

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

B.P. 2353 Tel. 49-15

BRAZZAVILLE

*TOME FACT I*

*SHOWING*

"G.R.A.E." INCAPACITY TO LEAD  
THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE'S FIGHT  
AND

THE ARBITRARY BEHAVIOUR  
OF THE COMMITTEE OF NINE  
OF THE ANGOLAN QUESTION



SOME FACTS THAT PROVE "GRAE" INCAPACITY  
TO LEAD THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE'S  
FIGHT AND THE ARBITRARY BEHAVIOUR OF THE  
O.A.U. COMMITTEE OF NINE ON  
THE ANGOLAN QUESTION

In October 1963, Holden Roberto who did not hesitate to request the closing up of the ANGOLAN VOLUNTEER CORPS FOR REFUGEE RELIEF (C.V.A.A.R.) to his friend Mr. ADOULA, speaking of the means his organisation - F.N.L.A. and his so-called "Angolan government" - had to help the refugees, this same Holden Roberto said, "Our organisation has now a small dispensary but indeed it is insufficient to face the situation".

In fact, under the pretext that the 27-dispensary C.V.A.A.R. network is not among the Angolan political parties forming the so-called "Angolan Government in exile" officially recognized by Mr. Adoula's government, last October the Léopoldville authorities have ordered the immediate closing up of CVAAR dispensaries.

SOME QUOTATIONS FROM STATISTICS OF C.V.A.A.R. -  
M.P.L.A. RELIEF DEPARTMENT - BEFORE BEING  
CLOSED UP BY THE CONGOLESE AUTHORITIES:

Above 300,000 medical consultations among the Angolan Refugees  
" 30,000 consultations among our Congolese brethren  
" 150,000 medical care cases  
" 1, 300,000 tablets distributed to Angolan and Congolese patients  
" 95,000 injections  
" 5,000 vaccinations  
" 10,000 clinical tests  
" 30,000 kilos of food and seeds  
" 30,000 pieces of clothing distributed among the refugees  
" 36 schools to fight illiteracy  
" 70 assistant nurses  
" 70 primary and secondary teachers  
11 Angolan physicians



From its activity and this balance-sheet of its 2-year life, no other relief organisation can fill the gap created by braking C.V.A.A.R. activity. Today the Angolan refugees are not a concern for the UN High Commission for Refugees and the relief organisations of some religious missions are far from replacing the C.V.A.A.R. scope.

X X X

In November 1963, Mr. ADOULA requested the Kwango province president to stop M.P.L.A. activity. The president's answer was,

" Before suspending this Movement activity in the Kwango area and in the Republic of Congo, it is good to replace this Movement social and medical organisation.

M.P.L.A. has carried out several achievements for the Angolan refugees here: dispensaries, food and clothing distribution. Holden Roberto's organisation has never done anything despite its presence in this province."

In January 1964, the Vice-President of the Central Kongo provincial government wrote to this same province minister charged of inter-province relations,

" It is evident that in the Central Kongo province, the Angolan problem is more and more becoming a concern and it demands both a more efficient material and financial aid. As for my Department, I want to remind you that after the decision of the Central Kongo Legislative Assembly Budget Committee for 1963 and 1964, the Social Affairs provincial Board of Directors does not have any budget for social relief and such a budget should be under the Interior Department.

In my opinion, your Department can rightly contact the Central Government about this matter or, if necessary, present the problem to our Minister Council.

Steps to the Central Government are well justified because the political refugees' problems must, in principle, find its solution on the national level."



THE "ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT" INEFFICIENCY

In November 1963, Mr. VITAL NDUNDU, Ngombe-Matadi Territorial agent, sent the following letter to the Central Kongo authorities,

" Mr. Minister of Interior  
Central Kongo Provincial Government,

Dear Sir,

Enclosed please find the official report on the troubles of 19th November 1963 at the military camp of the Angolan National Liberation Army in Kinkouzu within my administrative area.

As you see, these troubles have cost soldier Miguel da Silva's life when he was trying to leave the camp.

About the mutiny itself, I think its cause is the fact that some officers buried their victim secretly before the news of his death spread all over the camp.

There is still a lack of adequate military training among these soldiers as well as a remarkable, unwise way of dealing with their arms and an insufficient military discipline.

My area inhabitants are afraid of these soldiers and demand the Angolan authorities to settle urgently this situation."

On 14th December 1963, Mr. MOANDA F. VITAL, president of the Central Kongo government sent Mr. Holden Roberto the following letter with copies for Mr. ADOULA and the Central Government Minister of Interior,

" Mr. Prime Minister of the Angolan Republic  
in Exile, 'G.R.A.E.',

I have the honour to inform you that the Angolan freedom fighters' behaviour is irritating the Congolese people who voluntarily have granted shelter to their Angolan brethren. In fact, the Angolan soldiers are carrying out murders in the bordering villages and have the villagers evacuate from their lands.



This is true for Tshela and Songololo areas. Sector and group chiefs are complaining about the Angolan soldiers and some members of your government. The latter, among whom Mr. Alexandre Taty, give orders to the sector chiefs without going through the provincial authorities.

In face of these events, I am forced to take some first security measures for my people. I venture to think that this letter will get a better behaviour from the Angolan freedom fighters."

x x x

On 5th October 1963, the Luali customs master wrote the Minister of Inter-provincial Relations of the Central Kongo province government,

" We have some complains from the Congolese willing that the refugees settled in the bordering villages of this country do not become a serious danger by their presence and actions.

Roberto Holden's men are wandering with their uniform and arms on across the villages. They are even beginning to aterrorize the Congolese.

In Luali, UPA men have a prison for the blacks they seize in their raids in the Cabinda area. These unfortunate prisoners are told to pay at least a 100 escudos fine (about US 3 dollars). Otherwise, UPA men kill them in the bush at night to avoid justice.

UPA Angolan freedom fighters are carrying out military drills in the bordering villages at the river bank under the Portuguese troops' watchful sight. This is not a smaller danger for the Congolese of this area. UPA men are spreading distrust towards the Congolese authorities at their public meetings in the villages."



MONGO MILITARY COURT

" A certain Mr. VUMI, UPA member, had set up a military court in Mongo (Bongo) village to try and kill at night the Angolans who do not yield to the UPA party. My intervention brought an end to this court.

I am doing my best to pacify the bordering area. Mr. Pinock, the 'Angolan government minister of Interior', scoffs at my authority."

On 5th October 1963, the Kimpese administrator wrote,

" At their arrival the 60,000 Angolan refugees have spread themselves throughout this area without minding one's political affiliation. Many of them have chosen the jungle area to hunt.

At the beginning, the refugees from different political tendencies used some extreme measures to kill their political opponents. I must emphasize the fact that UPA members from Holden's political party, have distinguished themselves in the hateful massacres of other Angolan political party followers."

On 30th December 1963, the Minister of Interior of the Central Kongo province government, mentioning the letter reference number 499/K/C/63 from Mr. MEDARD MAMBWANA PIOCQUA, Administrator of the Tshela territory, has confirmed the fact that terrorism is carried out by the Holden Robertos - UPA men - against the Angolan people, the Minister gave the following despatch to this letter,

"CABINET, write the Central Government Minister of Interior of the Republic of Congo requesting him to do his best and find a solution for the Angolan refugees in general and particularly UPA soldiers who are terrorizing peaceful villagers."

MPLA AND SOLIDARITY FROM THE CONGOLESE  
AUTHORITIES IN THE BORDERING PROVINCES

Because of its program, political features and important political and military activities in the Republic of Congo/Léopoldville, despite both Mr. ADOULA's government discrimination and its recommendations to have the provincial authorities forbid MPLA activities in the Congo, the Congolese brotherly people have never



ceased to witness us their solidarity and to give their moral support to our organisation.

Last November, the president of the bordering Kwango province wrote Mr. ADOULA in face of the latter stubborn position to draw us aside from the political scene in order to make room for imperialism ready to impose a new form of colonisation,

" The People's Liberation Movement of Angola-M.P.L.A. - has carried out several achievements for the Angolan refugees here: dispensaries, food and clothing distribution. U.P.A., Holden Roberto's organisation, has never done anything despite its presence in this province.

If we ever forbid MPLA work in the Kwango province, let us first replace this Movement social and medical organisation."

In July 1963, the Kwango provincial Assembly President, aware of Addis Ababa historical Conference wrote the People's Liberation Movement of Angola his letter reference number 455/CABP/AP/63 in which he said,

" The Kwango Government Legislative Assembly has registered with gladness the statement on Angola and other African territories liberation in Addis Ababa.

You cannot imagine, Mr. President, our great and untold happiness for the cheered adoption of the African Unity Charter by our National Parliament. This Conference resolutions recommend the eradication and burial of the colonial regime throughout Africa.

The Kwango province at the Congo-Angola border is keenly interested in the fight against Portuguese government. We actively share the highest organisation decisions and we cannot refuse our neighbour's stretched hand asking the most elementary encouragement and aid.

Through their combined efforts on solidarity and brotherhood, the African people will persuade international opinion to see that the fight carried on by some African territories for their independence is not a personal affair but a very common and indivisible issue for all of us.



May you keep on as solidary, keen and united freedom fighters."

On 27th September 1963, the People's Liberation Movement of Angola - M.P.L.A. - was allowed to open its political offices in the Kwango province.

On 23rd November 1963, the People's Liberation Movement of Angola - M.P.L.A.- and the Angolan Volunteer Corps for Refugee Relief - C.V.A.A.R. - were allowed to move freely in the Kwango province by the Minister of Interior, according to a request of ours."

On 15th November 1963, in his letter reference 05/629/4ème/DMI/CB/28 the Minister of Interior of the Central Kongo Provincial government wrote the MPLA president,

" Following your letter Ref. 675/PRES/F/63 of November 1963, concerning permission to open an office of your Movement, I have the honour to inform you that there is no interdiction for your political party in the Central Kongo province.

Your fight against Portuguese colonialism and your aim of independence for Angola make us allow you to open your offices in the Central Kongo province wherever your Movement interest wants.

Our civil and military authorities have instructions to help you."

On 3rd December 1963, following the authorization to set up MPLA offices, granted by the Minister of Interior of the Central Kongo Provincial Government, some MPLA members among whom LUIZ DE AZEVEDO JUNIOR AND DANIEL CHIPENDA were allowed to settle in the Kisantu and Madimba area as MPLA legal representatives.



ANGOLAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY

P.D.A.

B.P. 8085

LEOPOLDVILLE

Our Ref. DIR/1201/64  
Your Ref. 238/43/64

10th March 1964

Mr. Agostinho Neto  
President  
People's Liberation  
Movement of Angola  
(M.P.L.A.)  
B.P. 2353  
BRAZZAVILLE

Dear Countryfellow,

We have received your valuable letter 238/43/64 of 8th March and we thank you for it.

You have mentioned your faith in Unity of the Angolan nationalist organisations. The latter's need - as you recognize it - today is pressing more than never.

We see with happiness that M.P.L.A., just as ourselves, knows where difficulty for our Unity of action is.

In fact, there are some factors delaying the very indispensable agreement among the children of a country, all of them burning with the desire of setting our country free. Unfortunately, they are cruelly suffering from the lack of a unity of action despite their desire for union which has always existed in many Angolan brethren, anxious for one thing: to lessen their martyr people's suffering.

By recognizing these factors that are halting Angolan unity and which, for many countryfellows, are the origin of our people's suffering because of their leaders's lack of unity, we recognize, however, another evil which is not the least and has ditched the good-will Angolans eager for union and co-operation. This evil is some Angolans' contempt attitude for the other Angolans owing to their prejudices that make difficult if not impossible a dialogue, a sincere dialogue without any staged on plan.

Now we agree entirely with you that, at this moment, we need forget all our past quarrels in order to find a common ground. As to ourselves and considering what we said above, we add that we must sincerely work to reform the false and wrong ideas we have of each other so that we may build upon sound bases and be able to fight efficiently all ill-fated factors of our Cause, this noble cause for all Angolans and not for a fraction or only one man, as we have always stated.



We believe that dialogue is the best medicine for our problem and since our fight outcome is in dialogue with the Portuguese, it is with pleasure that we accept to receive one of your delegates to exchange some points of view. It is better to have such an appointment here in Léopoldville next Tuesday, 17th March at 4:00 P.M., in our office 2ème Rue, № 7 - Quartier Foncobel, Commune of Kalamu.

Meanwhile, will you accept our nationalist and sincere greetings.

Sincerely yours,

on behalf of our Steering Committee

(signed) Emmanuel Kounzika  
Vice-resident



LIBERAL PROGRESSIST PARTY  
P. P. L.

"The greatest well-being to most people"  
Motto: Research of ideas for the people's  
renewal and welfare

Léopoldville  
19th March 1964  
Ref. 7/R.I./64

Mr. President Agostinho Neto  
M. P. L. A.  
B.P. 2353  
Brazzaville

Dear Mr. President,

I have your letter Ref. PRES/295/43/64 of 11th March 1964 addressed to our Minister of Public Health. I am Director of his Cabinet.

I was given this letter to study it deeply. Therefore, my feeling as the Liberal Progressist Party President and those of the Minister as a member of the Congolese National Movement/Lumumba himself are that we can in no way advance against our brotherly Angolan people's will or depart from M.P.L.A. highly brave action. I had personally supported your revolutionary goals despite the principle of solidarity to our government.

Indeed, M.P.L.A. has been a victim of an ever unfair political game from a minister who favours, just as the Angolan government leader in Léopoldville, the intrusion of the imperialist wave either in the Congo or in the fight for final victory of the Angolan people's self-determination.

My party has recommended me to take a favourable decision for M.P.L.A. and believe me a fair outcome.

Yours Sincerely,

(Signed) Maître Emmanuel Djolomby-Lokondo  
President General

Avenue Goeman N° A-21, Quartier Renkin - B.P. 2572



C H A M B E R        O F        R E P R E S E N T A T I V E S  
R E P U B L I C   O F   C O N G O  
P R E S I D E N T ' S   O F F I C E

(1) Ref. 00394/JAM/Bpf  
Léopoldville  
24th March 1964

Purpose: MPLA Request

The Prime Minister  
Republic of Congo  
Léopoldville/Kalina

Mister Prime Minister,

Enclosed please find a copy of the letter Ref. 286/55/64 of 11th March from M.P.L.A. president requesting the re-opening of his office in Léopoldville and the resumption of their activities in the Congo.

Yours Sincerely,

(signed and stamped  
"Chamber of Repre-  
sentatives")

Joseph Midiburo  
- President -

(1) Please mention our Reference and the date  
in your answer

cc: M.P.L.A. president  
B. P. 2353  
Brazzaville  
with my best regards



Republic of Congo  
Kwango Province  
Kwango Provincial Government  
Office of the Government  
President.-

Kenge, 28th March 1964.-

Ref: O/CAB/PRESIDGO-PRO/KO/689/64

Purpose: request authorisation  
to resume MPLA activities

Mr. Agostinho Neto  
M.P.L.A. President  
B.P. 2353  
Brazzaville  
Republic of Congo-Brazzaville

Dear Mr. President,

Concerning your letter Ref. 271/43/64 of 11th March 1964 requesting MPLA resumption of activities across the Congo, I regret to inform you that the order to close up MPLA offices came from the Central Government Minister of Interior. Therefore, only he can decide otherwise.

As soon as we receive a circular letter reconsidering this decision, I will allow MPLA militants' free movement throughout my province.

Very Sincerely,

(signed and stamped  
"Republic of Congo  
President's office  
Kwango province")

- P. Tabaka -  
President of the  
Kwango Provincial Government

cc: Central Government Minister of Interior  
Léopoldville/Kalina



P A L A I S   D E   L A   N A T I O N

Léopoldville  
10th April 1964

Ref: 494/CAB/SG/N.64/AB/AW  
Purpose: Reopening MPLA offices  
          in Léopoldville

= . =

Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Léopoldville

Mister Minister,

Enclosed please find the copy of a letter Ref. 270/43/64 of 11th March 1964 from the "People's Liberation Movement of Angola - M.P.L.A." President, Mr. Agostinho Neto.

I have not answered this letter because its subject concerns your power.

Please let me know your decision about it at your earliest convenience.

Yours Sincerely,

Isaac Kalondji  
Senate President

(signed and stamped  
"Republic of Congo-Senate")

cc: Mr. Agostinho Neto  
      MPLA President  
      B.P. 2353  
      BRAZZAVILLE  
      with my best wishes



MFX/KN, -  
Republic of Congo  
Central Government

Ministry of Plan and  
Industrial Development  
-  
Minister's Office  
-

Léopoldville  
11th April 1964

Ref. CAB/01/P.D.IND./407/73

Purpose: authorization reopening  
MPLA office

Mr. President  
People's Liberation Movement  
of Angola "M.P.L.A."  
B.P. 2353  
Brazzaville

Dear Mr. President,

I have received your letter Ref. 285/43/64 of 16th  
March. It has held all my attention.

I have noticed your informations and I will try to take  
some steps with our readers to have them reconsider their  
measures against M.P.L.A.

Meanwhile, I cannot assure you the success of my steps  
since measures forbidding MPLA activities in the Congo were  
taken after the recognition of the Angolan Government in exile.

Yours Sincerely,

(Signed and stamped  
"Republic of Congo -  
Minister's Cabinet -  
Minister of Plan and  
Industrial Development")

Cl. KAMITATU  
Minister of Plan and  
Industrial Development



REPUBLIC OF CONGO  
Representatives' Chamber

The President

Léopoldville  
18th June 1963

Ref. N. 01009/AA/Ank

Purpose: MPLA members arrestation

Minister of Interior  
Central Government  
Léopoldville

Mister Minister,

Through his letter Ref. N. 378/F/PRES/1963 of 6th June of which you have a copy, the People's Liberation Movement of Angola "M.P.L.A." President requests my intervention near you for the liberation of his thirteen militants arrested in Kasongo-Lunda.

Accordingly precise informations given by M.P.L.A., these arrested people had a regular permit to travel to Léopoldville.

Without mixing myself into our Government exclusive affairs, I think it timely to request in my turn your intervention to help the MPLA President.

Thank you antecipately for what you can do in this affair. With my highest consideration,

Sincerely,

(Signed and stamped  
"Representatives' Chamber")

J. Midiburo  
President

cc: Mr. Agostinho Neto  
MPLA President  
B.P. 720  
Léopoldville  
with my highest consideration



EXCERPTS FROM THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF THE  
FIRST TECHNICAL SEMINARY OF THE  
ANGOLAN STUDENTS

held in Geneva, Switzerland  
26th-31st March 1964

The Angolan problem has become a war, the last resort and the only outlet for the Portuguese inhuman domination in its attempt of cultural alienation, oppression and physical death of an entire people.

This war is the direct answer to man's exploitation and to systematic looting of our national riches.

The marching Angolan Revolution is within the process of the oppressed peoples' liberation.

The Angolan Revolution is a stage of the African Revolution.

In its armed phase, the Angolan Revolution is the contestation of all forces of debasement and mass murder from the dominators and their foreign interests for five centuries.

The Angolan Revolution is the refusal of letting Angola and her values be uprooted from Africa.

We, students, living part of a determined and heroic people, we are taking our responsibilities so that, united, we may march towards solutions to satisfy our people's deepest aspirations.

Our fight is the fact neither of a man nor of some people, but the effort of an entire people victoriously advancing to free themselves from slavery.

We, children of a slavery-torn people, we have gathered here to study our present problems. We have gathered representatives from all fighting forces of our country around our common demands to accomplish our duty and to prepare a dignified future for human beings.

Our generation neither can nor must be unworthy of our people's traditions. It is up to our generation to achieve its historical mission and it is up to each one of us to bring its stone for the big building that our people are willing to build up.

The Seminary is happy with the fact of having gathered students from several political (FNLA, MPLA) and student (UNEA, UGEAN) organisations as well as students not affiliated to any organisation.



AFTER A DEEP ANALYSIS OF ANGOLAN NATIONALISM  
REAL CONTEXT, WE, THE ANGOLAN STUDENTS

aware of the fact that through their anti-African reactions, imperialism and the colonial powers do not want to understand at all the meaning and the historical scope of the human conscience awakening in the world and they still believe that force and trickery can assure forever the success of their old domination system,

- CONSIDERING that we, Angolan students, are a living part of our people and that we fight with all our patriots for the achievement of our national aspirations,

- CONSIDERING that Portugal, ruled by a regime of fascist dictatorship, is also a dependent country and her waning colonialism is only maintained by the imperialist powers' support,

- CONSIDERING the atrocities carried out against our people kept under inhuman living conditions,

- CONSIDERING that division of the Angolan nationalist forces is a handicap for our national liberation fight,

- AWARE of the fact that only the total mobilization of the fighting forces and the union of all nationalist tendencies can represent the Angolan people in a legitimate way and oppose a revolutionary resistance to the colonialist and imperialist forces which are trying to keep their domination in Angola,

- CONSIDERING that this union must be achieved within only one FRONT, interpreter of our people's deepest aspirations and determined to fight in a consistent way against the Angolan people's enemies, namely colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism,

- CONSIDERING that the present division of the Angolan student movement jeopardizes its concrete co-operation to the national liberation fight,

- CONSIDERING that ignorance policy and the Portuguese colonialists' criminal violence,

- Denounce Salazar's colonialist-fascist regime which pushes away the Angolan people's true aspirations,

- Proclaim that only a Revolutionary organized and unified fight of the Angolan people can overcome the Portuguese colonial army supported by its NATO allies,

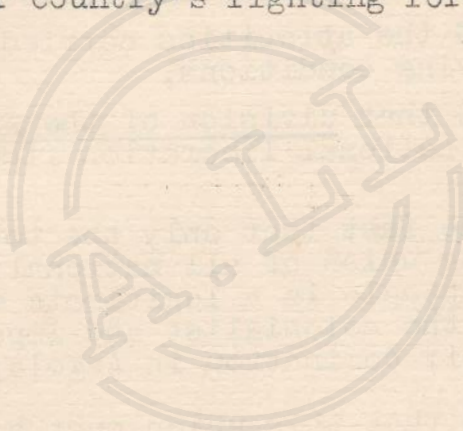
- Appeal to all Angolan nationalist movements and parties to make their best efforts to go beyond their divergences and to unite themselves into one fighting Front because division is braking our



Cause victory and the triumph of our people's national aspirations.

- Request the reopening of the Angolan Volunteer Corps for Refugee Relief (C.V.A.A.R.) dispensary in Léopoldville,

- Demand a Conference gathering all Angolan nationalist parties and our country's fighting forces to form only one Front, (...)





S T A T E M E N T

of

Mr. JONAS SAVIMBI

GRAE Foreign Affairs Minister

Mr. Chairman,  
Messrs. Ministers,  
Honourable Delegates,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Angola liberation problem is now in its fourth year and it has not yet found a sound way for the Angolan freedom fighters both inside and outside our country. This situation has already lasted too long and it should not keep on forever.

If we look at the road already trodden from 1960 when the Republic of Congo-Léopoldville became independent to today, we see that division among the nationalist movement made impossible all progress towards liberation. Since all attempts to gather the different and several political parties into one front have failed, the Organisation of African Unity thought it wise to follow the Congo-Léopoldville example of recognizing the G.R.A.E. We thought by then that this decision would speed up the Angolan patriots' fight and thus bring in the national liberation hour.

Today our African brethren free from the colonial yoke know very well the difficulty to unify the nationalist forces. Nevertheless, they know that unity of the living fighting forces is the indispensable condition for victory.

Mr. Chairman,  
Honourable Delegates,  
our four-year experience proves that this is true for Angola too.

Divided forces are preventing the Angolan masses mobilization. A liberation fight without mass participation is condemned to failure sooner or later. Only the masses are a lasting support for a liberation fight against an enemy like Portugal, an enemy with the material and moral support from colonialist and imperialist powers.

We congratulate the African states for having recognized the G.R.A.E. and their eagerness to give the Angolan liberation fight a political instrument capable of organizing the armed fight and liable to bring the indispensable diplomatic support for the international public opinion mobilization.



I call your attention to the fact that these goals have not been reached. Thus, it is the duty of all Angolans in particular and all Africans in general to study again this problem and suggest solutions. I think in a liberation fight like ours, there is no antecipately solved equation. In Africa's liberation movement history there has never had such a remarkable solidarity as this one for Angola.

Freedom fighters had never to face such an enemy like Portugal, chronically an under-developed country. Yet, never the nationalist ranks have had so much confusion as in the case of Angola.

Mr. Chairman,

Revolution is not a mechanical process. Whatever may be the material aid given to a liberation movement, the latter is vowed to failure as I have already said, if there is not a mass mobilisation and hence a mobilisation for the fighting forces union. Every pretext to justify the fight stagnation is useless for God helps those who help themselves.

Some African states refuse to study again the Angolan problem taking into consideration the Angolan realities.

These realities are:

- Absence of support of the harried forces inside Angola.
- Lack of achievement of the nationalist movements Unity.
- Changes into the countries bordering Angola.
- Lack of a program issued from a congress gathering all Angolan fighting forces.
- The danger threatening more and more southern Africa with neo-colonialism.
- Inefficiency of the Angolan Government in exile.
- Thence and above all the fact that the G.R.A.E., far from increasing military action and gathering the masses, the only way to speed up Angola liberation, GRAE simply confines itself to short-lived statements.

I, Jonas Savimbi, G.R.A.E. Minister of Foreign Affairs, have decided to resign of my position in front of the African highest body. I have taken this decision to be in peace with my mind and because my functions are not in the Angolan people's interest and accordingly our brotherly states goals which have allowed themselves to undergo some sacrifices to help the Angolan people.

Mr. Chairman, Honourable Delegates, before leaving I call your attention to the fact that I am dedicated, my body and soul, to my country liberation and I ask you to reconsiderate with all your attention the Angolan problem. I insist upon the need to summon soon a Conference of all Angolan fighting forces.

Mr. Chairman, I am now at the honourable delegates' disposal to answer their questions.

Cairo, 16th July 1964  
(signed) Jonas Savimbi



The PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF ANGOLA (MPLA) thinks its duty to publish Mr. FIDELINO LOY DE FIGUEIREDO's letter to the Angolan People's Union (U.P.A.) Steering Committee last 28th July 1964.

Mr. FIGUEIREDO is "G.R.A.E." militant and its representative in Viena, Austria.

Steering Committee  
Angolan People's Union  
"U.P.A."  
B.P. 1205  
Léopoldville

Countryfellows,

The resignation of GRAE Foreign Affairs Minister, Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, enlightens many facts that, well examined, emphasize the tragic situation of the Angolan Revolution today.

A shameful truth for all sincere freedom fighters. For more than three years of armed fight and despite the aid provided by the African independent states, today the fight is limited to small battles at the border. There is, therefore, a backward step. And, thus, facts came to light.

Once their task in Angola "almost achieved", the Portuguese are moving their soldiers to the so-called Portuguese Guinea to fight this colony's freedom fighters.

There are some other very serious facts against FNLA (UPA-PDA) leaders' behaviour.

The murder of thousands of our countryfellows, only because they are not from a certain tribe, is a crime. Important amounts provided by the African states for the Angolan people have been embezzled.

Our Léopoldville leaders are wasting huge amounts. Our party chairman and "GRAE" leader allows himself the luxury of a last style car. Each minister has a car at his disposal while the refugees are dying of starvation. Some foreign banks have huge amounts in the name of our leaders what is a theft to our people.



All these facts stated in Cairo were not disproved for truth came to light. The fight is drawing back.

As a party member and an aware freedom fighter, I cannot keep silent in face of such an evident betrayal to our people.

Lots of people have already died so that Angola may be liberated and our leaders' attitude is an insult to our people. It is a treason for the memory of our countryfellows who preferred death to colonialism. Leaders must be at the service of the Angolan masses and not the latter at the leaders' service.

One sees today that those who charge FNLA leaders with an irresponsible behaviour and with having a policy contrary to the Angolan people's true interests, are quite right.

We have always been ready to co-operate with our Revolution through the party that we then thought to be in conditions to serve our people. Today we see that we were wrong in trusting our leaders.

Savimbi was the second VIP both in the party and in the government. His charges are not from a plain ill-informed student in Europe. They come from a responsible man within the Revolution.

I am completely against our leaders' behaviour and I condemn their actions. Since the present structures both of the Party and the Front do not allow any action from their militants to intervene and replace the leaders, I decide to leave my Party. Henceforth, I am no longer connected with the Angolan People's Union - UPA - neither with its youth nor student organisations.

All steps I was taking to keep a GRAE information center in Austria cease from today on. I am not against GRAE as a Revolution leading body. I demand, however, a policy which may represent the Angolan people's interests. Whenever this happens, I will be ready to co-operate with it.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Fidelino Loy de Figueiredo  
Viena, Austria




P R E S S   S T A T E M E N T

I, JOSE JOAO LIAHUCA, physician, director of "Serviço de Assistência aos Refugiados Angolanos, S.A.R.A.", (Angolan Refugees Relief Service) in the Republic of Congo-Léopoldville, I announce to the Angolan people and to world public opinion my voluntary resignation to the position held at the above mentioned organisation (up until July 24th, 1964) as my protest against the lack of organisation and the halting of Angola's liberation struggle under Holden Roberto's responsibility.

I consider that only a true and sincere unity of the Angolan political parties can organize a fight capable of setting our country free from Portuguese colonial yoke.

I denounce Holden Roberto's tribal machinations. He is doing everything to be surrounded by his relatives in the Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile, GRAE, while at the same time he orders the imprisonment of hundreds of Angolan military and civil freedom fighters from the other tribes into the Congolese prisons of Ndolo, Makala, Luzumu and the Thysville Hardy military camp. Such measures are dividing our people, delaying our Revolution and prolonging the Angolan people's suffering and massacre.

J. J. LIAHUCA



BRAZZAVILLE  
July 25th, 1964



PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

OF ANGOLA

M.P.L.A.

B.P. 2353 Tel. 49-15

BRAZZAVILLE

P R E S S   C O M M U N I Q U E

Under the title, "Troubles at the Kinkuzu Camp", the Congo-Léopoldville daily newspaper "L'ETOILE DU CONGO" of 13th August, 1964, has reproduced the following news:

" LEOPOLDVILLE.- A few days ago, incidents burst out at the Angolan revolutionary forces Kinkuzu camp (in the Lower Congo), according to a communiqué published yesterday in Léopoldville. Soldiers of the "Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile" led by Mr. Holden Roberto have rebelled against their leader and set the camp in fire. This camp was lent to them by the Congolese government. In Léopoldville it is said that the Congolese government has taken all measures to prevent that this mutiny (their fifth uprising) may hurt the neighbouring dwellers. (AFP)"

This news takes the PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF ANGOLA (MPLA) to the following comments:

1. Both national and international public opinion have heard Mr. Jonas SAVIMBI's statement. He is the former "grae" Foreign Affairs Minister. In his statement published in Cairo at the Heads of African state Conference, Mr. Savimbi had charged Mr. Holden and his "government" with the responsibility of halting the armed fight in Angola and he challenged their capacity to lead the Angolan people's liberation fight.

2. Some days later, on 25th July 1964, Dr. José LIAHUCA, FNLA leader and director of "Serviço de Assistência aos Refugiados Angolanos, S.A.R.A." - "grae" relief organization - made also a public statement announcing his resignation of his leading positions in FNLA bodies and giving the following reasons for his decision:



- a) "Lack of organization and the halting of Angola liberation fight under Holden Roberto's responsibility.
- b) Holden Roberto's tribal machinations. He is doing everything to be surrounded by his relatives in the Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile, GRAE, while at the same time he orders the imprisonment of hundreds of Angolan military and civil freedom fighters from the other tribes into the Congolese prisons of Ndolo, Makala, Luzumu and the Thysville Hardy military camp. Such measures are dividing our people, delaying our Revolution and prolonging the Angolan people's suffering and massacre."

On 7th August 1964 the "grae" leaders have arrested Commander KALUNDUNGO, "ALNA" staff chief, other military leaders and hundreds of his military men who were at the Kinkuzu camp. (See MPLA communiqué of 7th August 1964.

4. On 9th August 1964 in an Appeal to the Congo-Léopoldville Government and the Organization of African Unity, MPLA has exposed the Angolan freedom fighters' serious situation in the Congo-Léopoldville, following mass arrestations of FNLA military members. Their only "crime": to be against "grae" leadership and to sate their attachment to Angolan nationalism Unity.

5. On 12th August 1964 and after the arrestation of our militants by the Congolese Security, MPLA has sent a letter of protest to Mr. Joseph KASAVUBU, President of the Republic of Congo-Léopoldville. MPLA has protested against the Congolese Security interference in the internal affairs of a fighting people and we have requested freedom of action for MPLA throughout the Congo.

The news published by "L'Etoile du Congo" does not surprise us at all. It is the logical continuation of a series of foreseen events of which "grae" falling apart is the most evident proof. It confirms what MPLA has always stated: "grae" is incapable of leading a liberation fight. It is an organization built upon division and tribal hatred. Finally, it is a tool created by imperialists to bring the armed fight to a halt or to prevent its development.

Events taking place now at the Kinkuzu camp prove both our people's maturity and their firm attachment to Unity. Rising up against tribal tyranny imposed upon them by "grae" leaders, our countryfellows have thus answered to the popular masses' deep desire of unity of the fighting forces and opposition to division machinations and tribal hatred which stop the struggle and make their sacrifice useless, a sacrifice highly paid for during these four



years of fight against the foreign oppressor.

The "Angolan government in exile" is the spear-head of imperialism in Southern Africa.

Its relations also stand to reason. At the Kinkuzu camp its military cadres have been trained by a Negro American, a BERNARD MANHERTZ, who was a mercenary in South Vietnam in the repression against the Vietnamese patriots. For several times, Mr. Holden Roberto has wanted to engage some "anti-Castrist" Cuban physicians in his relief organization. However, some African states advised him not to engage those physicians since it would be too much evident... His trade-union, the "Ligue Général des Travailleurs Angolais (LGTA)" was reorganized by a Cuban trade-unionist, CARLOS KASSEL, who worked for the TRUJILLO government, the sadly famous dictator of the Dominican Republic.

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The Angolan people have been abusively represented by a foreign body which has always wanted and is still willing to mortgage their future. They have been represented by a "government" three fourths of which have never had their feet in Angola and they were not even born there. These "leaders" are using our people's sacrifice for their personal business: they sell the arms given by the African states for our people's liberation and they embezzle the funds put at their disposal by the African states for their personal benefit.

Under the title of "Mr. Holden Roberto does not seem to Liberate Angola", "Présence Congolaise", another Léopoldville newspaper, has published an article on 20th July 1964 from which we quote the following passage:

" While Mr. Cabral refuses the luxury of the neighbouring countries to quarter in the bush, the Angolan 'liberator' and his closer co-operators amuse themselves by misappropriating his movement funds to buy some 'Mercedes from the latest fashinn' and to run across the African capital cities in order to get the withdrawal of the important aid that some brotherly



countries, despite OAU recommendations and whether we like it or not, continue to grant his MPLA opponents."

A true creation of imperialism, "grae" is agonizing. Only protection from imperialism is still slowing down its death agony. Only support from the Congolese security is preventing a solution of the situation and a fast and complete desintegration of this body called "Angolan revolutionary government in exile."

The PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF ANGOLA (MPLA) trusts its people.

VICTORY OR DEATH!

MPLA STEERING COMMITTEE



BRAZZAVILLE  
13th August 1964  
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