

DECOMPOSITION OF
THE SO-COLLED "GRAE"
IS A FACT



7/2

Revolution is no longer a mechanical operation, whatever the material aid granted to a Liberation Movement, this one vowed to failure if there is not a general mass mobilization and starting from the union of the fighting forces, every pretext to justify the paralization of the struggle will remain vain".

Justness and reservations from the People's Liberation Movement of Angola -MPLA- on this so-called "gouvernement" and timeless expressed are not to be further demonstrated.

The years later the denunciation of its removal from true goals of our people's liberation struggle has been taken over by the supporters of this group themselves who have also uncovered the bluff and lies upon which their methods of action have been lying.

One after other, the responsible people, indeed the "ministers" of the so-called "angolan revolutionary government in exile" (grae), have resigned with some stir and exposed the same facts denounced by the MPLA for a long-time: fratricide crimes and corruption and collusion with imperialism and disorder among their followers and lack of organization and the so-called leaders' lack of combativity. In fact, the latter are more concerned with their personalities than with an efficient leadership of the armed fight.

International press has published the last events happened within the grae last month. The MPLA is taking the liberty of reprinting them here without comments:-

"The grae headquarters sacked - Mr. Taty vanished - Mr. Andre Kassinda behind prison bars.

The Angolan Revolution in the impasse; coup d'Etat at the grae?, title printed in the Leopoldville daily "L'Etoile du Congo" in its edition of Monday, last June 21st. Mr. Holden Roberto fell last night, charged with treason by his minister of Munition, one Mr. Taty who accordingly the latest news, has vanished while his accomplice Andre Kassinda, President of People's Council is behind prison bars. But Roberto Holden's difficulties are not so much reduced, on the contrary.

Do not trifle with the people is the case to tell Holden Roberto whose disparage campaign launched by F. Kimina - Makumbu against his on all the fronts has caused to crumble his popularity. This good Daring player had a particular friendship with Mr. CYRILLE ADOULA who has recognized his government. The O.A.U. should, after-wards, recognize and give it officially, its moral and material support, at least some states. But, more and more, the trench was being dug among the nationalists. Many a time and oft, Holden Has been accused of having murdered his political foes. These news were denied. Then he had to face a very intense campaign on the little orthodox utilization of the assistance granted by the world To the Angolan people, through its government. An editorial from "ANGOLA" organ of the "Angolan National Liberation Front", Holden denies these charges. "For our part, we leave our enemies to plot and to bribe and to betray. While those dogs are barking, our peaceful oconvoy of victore goes by".

II

By the light of Present events, the wise man is risking to be abashed: The events have finished by making up the attention of the companions of struggle who enquired on them. But it also seems that Holden has partly responsible for Lumumba's murder, over and above the change of embezzlement of assistance from the friendly states for the Angolan refugees.

He is accused of using for personal aims medicines and vehicles for the Angolan fighters and refugees. He is also reproached for his opulence, there is then treason.

One Mr Taty would oust him. No question of tanks in front of the "grae" offices, but commandos who have sacked them without any formality. Nevertheless, through a presse communiqué released before his flight, Mr Taty has been bent on specifying the motives of the action he had just launched.

"As grae "minister of munitions", responsible for this movement armaments I am addressing myself to you to declare you the grave decision I have taken by assuring as Head of a military Junta, all grae powers and responsibilities. I stated that the grae is dissolved until the moment of being able to gather all Angolan Revolutionary movements into a common front.

I appeal to all my Congolese brothers to join me and the decision I have just taken, which was imposed to me as the last solution against the total downfall toward which we were drawn by Holden Roberto who has betrayed the Revolution.

For years, the moral and financial aid we were granted with great sacrifices by our African brothers and other friends has been wasted. Instead of delivering it to our refugee brothers, to carry on the armed fight and to the increase of our movement, it has been mostly used for personal goals and the fratricide fight among the Angolan themselves in Leopoldville within our movement. Thus, one can see the misery and frustration of whole families who, like thousands of others have left their country full of hope in our movement.

In face of Holden's passivity and incompetence and dishonesty, I have been unable to organize a controlled and powerful army. We, the military, are poorly trained and clad and we have nothing to eat most time.

That is why, after years, the armed fight is at a low level. Holden's poor leadership has imposed vain human sacrifices to the people from both ways of the frontier. It has only incited personal hate. Holden has allowed himself to jail and to put to death without any trial our brothers, and this is even against the laws of the state which has sheltered us kindly and forgetting all the grave difficulties the Congo has been going through, Holden has not hesitated to plot with the Congolese people's enemies (which ones).

In face of this situation, I am convinced that my decision the only possible one. Therefore, I appeal to all friends of Angola and firstly, to the Congolese brotherly people and its Government who have never let us, to assist us in the efforts to which the military junta under my leadership will dedicate itself completely to solve our problem in our fight against Portuguese colonialism! Long live Angola".

Moreover, the facts reproached to Holden Roberto are confirmed by an other nationalist organization sponsored by the grae. This organization, the Relief Service for the Angolan Refugees (SARA) used to be granted and through Holden.

For years already, SARA has put on a communique, Holden Roberto has been preventing the SARA action by his inefficient interference in our work. He has always been opposed to a necessary organization. For years, Roberto's men have first removed medicines and clothes for their personal friends, even if the latter were not Angolan, and only a small part reached the refugees at the border. Thereby, hundreds of Angolan have died of lack of medicines. For weeks and months, cars granted to assure the work along the border have been used in Leopoldville by Roberto's friends for private goals.

Roberto and his friends have even open dispensaries where they have used medicines sent to the SARA and they taken to work for their own profit, some nurses attached to the SARA. Today we are clearly starting: Henceforth the Relief Service for the Angolan Refugees works no longer with Holden Roberto and his so-called "government".

This is the burden weighing on the "grae". It was then becoming necessary turn the page. It is necessary to start from zero. The self-styled Angolan leader has understood it by appealing all Angolan and nationalist movements'.

He was dreaming of a government of tribal union with whom to form it?

It would not lack men for this affair, one is assured. The question is only the skeptical people opposed to Holden Roberto for a long time, would subscribe to such a government. The tribal small groups seemed to support him and it was to them, no doubt, that Mr. Taty has addressed himself to make up his short-lived military junta which, moreover, has not work at all.

Perhaps tomorrow the gong will also sound for Alberto, an other stooge who has always dreamed of a multiracial Angola, following the example of Brazil. Those are apostles of negotiation the wrong way, people say.

It is timely to urge once more the Angolans to unite, despite the tribal matters opposing them since the Angolan revolutions is not only in a impasse but it is dying. The moment is favourable for those who divide to keep on, but the Angolan gravediggers are swarming themselves. After the missed coup d'Etat Roberto Holden has not accused in his turn his political foes of being in Portugal pay, with the help of a Swiss man working with them? Truth is clear, no need of going on. We only hope that unity will be found and the fight will go on. This is the desire of those interested in the Angolan drama.

THE ANGOLAN NATIONALIST CIRCLES

At their last meeting held in Switzerzeland, -the Angolan members of the General Union of Students from Black Africa under Portuguese domination and of the Angolan Students' National Union - the latter is Holden Roberto's student organization - after examining the situation of Angolan nationalism, among other conclusions, have arrived to the following ones:

- That the U.P.A. is one of the tools used by the American imperialism;
- That the great difficulties of the People's Liberation Movement of Angola, "M.P.L.A.", are caused by the imperialism itself.
- That MPLA is the Party with better structures and which through its mass mobilization has succeeded in creating new perspectives in our struggle for national liberation."

These decisions have followed those already taken in March, 1964, at the First Technical Seminary of the Angolan students. This new position has confirmed the stiffness of the Angolan students' conscience.

"JEUNE AFRIQUE" of last July 11, 1965, a weekly devoted to "grae" has printed:

- "Lack of the Angolan national movement (referring itself to the "grae") and the lack of a wise diplomacy which is surely less revolutionary than the MPLA diplomacy and the lack of cadres is clearer and clear. Surely, all these faults can only make things worse".

THE "grae" DISSIDENTS

- Jonas SAVIMBI - "grae former minister of Foreign Affairs"
- Alexandre TATY - "grae former minister of munitions"
- Dr. Jose LIAHUCA - "former SARA director.
- Jose KALUNDUNGO - former "grae head of staff"
- Fidelino Loy de Figueiredo - former "grae" representative in Austria
- Florentino DUARTE - former "grae" representative in Cairo
- Tadeu BASTOS - former "grae" representative in Nairobi
- Dr. Rui Alvaro TEIXEIRA - Chemist - former SARA director of Clinic Tests.
- ARTHO - an European from Switzerland, Director of so-called "Political School"
- Dr. GILCHRIST - a physician born in Angola from Canadian parents
- Jose NDELE - s student
- Andre KASSINDA - a former "LGTA" general secretary
- Marcos KASSANGA - former "grae" head staff.
- Fernandes da COSTA - student
- Armando de FREITAS - a former grae military responsible
- Alexandre Magno PEDRO - trade-union worker
- Rev. Marcolino NYANI - trade-union worker
- Maria Virginea de AMORIM - a former AMA general secretary
- Maria Florinda PEDRO - AMA former militant
- Jacob Hoci INACIO - a student
- Martins KANGOMBE - a student
- Samuel CIVALA - "-"
- Pedro MASSAMBO - "-"
- Thomas FOUKA - "-"
- Salomão LAZARO - "-"
- Domingos Pedro SAMUEL - "-"
- Julião Baião SACIOMBO - "-"
- Ernesto CITANGUA - "-"
- Neves KASSOMA - "-"

Zeferino AFONSO - a student
 Samose MENDONÇA - "-"
 Estevão ALFREDO - "-"
 Manteiga Luis CISOKA - "-"
 Samuel TRINTA - "-"
 Miguel CASIMIRO - "-"
 Andre EMILIO - "-"
 Amelia ESCORCIO - Holden Roberto's secretary
 Jeronimo WANGA - "-"
 Mateus da SILVA - "-"
 Calvino DE CARVALHO - "-"
 Idalina de CARVALHO - "-"

and several hundreds of militants.

More than 5,000 former UPA militants in the ZAMBIA have joined the MPLA.

Mr. Alexandre TATY has announced at a press conference in Leopoldville MR. Holden Roberto's dismissal and the installation of a military junta in the Central Congo province after his coup d'Etat.

On the other hand, in a communiqué delivered to the newspaper "Presence Congolaise" of last July 10, the "grae" has noted the disappearing of the stamps of the so-called "government" departments.

"DISAPPEARING AT THE "grae"

"The g.r.a.e. states the disappearing of the following department stamps:

Presidency Board
 Ministry of Foreign Affairs
 Ministry of Munitions
 Ministry of Home Affairs
 Ministry of Information
 Ministry of Finances
 Board of Civil Identification
 Board of Social Affairs with papers bearing the names
 of their own departments.

Thus the "grae" is calling the particular attention of everybody for the seriousness of this disappearance and it is informing international opinion that all documents bearing those stamps will not engage at all the grae responsibility from June 22, 1965."

Notes: SARA - Relief Service for the Angolan Refugees,
 AMA - Angolan Women Association,
 L.G.T.A. - Angolan Workers Trade Union.

IMPERIALIST COLLUSION WITHIN THE "grae"

"Very recently, MR. Thomas KANZA former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Congo-Leopoldville Revolutionary Government, in an interview to "EL-DJEICH", mouthpiece of the Algerian People's National Army, has stated: Roberto Holden has played a still mysterious role in the physical liquidation of our elder Patrice Lumumba.

It is likewise queer that Roberto Holden is ever settled in Leopoldville, while Tshombé is in good relations with Portugal and the Portuguese embassy is running on in Léopoldville.

A recent report from our brother Mulele confirms that members of the Angola People's Union (UPA) have joined Tshombé's troops. Roberto Holden has never specified where his men were and are. We hope that the day will come when Roberto Holden will have it out first with the Angolan people and then with the African Peoples:"

Accordingly "JEUNE AFRIQUE" of June 20, 1965, and under the title of "Congo - The Revolution Criticizes Itself", Mr. Bochely and Mr. M'Baguira and Mr. Kissonge and Mr. Kitunga, members of the Revolution High Council, have stated :

".... just as the presence in those ranks of Angolans depending on Roberto Holden

At the Fidji battle we have also counted 31 Angolans among the mercenaries arrested there. They have all declared to depend on Holden."

THE F.N.L.A. - E.P.A.E. EXPELLED FROM
PEOPLES' INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

After having examined the situation in the Portuguese colonies, the Fourth Conference of the Afro-Asian People's solidarity held in Winneba, last May 9-16, 1965, has stated:

- "- Greet the valiant struggle of Peoples from Portuguese colonies for their national independence;
- Re-states the formal condemnation of Portuguese colonialism;
- Recognizes the fact that, in face of the stubbornness of Portuguese fascist and colonial government, the armed fight is the only efficient way to end Portuguese colonialism and to achieve the just aspirations of peoples from Portuguese colonies to their freedom and national independence.
- Calls the attention of its member organizations and independent states of Africa and Asia against Portuguese colonialism and its imperialist allies plots to keep Portuguese colonialism into Portuguese colonies by setting up stooge organizations.
- Denounces and condemns Portugal's aggression against the states neighbouring Portuguese colonies and it assures SOAAP and its members total support in favour of those states.
- Appeals all African and Asian states and Afro-Asian Solidarity organizations to grant the fighting organizations from Portuguese colonies the necessary assistance for the development of

their liberation struggle, particularly:

- a) material aid and military equipment for the armed fight development.
- b) transit facilities for military material
- c) funds
- d) medical and educational assistance and provisions for the freedom fighters and people of the liberated areas.
- e) facilities for entrance and residence and transit documents in the African and Asian states for freedom fighters from Portuguese colonies

More particularly on Angola, the Fourth Solidarity Conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples

- Greet the Angolan people's armed fight for its national liberation under the leadership of the People's Liberation Movement of Angola, MPLA.
- Requests the neighbouring states to grant transit facilities for the military material for the Angolan people's armed fight
- Thanks Congo-Brazzaville brotherly people and its Party and Government for their constant assistance to the Angolan People and its movement, MPLA
- Assures the Angolan people and its movement, MPLA, its support in their fight against Portuguese colonialism and for total and complete independence.

About the problem of Angolan nationalism itself, the Fourth Conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples has decided to exclude FNLA, Angolan stooge organization led by the American imperialists' puppet, Holden Roberto. Indeed, since last year the FNLA was members of the Afro-Asian-Solidarity Council. Its admission had been bailed by MPLA with the express recommendation of working for the broadening of Angolan liberation front and the armed fight against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. Since FNLA did not fulfill these conditions, MPLA has requested its exclusion which was unanimously accepted.

This decision and the resolution on Angola have been passed by the Afro-Asian Conference sure that they will give a truly revolutionary dash to the Angolan people fighting Portuguese colonialists and also get imperialist reaction agents out of the Angolan liberation path.

The MPLA greets the Fourth Solidarity Conference of Afro-Asian Peoples and preises its efforts towards decisive step taken in the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism."

MPLA STEERING COMMITTEE

Brazzaville, July 17, 1965