

MPLA DELEGATION INTERVENTION
AT THE LIBERATION COMMITTEE OF THE
ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

Mr. Chairman,
Honorable Delegates,
Dear Brothers,

MPLA is glad to return to Dar es Salaam after our Tanganyikan and Zanzibar brothers have taken such an important step for the achievement of African Unity. First of all, we congratulate them and then ourselves too as Africans.

On behalf of the Angolan people and its militants, MPLA greets brotherly all Honorable Delegates gathered here.

MPLA is once again before the Committee of Nine neither to request any material aid (despite its right for such an aid) nor to demand efforts to unify the Angolan nationalist organisations. MPLA is here to claim a right that, on recommendation from the Committee of Nine, the Organisation of African Unity has denied us: OUR RIGHT TO ACT IN ALL AFRICAN COUNTRIES FOR OUR COUNTRY INDEPENDENCE.

MPLA is sure that reality uncovered for these last ten months helped to understand why MPLA has challenged and is still challenging the hasty recommendations on Angola by this Committee in Dakar after its partial conclusions and still more hastily ones of the Commission sent to Léopoldville in a goodwill mission among the Angolan nationalist organisations.

MPLA has been able to overcome the barriers raised by non-Angolan forces exactly because of its mass support and of the accomplished work in spite of its lack of means. The Dakar recommendations contributed to aggravate the situation since they were used as a pretext to close up our Léopoldville office and 27 CVAAR (Angolan Volunteer Corps for Refugee Relief) dispensaries in the Congo and to make our activity difficult in the other countries.

During this time, MPLA has drawn away neither from its policy nor from its fiercely anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist principles. It has been convinced of the fact that ANGOLA LIBERATION IS FIRST OF ALL AN AFFAIR OF THE ANGOLANS THEMSELVES WHO HAVE NOT TO ASK ANY PERMISSION TO WHOMEVER MAY BE TO ACCOMPLISH THEIR SACRED RIGHT (WHICH IS ALSO THEIR DUTY) OF FIGHTING UNTIL THE END FOR THEIR COUNTRY LIBERATION.

Ten months have gone since the unfortunate Dakar recommendations and MPLA position inside Angola has never been questioned by this external confusion on the Angolan question.

Our armed activity, yet an effective one, has not developed itself normally only because we then believed in our brothers's watchfulness and solidarity that failed exactly at the necessary moment. Alone but strong with the people's support, MPLA has already completed almost all its bases shaken by last year's manoeuvres. The Angolan people itself is recovering its confidence.

MPLA is proud to invite this Committee to see on the spot the accomplished task of organisation and mobilization. MPLA takes the responsibility of having them to cover some hundred kilometers inside our country, under our maquisards's protection.

MPLA maquisards have achieved a great task of organising while the war material which our organisation has in a sufficient quantity is blocked in some African countries which are faithfully respecting the negative decisions of this Committee of Nine which effect is to delay our liberation struggle.

More than 2,000 MPLA members have attended the last Assembly of one zone in Angola. Gathered there were representatives from several regions and two leaders sent from outside Angola. One can find support for MPLA in all social levels: farmers, civil servants, intellectuals, youth and all are running together the organisation both in the towns and the countryside.

We are happy with the results of this MPLA members's meeting. Some of our members had become desperate with the violence of the traumatism caused by the Dakar decision and some countries furious activity against MPLA.

Except for the dozen of members definitively expelled from our organisation, all the others have returned or are about to do so. Moreover, members of other Angolan organisations have been admitted or have requested to be admitted into MPLA.

MPLA regrets deeply the fact that the Secretary of this Committee recently in the Congo for information on Angola, has not made enough efforts to contact us. Thus, he has proved once more this Committee partiality on the Angolan question.

Moreover, we think that the principles which led to the formation of the Committee of Nine require the participation of a delegate from the Republic of Congo-Brazzaville. We seize this occasion to suggest this point hoping that the Honorable Delegates will take it into consideration.

But let us give a glimpse to how the Congo-Léopoldville authorities themselves are now seeing the results of the Committee of Nine unhappy recommendations after the Reconciliation Commission had been in Léopoldville. We have provided the Secretariat of this Committee with documents that prove what we are reporting here.

Last November 1963, the Congolese Prime Minister asked the President of Kwango province to stop MPLA activities there according to the Dakar decisions. The President answered, "Before stopping this Movement activities in the Kwango territory and in the Republic of Congo, it should be wise to replace its social and medical relief organisation. MPLA has accomplished a big task of relief among the Angolan refugees in the Kwango province. It has opened dispensaries, helped with clothes, and food its countryfellows who need them. Holden Roberto's organisation has never done such a work in spite of its constant presence in this province."

On December 14, 1963, Mr. Moanda Vital, president of the Central Congo province, sent a letter to the so-called "Angolan government" with copies to the Congolese Prime Minister and the Central Government Minister of Interior, saying, "The Angolan fighters's behaviour is irritating the Congolese who voluntarily gave shelter to their Angolan brothers. In fact, the Angolan soldiers murdering in the bordering villages, force the people to leave their land. This is happening in Tshela and Songololo. Some chiefs of sectors and of groups are complaining against some Angolan soldiers and members of your "government"'s acts. Some members of your "government", like Mr. Alexandre Taty, give orders to our Chiefs without passing through the provincial authorities."

Because of these acts, I was forced to take some first measures for my people's security. I hope that after this letter, the Angolan soldiers's behaviour will improve."

Last November 1963, Mr. Vital Ndundu, Territorial Agent for Ngombe-Matadi, wrote the following news to the Minister of Interior of the Central Congo province, "Please allow me to enclose the official report on the incidents of Tuesday, November 19, 1963, at the military camp of the National Liberation army at Kinkouzu in my area.

As you can read from this report, these incidents caused soldier Miguel da Silva's death when he was trying to flee from the camp. I think the cause of the mutiny itself is the fact that some officers of the camp buried the victim in secret and the news spread across the camp a few hours later.

Among these soldiers there is still a lack of adequate military formation what is translated by a remarkable imprudence in keeping their arms and an insufficient military discipline.

People of my region are scared with this fact and asked me to tell the Angolan authorities to settle this situation at their earliest convenience."

On October 5, 1963, the headmaster of Luali Customs said to the Minister responsible for Interprovincial Relations of the Central Congo province, that the Congolese wanted "the Angolan refugees's withdrawal from the bordering villages because they are a grave danger there. The "grae" men walk about with their uniforms on and their arms across the villages. They even are beginning to terrorize the Congolese. In Luali, the UPA men set a prison to keep and torture the blacks seized at their night raids in Cabinda. These unfortunate people are summoned to pay a tax of at least "cem escudos (about 35 dollars) . In case they do not get the money and in order to avoid Congolese justice, the UPA men shoot their prisoners to death at night in the bush.

The UPA Angolan nationalists are doing their military drills at the bank of the river under the Portuguese troops's watchful sight. This is also a danger for the Congolese of this area."

A Mr. Vumi, UPA member, had set a military court at the Mongo village to judge and kill at night the Angolans who would not surrender to the UPA party."

On October 5, 1963, the Kimpese administrator stated to the Minister responsible for Interprovincial Relations of the Central Congo province, "The 60,000 Angolan refugees have scattered themselves across this territory at their arrival here, without taking into consideration their political affiliation. However, some of them chose the jungle to hunt.

At the beginning, refugees from different political tendencies did not hesitate to resort to the most extreme means and measures to exterminate their political foes. It is convenient to emphasize that UPA members... have distinguished themselves with hateful massacre of members of the other Angolan political parties."

On December 30, 1963, the administrator of Tshela, Mr. Manbwana Piocqua, in a letter addressed to the Minister of Interior of the Central Congo province, took into account the terrorism carried out by the UPA men.

For this Committee information, here is the repressive activity launched against our compatriots after the Dakar Conference:

MPLA leaders, Daniel Chipenda and António Condese, were imprisoned for two months in November 1963 for the simple reason of belonging to MPLA. They were kept in the Ndolo prison in Léopoldville.

Along the Congo-Angola border dozens and dozens of MPLA members have gone through the Congolese jails on request of the so-called "Angolan government" eager to eliminate by violence all those who do not support the UPA. Moreover, this is the same trick used to kill thousands and thousands of compatriots inside the country and to practice fratricide struggle which has always been denounced by the MPLA.

At the very moment when this meeting is beginning here, three MPLA members are in prison. They were arrested three months ago just because of their nationalist activities in our Movement.

An order for MPLA President and other leaders' arrestation has been issued in Léopoldville since last November 1963.

But this hard to understand hate against the true Angolan patriots and those who are in favour of the development of the liberation struggle is even going into the FNLA ranks themselves where some members are persecuted: Mr. Jonas Savimbi, "foreign affairs" minister" of the so-called "Angolan government" has signed a resolution adopted unanimously at a Seminary of the Angolan students in Geneva, where 52 university students have proclaimed the urgent need of unity of all nationalist organisations. On his return to Léopoldville, his house was searched and his passport seized.

Last March Mr. Emmanuel Kounzika, PDA Vice-President and Vice-Prime Minister of the so-called "government", wrote us his desire to see PDA and MPLA united. Photocopies of his letter are available for this Committee, if necessary. So there was a search in PDA office. Everybody knows that PDA did not take part in the celebrations of last March 21st in Léopoldville, a queer chosen date to commemorate the launching of the insurrection. PDA boycotted it to show its disagreement with its partner dividing policy.

The only Angolan doctor working with FNLA in Léopoldville, Dr. José Lihuca, has been persecuted and his house was searched because he is in favour of unity with MPLA and for sheltering at his house some compatriots who do not agree with FNLA policy.

Messrs. Pascal Luvualu and Bernard Dombela, respectively General Secretary and Secretary for External Relations of the National Union of the Angolan Workers (UNTA), were arrested in Léopoldville last February after a Congress of the Angolan trade-unionists whose resolutions demanded the urgent need of unity of all nationalist organisations.

Fifty of our compatriots evaded from the Kinkouzu training camp last March after demanding unity to their organisation leadership, have been arrested and kept in the Léopoldville Makala prison.

A group of 180 people from Southern Angola taken from Katanga to the Kinkouzu camp, wanted to join MPLA which was really their organisation. Because of this, 48 of them were arrested in Thysville and 26 arrested in Léopoldville. Three freedom fighters from this last group died in the Ndolo prison because of violence there.

And so on and on...

MPLA hopes that these anti-patriotic facts, publicly known will not fail to be mentioned in the honest reports about the situation of the Angolan struggle.

FNLA incapacity to gather the freedom fighters, its lack of organisation, its tribalism and narrow mind cause desertions from its ranks, without mentioning the fact that the struggle is lately standing still.

Thus, 15 maquis commanders and 2 trade-unionists have entered into our organisation. Inside the country where the freedom fighters are asking whether FNLA policy can really help independence, MPLA mobilisation is becoming easier and easier and a more enthusiastic one.

Among the refugees in the Congo, if one gets the impression of some sympathy for a FNLA which made the armed struggle level to fall down to zero in spite of all aid in money and arms received as a result of the Dakar decisions, it is because of the repressive methods used upon the refugees.

During these last months, more than 200 freedom fighters have fled from the Kinkouzu camp.

As it was already mentioned above, Mr. Emmanuel Kounzika, the PDA Vice-President and Vice-Premier Minister of the so-called "government", had asked to unite with MPLA.

Five FNLA members of which two "ministers" have lately sent us two messengers requesting to join MPLA. They are Jonas Savimbi, Dr. José Lihuca, Jorge Valentim, Alexandre Taty and Florentino Duarte.

Several students in Europe have left FNLA.

Only the protection given on purpose to FNLA by the Committee of Nine is preventing the clarification of a situation the main elements of which are weakness of the armed struggle and blockade of MPLA means of fighting which the Angolan people should use against Portuguese colonialism.

In fact, despite the lying propaganda announcing a number of shot down Portuguese aircrafts, ceaseless battles and thousands of armed men, at this very moment the Portuguese are still bringing in their armed forces from Guinea and lately more than 15,000 countryfellows have been forced to look for a shelter in the Congo. Therefore, the Committee of Nine attitude has unfortunately only helped the Portuguese.

Whatever the war launched against MPLA may be, the Angolan people itself has the last word on the principles, political organisations and forms of struggle to carry out for its independence. The Angolan people will drive back these manoeuvres to drive us into a bloody neo-colonialism.

The Committee of Nine attitude recommending the African countries not to help MPLA activities for our country liberation is an attempt against the whole Angolan nationalist movement. The Committee of Nine has gone beyond its attributions by carrying out an inadmissible interference in Angolan nationalist internal affairs. It is up to us, Angolans, to solve our internal problems.

MPLA would accept a decision from the Committee of Nine to help materially only one nationalist organisation even according to the African Head of States decisions in Addis Ababa. But under which right did the Committee of Nine want the breaking up, under which right did the Committee persecute and slander the most radical Angolan mass organisation against colonialism and imperialism? Under which right did the Committee of Nine, on behalf of the sacred African Unity, request the African countries to block MPLA war material and to stop MPLA political activity?

With these measures, the Committee of Nine has curbed Angola liberation movement and the result is clear. If favours the attempt foreseen by some people to have our problem end in premature negotiations with Portugal, what would empty our struggle content and would take us to a neo-colonial situation.

Problems of today's Africa are essentially linked with neo-colonialism. And one cannot be realist and truly involved in the African countries liberation when at the same time one fights classic colonialism and builds up with imperialism. At the bottom, this is the main point of the Angolan problem.

Despite the activity of interests opposed to Africa and which are trying to destroy us, MPLA remains strong, reinforced both inside and outside our country and deeply tied up to the destiny of Angola and of the African Continent.

In the Reminder presented to the OAU Foreign Affairs Ministers in Lagos and to the Committee of Nine Secretariat, the kind of obstacles set up against MPLA have been clearly explained, as well as its huge possibilities to increase the political and military forces.

MPLA political and military forces - the most representative ones of Angolan nationalist and its already proved capacity of organizing - are the most essential elements to take into consideration in the struggle for Angola independence.

The OAU Foreign Affairs Ministers' Conference held in Lagos last February has revised the Angolan problem and recommended that no difficulties be raised to the nationalist organisations. This wise recommendation agrees with our struggle most urgent needs.

THEREFORE and in short, MPLA puts this way its petition fundamental point: FREEDOM OF ACTION FOR MPLA.

In other words and concretely, MPLA requests the Committee of Nine:

a) To recommend all African State Governments, especially those bordering Angola, to grant freedom of action (according to each country laws) for all Angolan nationalist organisations, without any discrimination towards MPLA.

b) To do all efforts so that the African Head of State decisions on granting all kinds of facilities and means to accelerate the struggle, such as training camps, freedom of transit both for the freedom fighters and for their war equipment as well as exemption of taxes on the material for the liberation struggle, be put into practice and be extended to MPLA.

MPLA is convinced that the Committee of Nine will not fail its grandious task and that with its co-operation, the Angolan liberation struggle will soon move on as it should after almost four years of a heroic resistance to the most barbarous colonialism - Portuguese colonialism.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Dar es Salaam
June 3rd, 1964.-

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