objected to the use of the words "bad faith" which the representative of Congo (B) had levelled against the Congo (K) authorities who had been involved in the work of the joint Committee which had investigated the presence or otherwise of detainees in the Camps of GRAE. The representative of Congo (B) maintained the validity of his charge and would not retract from that charge.

As to the Resolution itself, (Annex B), a great deal of importance was placed on the recommendation to the Heads of State and Government to withdraw their recognition from GRAE as the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile. This was an affirmation of the recommendation of the 10th Session of the Council of Ministers. In doing this the Committee noted that the present recognition of GRAE had tended to make it too complacent and seriously weakened its fighting spirit. Further, it was considered relevant that such a withdrawal of recognition was likely to promote reconciliation between the two movements. The representative of Congo (K) reserved his position on that operative clause.


As is obvious from both the present report and the resolution, no formal act of reconciliation was achieved. Indeed unlike the meeting of the Tripartite Committee in Cairo in 1966, no agreement of any kind was signed. This was due to various reasons, not least the fact that GRAE four times before failed to send a delegation and when it did twice the delegation arrived late. And when she did, that delegation was not high powered enough to assist the Committee in carrying out its mandate. The continued suspicion between the two factions particularly in respect of detainees allegedly held by each other together with the propaganda campaigns carried out against each other were some of the obstacles which the Committee strongly felt, had to be eliminated to make a reconciliation possible and meaningful. Attention was consequently drawn to these.

A great deal of importance was also attached to the investigation that the OAU Military Commission was empowered to undertake. In order to ascertain the controversial territorial claims of each group it was considered necessary that the Mission should undertake its assignment before the 5th Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

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Annex 1

List of Delegates of the Committee of  
Five on Angola

Addis Ababa, June 1968.





CONGO BRAZZAVILLE

H.E. M. Auxenae Iekonga  
Ambassadeur in Cairo

Leader of the delegation

Mr. Benjamin Botnkoulou  
Director, African Division  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. Nicodame Cimbaguy Mollet  
Official in the Ministry of  
Foreign Affairs

CONGO KINSHASA

H.E. Mr. Ileka Pierre  
Ambassador

Leader of the Delegation

H.E. Mr. Kabemba J.A.  
Ambassador of the  
Democratic Republic of the  
Congo in Addis Ababa

Mr. Mwanga Luck  
Counsellor, Congo Embassy  
Addis Ababa

Mr. Atoki Francois  
Attache

G H A N A

H.E. Mr. H.R. Amono  
Ghana Ambassador to Ethiopia

Leader of the Delegation

H.E. Mr. J.K.A. Quashie  
Ghana Ambassador to Congo  
Democratic Republic

(Alternate Leader)

Mr. L.O. Antwi  
Director, Ministry of  
External Affairs

Mr. A.A. Cato  
First Secretary, Ghana Embassy  
to Ethiopia.

LIBERATION COMMITTEE

Mr. G. Magomba  
Executive Secretary  
Liberation Committee  
Dar-es-Salaam

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

H.E. Mr. Gamal Barakat  
U.A.R. Ambassador to Uganda  
and Burundi

ZAMBIA

H.E. Mr. J.M. Mutti  
Zambia Ambassador to Ethiopia      Leader of the Delegation

Mr. George Chipampata  
African Affairs Department  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

(MPLA)

Dr. Agostino Neto

Mr. Rui de Sei (Rui de Sa)

LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

(GRAE)

Mr. Johnny Eduardo Pincock (Amor Gabsi)

Mr. Sebastien Ramos Pinto

Mr. Alphonse Fideira

CM/225/Add.1  
Annex 2

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE  
COMMITTEE OF FIVE ON ANGOLA



RESOLUTION

The Committee of Five on Angola meeting in Addis Ababa from June 24 to June 27 1968,

Having reviewed the situation prevailing in Angola, in accordance with the resolution CM/Res.137 (X),

Noting the reports of the General Secretariat of the OAU, the Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee and by the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Congo of the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville) and Zambia,

Having heard with satisfaction the statement made by the representative of the MPLA concerning the struggle waged by that movement in Angola as well as its work undertaken in the liberated areas, as well as the statement of the representative of GRAE,

Having heard further statements of the representatives of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) concerning the efforts made by their governments to secure the release of detainees held by either movement on the said countries' territories,

1. (a) Recommends to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government to withdraw its recognition from GRAE as the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile, as a measure likely to promote the reconciliation of the two movements.

(b) Further recommends to the Assembly of Heads of State and Governments to appeal to all member and friendly states, institutions and individuals desirous of assisting the freedom movements in Africa to channel such assistance through the OAU Coordination Committee for the liberation.

2. Further recommends the establishment of a sub-committee consisting of the members of the Committee to investigate whether or not the two liberation movements concerned do in fact hold prisoners in the countries where they are based.

3. Invites the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville) to continue their efforts with a view to securing the release of prisoners before the 5th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

4. Appeals to the Governments of the countries adjacent to Angola to provide transit facilities to bona fide cadres of either liberation movement trying to reach Angola.

5. Requests the OAU Military Commission to reassess the present situation in Angola and to recommend on the form of assistance required to intensify the common armed struggle against Portugal in order to make it more effective. The Military Commission should also review the military situation annually and make recommendations as appropriate under the supervision of the Liberation Committee;

6. Requests the immediate cessation of all forms of hostile propaganda by either FNLA or MPLA under the supervision of the OAU;

7. Calls for the immediate establishment of a joint committee made up of five members from each of the FNLA and MPLA. This committee which shall examine ways and means of promoting cooperation and collaboration between the FNLA and MPLA.