ORGANIZATION OF RICAN UNITY SECRETARIAT P. O. Box 3243



#### ORGANISATION DE L'UNITE AFRICAINE SECRETARIAT

SECRETARIAT B. P. 3243

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
Seventeenth Ordinary Session
June 1971

CM/384

THE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF THE RECOGNITION
OF THE ANGOLAN REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT IN EXILE



## THE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF THE RECOGNITION OF THE ANGOLAN REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT IN EXILE

- 1. At its Fifteenth Ordinary Session, the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity considered the item on its Agenda relating to "The Advantages and disadvantages of recognition of the Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile, (GRAE)".
- 2. The Council noted with regret that only four OAU Member States had replied to the General Secretariat's Note dated 7 May 1970 which was sent to all Member States requesting them to forward to it their views on the advantages and disadvantages of the recognition of the Angolan Revolutionary Government in exile. This was in pursuance of Resolution CM/Res.210 (XIV) (Paragraph 5) adopted by the OAU Council of Ministers at its Fourteenth Ordinary Session held in February/March 1970 in Addis Ababa. At the end of its deliberations, the Council of Ministers decided that:
  - (a) Member States which had not replied to the abovementioned Note of the General Secretariat should do so by the end of November 1970 at the latest;
  - (b) the Budgetary Session of February 1971 should decide on the matter whether or not Member States have made their views known;
  - (c) the General Secretariat should prepare a report on the question.
- 3. In compliance with this decision of the Council of Ministers, the OAU General Secretariat circulated Note No. POL.70/7/1255-70 to all Member States immediately after the Fifteenth Session requesting them to forward their view points on the question at their earliest convenience but by taking into due account the date limit of 30 November 1970.

4. By 20 April 1971, the General Secretariat received ten other replies from Member States in addition to the first five. The Note of the General Secretariat and the various replies received from Member States are hereto attached as annexes.

- 5. From the replies received, the General Secretariat noted a seemingly small confusion with regards to the GRAE and the FNLA. For a better understanding of the problem, it would be necessary to clarify the position. The General Secretariat would like to specify that the GRAE is the Angolan Revolutionary Government in exile constituted by the FNLA liberation movement (Angolan National Liberation Front). The FNLA is and remains recognized by OAU as a liberation movement. Whatever decision is therefore taken on the GRAE, will in no way affect the FNLA which will continue to receive assistance from the Liberation Committee as a liberation movement.
  - 6. Furthermore, most of the new replies received pointed out that the act of recognizing a Government in exile formed by a movement in a territory where there are two liberation movements recognized by OAU is a serious discrimination which could pre-judgé the outcome of the struggle in that territory. In others, stress was laid on the need for the two movements concerned to form a common action front. The General Secretariat would like to recall that it was precisely in the hope of facilitating the formation of a common action front by the two movements that the Committee of Five on Angola and the Liberation Committee considered that the withdrawal of the status of Government in exile granted the FNLA would tend to facilitate that task.

REF: POL.70/7/1255-70

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The General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity presents its compliments to the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Member States and has the honour to communicate to them the following:

During its 15th Ordinary Session, the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity considered the item on its agenda relating to the advantages and disadvantages of the recognition of the Angolan Revolutionary Government in exile (GRAE).

The Council noted with regret the fact that only four Member States of the Organization had replied to the Note Verbale dated 7th May 1970, of the General Secretariat to the Member States, requesting them to forward to it their views on the advantages and disadvantages of the recognition of the GRAE, in conformity with resolution CM/Res.210 (XIV).

At the end of its deliberation, the Council of Ministers decided that:

- (a) Member States which did not reply to the abovementioned Note Verbale of the General Secretariat should do so by the end of November 1970, at latest;
- (b) The Budgetary Session of February 1971 will have to take a decision on the question whether all Member States have made their views known or not
- (c) The General Secretariat should prepare a report on this item.

In compliance with these decisions of the Council of Ministers, the General Secretariat would be grateful to Member States to forward to it their views on the matter

at their earliest convenience, taking into due account the date limit of 30th November 1970.

The General Secretariat avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Foreign Ministries of Member States the assurances of its highest consideration.

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#### LIBERATION COMMITTEE

Dear Director,

In reply to your letter No.POL/100 GEN/593, I should like to inform you that the Liberation Committee's viewpoint on the advantages and disadvantages of recognizing GRAE as the Government-in-Exile will be known during the Seventeenth Ordinary Session of the Liberation Committee and will be communicated to you only after that Session.

Dar-es-Salaam, 8 June 1970.

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#### DAHOMEY

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Dahomey presents its compliments to the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity and has the honour to acknowledge receipt of its Note POL.100 GEN/578-70 dated 7 May 1970 in which the Secretariat requested it to forward the observations of the Government of Dahomey on the question of "advantages and disadvantages of recognizing the Revolutionary Government-in-Exile of Angole" (GRAE), in accordance with Resolution CM/Res.210 (XIV), paragraph 5, adopted by the Council of Ministers of OAU at its Fourteenth Session (Addis-Ababa, February-March 1970).

It should be recalled that the Assembly of Heads of State and Government meeting in Cairo (UAR) at its First Session from 17 to 21 July 1964, decided upon the recognition of the Revolutionary Government-in-Exile of Angola. In the Resolution which was adopted during that Session (Resolution AHG/Res.18 (1)), the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, particularly specified in paragraphs 1 and 2:

- 1. "Calls on those Member States which have not recognized the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile to accord the latter full recognition;
- 2. Calls further on all Member States to assist and support the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile."

It was not until four years later, in February 1968, that the Council of Ministers of the Organization adopted, at its Tenth Ordinary Session, Resolution CM/RES.136 (X) which "recommends to the Heads of State and Government to review the status of the Government-in-Exile of Angola, as this status could not only lead some liberation movements to complacency, but also diminishes their dynamism and vigour in the struggle".

Serious divergencies of view appeared within the Council of Ministers on the interpretation of Resolution CM/Res.136 (X); the Council at its Twelfth Session (February 1969) had recommended "the Assembly of Heads of State and Government to review the status of FNLA and make a definite pronouncement on this issue during its next session." (Resolution CM/Res.175 (XII)).

11.

During its Sixth Session (September 1969), the Assembly of Heads of State and Government considered the request submitted by the Council of Ministers and finally decided (AHG/Dec.35 (VI)) that the said Council should report to it on the advantages and disadvantages of recognizing GRAE at its Seventh Ordinary Session, scheduled for September 1970.

It was in these circumstances that the Council of Ministers was led, during its Fourteenth Session (February-March 1970), to reconsider the question of GRAE's status and to adopt Resolution CM/Res.210 (XTV), requesting Member States to forward their observations on the matter with due regard to the legal, political and military consequences of maintaining or withdrawing this recognition.

On the legal plane: The recognition of a Government is, in principle, a purely legal matter which corresponds with certain specific legal criteria (notably effectiveness), because in the long run, it amounts to participation by human societies in international affairs.

In practice, however, the recognition of a Government most frequently assumes a political character according to the circumstances. This is particularly the case with GRAE: indeed, in according the status of Government-in-Exile to FNLA, the aim was to support the action of this Movement, which is still engaged in the struggle for independence.

The recognition of a Government most frequently implies taking into consideration a large number of factors which are not necessarily legal. This explains its discretionary and thus political nature.

The problem that arises is that of establishing the legal force of the resolutions adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government in the prescribed conditions as regards quorum and majority, in accordance with the Charter of OAU and the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. The Charter of OAU and the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly are silent on this point.

This in no way constitutes a matter for theoretical debate, but is an important issue that affects the very life of the Organization.

On the political and military planes: The "political" and "military" aspects are closely linked when we consider liberation movements. One influences the other, and vice versa.

In the opinion of the Government of Dahomey, the with drawal or maintenance of recognition of GRAE should not, it seems, alter the political and military situation in Angola. What matters, is that the two rival movements, FNLA and MPLA, should agree to form a united front in order to co-ordinate their struggle and render it more effective.

It must, furthermore, be stressed that the two movements should at least be given equal assistance by OAU, but this has not been the case. Thus, particular movement should be reproached with "ineffectiveness" whilst at the same time, for obscure reasons, the means of achieving effectiveness are withheld from it.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Dahomey avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the General Secretariat of OAU the assurances of its highest consideration.

Cotonou, 19 June 1970.

#### K E N Y A

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kenya presents its compliments to the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity and with reference to the latter's undated Note Ref.POL.70/7/580-70 requesting Kenya's view on the advantages and disadvantages of the recognition of GRAE, has the honour to state that Kenya's policy towards GRAE or any other liberation movement is guided by the following basic principles:-

- (a) So long as a particular movement has been recognized by the OAU and is dedicated to the goal of liberation, it should not be subject to ideological or any other type of discrimination. If this principle is not accepted the task of reconciliation would be very difficult.
- (b) If any movement ceases, on good evidence, to be able to fulfill the primary objective of promoting liberation, its status should be reviewed. This should be done only when sufficient opportunity has been given to the movement in question to defend itself before the OAU Liberation Committee or any other organ established for the purpose.
- (c) The Committee should establish machinery to screen any movements that apply for recognition. The purpose is to verify the bona fides of the movement in question. Central criteria should be:
  - i) The movement should be African;
  - ii) It should be struggling against colonial domination;
  - iii) It should be headquartered in African soil;
  - iv) It should not be a splinter group

It is believed that strict adherence to these principles will greatly serve the cause of unity among movements fighting for the same country. Moreover, the question of the advantages or disadvantages of recognizing one or the other would not sarise.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kenya avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity the assurances of its highest consideration.

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No.126

The Ministry of External Affairs of the Republic of Malawi presents its compliments to the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity and has the honour to acknowledge receipt of the latter's Note No.POL.70/7/580 - 70 requesting the views of all Member States of the Organization of African Unity on the advantages and disadvantages of recognition of the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile (GRAE).

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The Ministry of External Affairs begs to advise that the Government of Malawi does not wish to accord any recognition to the GRAE since, pursuant to the general principles of international law, the GRAE does not fulfill the criterion for recognition at this stage.

The Ministry of External Affairs of the Republic of Malawi avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity the assurance of its highest consideration.

#### M.A.L.I

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation presents its compliments to the General Secretariat of OAU and has the honour to acknowledge receipt of its Note POL. 100 GEN/578-70 dated 7 May 1970 concerning "the advantages and disadvantages of recognizing the Revolutionary Government-in-Exile of Angola."

The Government of Mali will inform the General Secretariat of OAU of its attitude during the next few days.

The Ministry avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the General Secretariat of OAU the assurances of its highest consideration.

Koulouba, 17 June 1970



#### S U D A N

Ref. 36-G-1 date. 25th May 1970

The Embassy of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan presents its compliments to the Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity and reference to the esteemed Secretariat's Note No. POL.70/7/580-70 dated 7/5/1970 concerning the GRAE Government in EXILE, has the honour to communicate the following note received from the Sudan Government:-

The Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan decided to withdraw its former decision rendering full recognition of the GRAE as a "Government in EXILE" for the reasons she stated before and which could be briefed as follows:-

- (a) The present situation in African fight against imperialism, colonialism and Racism is in need of consolidation and creation of fighting elements and awakening of the suppressed people and the people of the entire continent.
- (b) The Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan really thinks that the creation of such Governments in EXILE means that the other fighting units and Organizations would not be recognised by the OAU. This discrimination may demoralized these units and Organizations and at the same time creates jealousies among those who are fighting against one enemy and for common cause. Automatically those factors lead to disunity and does not create the conditions and ground for fighting.
- (c) The Sudan came to know that the GRAE Government confined itself to protocol activities which crippled her and prevented her from fulfilling the aims for which she was formed.

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(d) At the same time the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan would like to reassure the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity of her genuine support to all African freedom fighters Organizations and is ready to have the FNLA of the GRAE Government,

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among the other fighting groups.

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The Embassy of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity the assurances of its highest consideration.

The Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity,

Addis Ababa.

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#### ZAMBIA

ZE/D/08/1/C-1230

The Embassy of the Republic of Zambia presents its compliments to the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity and has the honour to refer to the latter's Note Verbale No.70/7/1255-70 of the 12th October 1970 and regret that due to an over-sight, an earlier reply was not provided to previous communications.

The struggle against colonialism in any given area and Africa in particular calls for a united front if the objectives have to be achieved. It is common knowledge, that Imperialists have more often used liberation movements to frustrate the efforts of the freedom fighters in the war zones. The Organization of African Unity has constantly appealed to both member States and the liberation movements to form a united front in the struggle against colonialism despite the existence of personal differences among the liberation movements. It is therefore against. this background that the Government of the Republic of Zambia along with the majority of Member States gives support to M.P.L.A. Under the circumstances therefore, it is regretted that the Government of the Republic of Zambia is reluctantly unable to recognize GRAE as a Government in exile.

It should also be stated that a similar request was submitted to the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations by SWANUF during the 24th Session of the General Assembly but was rejected for similar reasons.

While the inability of the Zambian Government to recognize GRAE is regretted, the Embassy of the Republic of Zambia avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity, the assurances of its highest consideration.

The General Secretariat, Organization of African Unity, ADDIS ABABA.

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#### ETHIOPIA

No.251/9/63

3 November 1970

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Imperial Ethiopian Government present their compliments to the Administrative General Secretariat of the OAU and with reference to the latter's note No. POL/70/7/1255-70 of October 10, 1970 have the honour to state the following:

The first regular session of the Council of Ministers which met in Dakar from 2 to 11 August 1963 has adopted resolution CM/Res.4 (1) of 10 August 1963 on the report of the Liberation Committee in which operative paragraph 5 it requested "all Member States to accord recognition to the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile". This resolution had been later on adopted in Cairo by the First Assembly of Heads of State and Governments in 1964.

As it can easily be understood from the nature of the above-mentioned resolution it was a collective recognition accorded to the GRAE by the OAU Member States and as such it can only be withdrawn collectively by the OAU Member States.

However in the light of the experience we have had with GRAE, it is the opinion of the Imperial Ethiopian Government that the creation of governments in Exile by liberation movements, far from advancing the process of liberation, would rather hamper it by creating dissension and rivalaries amongs different liberation movements from the same territory. Moreover, granting a status of government in Exile to a particular liberation movement would very likely make it complacent vis-a-vis the liberation struggle thus jeopardazing the early achievement of independence.

It is also the view of the Imperial Ethiopian Government that liberation movements should first achieve freedom and independence and only then the sovereign people of that country will elect the government of their choice.

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The Imperial Ethiopian Government would therefore propose that in principle no liberation movement recognized by the OAU should be encouraged to set up a government in Exile unless the circumstances warrants.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Imperial Ethiopian Government avail themselves of this opportunity to renew to the Administrative General Secretariat of the OAU the assurance of their highest consideration.

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#### BOTSWANA

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#### Note No.28

The Office of the President of the Republic of Botswana presents its compliments to the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity and has the honour to refer to the latter's Note POL.70/7/1255-70 concerning the question of the Angolan Revolutionary Government in exile (GRAE).

The Office of the President has the honour to state that Botswana's position is that Liberation Movements should not be recognized as Governments in Exile by the Organization of African Unity, since to do so is to pre-judge the outcome of the liberation struggle particularly where more than one nationalist movement is involved.

The Office of the President of the Republic of Botswana avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity the assurance of its highest consideration.

#### GABORONE.

18th November 1970.

#### RWANDA

The Ministry of International Co-operation of the Republic of Rwanda presents its compliments to the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity and, in acknowledging receipt of its Note No.POL.70/7/1255-70 of 12 October 1970, has the honour to inform it that the Government of Rwanda does not intend, under the present circumstances, to withdraw the recognition that it fully granted the Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile in 1964.

In fact, a careful consideration of the file of "Angola" shows that since 1964, no new development has taken place to justify any change in previous position. The present difficulties and misunderstanding between the Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile and the Popular Liberation Movement of Angola (MPLA) as Government in exile are in no way new. To be sure, it would suffice to refer to operative paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of resolution AHG.18 (i) of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government which state as follows:

- "1. Calls on those Member States which have not recognized the Revolutionary Government of Angola in exile to accord the latter full recognition
- "2. Calls further on all Member States to assist and support the Revolutionary Government of Angola in exile;
- "3. Requests the Liberation Committee, assisted by the Representatives of Congo (Brazzaville), Ghana and the UAR to use its good offices to reconcile, by all means of persuasion, the Revolutionary Government of Angola in exile and the Popular Liberation Movement of Angola (MPLA) so as to secure a United Front of all nationalist elements in the struggle for independence."

The policy-making bodies of the Organization limited themselves to recommend to Member States to recognize the Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile. This, in any case, is what the wordings of resolution CM/Res.5(1) of the Council of Ministers and resolution AHG/18 (1) of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government imply.

From the foregoing, it follows that even if the forthcoming meetings of the Organization decide to withdraw
recognition of GRAE, Member States which will not support
such a decision will not feel worried about it since the
recognition of any Government whatsoever is an act of
sovereignty of every State.

It must be added that the Government of Rwanda does not believe in the effectiveness of a possible withdrawal of the recognition already accorded to GRAE. Its view is that, such an act would tend on the one hand to discourage the lot of the FNLA freedom fighters and on the other, give cause to the Portuguese colonialists to political blackmail under the pretext that the Organization of African Unity has gone back on all the activities of the Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile.

Against this background, it would rather be necessary to encourage the two rival movements, the MPLA and the FNLA, to form a united front in order to co-ordinate their action and to make it more effective instead of tarrying about the question of the recognition of GRAE which has already been done and for which no factor calls for review.

The Ministry of International Co-operation avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity the assurances of its highest consideration.

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Late Sales

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The Ministry of Foreign Affairs presents its compliments to the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity and has the honour to refer to the Secretariat's Note Ref. POL.70/7/1255 - 70, regarding the advantages and disadvantages of the recognition of the Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile, "GRAE".

In reply, the Ministry would like to inform the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity of the following:

For the Republic of Ivory Coast, what matters is to find a field of understanding, and a field of sincere cooperation between the various liberation movements: in a word, a modus vivendi that could bring them to form one and the same front for the liberation of their country.

This essential condition can be conceived of, if not achieved, only if the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa itself becomes consistent. Indeed, Ivory Coast foresees vaguely, irrespective of any legal act likely to lead to the withdrawal of OAU's recognition of the GRAE, that the solution of that important problem resides in the re-organization of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa.

In the light of these factors, Ivory Coast considers that it is of prime importance that every action be concretely harmonized, co-ordinated in order to reach, in an easy but sure manner, the effective solution to the problem of freedom fighters facing the Organization of African Unity and about which all Member States are concerned.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity the assurances of its highest consideration.

#### GU.I.N-EA

The Ministry of State responsible for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guinea presents its compliments to the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity and has the honour, in reply to its Note No.POL.70/7/1255 - 70 of 12 October 1970, to forward it hereunder the point of view of the Government of Guinea regarding the advantages and disadvantages of the recognition of GRAE.

The Government of the Republic of Guinea considers that the question of the recognition of GRAE does not exist since this exists only at the level of a few people who have no control over any part of Angolan territory (refer to the report of the military commission of Angola).

For the Government of Guinea, OAU would have disadvantages only if it envisaged recognition of the GRAE. The first and biggest disadvantage would be that such recognition would lead the FNLA to complete inactivity not-withstanding that already its effectiveness in terms of action leaves much to be desired. Secondly, such a recognition would create a precedent which other liberation movements would rightly or wrongly be tempted to follow. This would thus lead OAU to recognize a multitude of provisional Governments.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the question of GRAE is a manouvre by the enemy aimed at diverting the attention of OAU from its major pre-occupations which, for the present, is the liberation of African territories still under foreign domination.

The Ministry of State responsible for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guinea avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity the assurances of its highest consideration.

#### G H A N A

No.GEA.21/42

The Embassy of the Republic of Ghana presents its compliments to the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity and has the honour to refer to the latter's Note No.POL.70/1255-70 dated 12th October addressed to the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Member States concerning views on the advantages and disadvantages of the recognition of the Angolan Revolutionary Government in exile (GRAE).

The Embassy wishes to communicate the following views of the Government of the Republic of Ghana:

The Government of the Republic of Ghana does not support the withdrawal of recognition at this stage of GRAE in favour of IMPLA because such action could only aggravate the present conflict between the rival organizations.

It is the view of the Government of Ghana that efforts must be redoubled to work for the reconciliation of the two Angolan Movements.

The Embassy of the Republic of Ghana avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity the assurances of its highest consideration.

ADDIS ABABA

3rd December 1970.

#### B U-R U N D I

The Embassy of the Republic of Burundi in Addis Ababa, presents its compliments to the Administrative Secretary—General of the Organization of African Unity and has the honour to forward it the following:

In reply to the question regarding the advantages and disadvantages of the recognition of the Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile (GRAE), the Government of Burundi by its letter No.AP/0043/AE of 5/1/1971, wishes to specify, as in the past, that its attitude to this question is dictated by a dual regard for justice and equity. In fact the FNLA and MPLA are both movements which set themselves a common target to liberate the territory of Angola, and should be treated on the same and equal footing.

The continued recognition of GRAE as Government in Exile constitutes, from the point of view of the Government of Burundi, a discriminatory act vis-a-vis the other movement (MPLA) which is also engaged in the struggle to liberate the same territory.

In order to promote the reunification of all the patriotic forces fighting for the liberation of Angola, and which besides, will render the struggle more effective, the Government of Burundi considers that the Organization of African Unity should, without further delay, withdraw the status of Government in exile granted to GRAE.

The Embassy of the Republic of Burundi avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Administrative Secretary-General of OAU, the assurances of its high consideration.

ADDIS ABABA, 29 January 1971.



#### TANZANIA

Ref. No.FAC/N.50/14/46:

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania presents its compliments to the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity and has the honour, in response to the later's note No.POL.70/7/1255-70 to state as follows:

Tanzania's position relative to the advantages and disadvantages of the recognition of GRAE has been amply expressed at the various sessions of the Organization. In the course of such discussion we have also shown emphatically why the Organization should not be bound to recognizing an Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile.

As a member of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, Tanzania has participated fully in the consideration of this subject by that Committee. Tanzania endorsed the decisions adopted by the Liberation Committee on the issue.

Tanzania now, therefore, re-affirms its stand as adopted by that Committee and as expressed at the various meetings of our Organization.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the General Secretariat the assurances of its highest consideration.

Dar-es-Salaam, February 8, 1971.

The General Secretary of the Organization of African Unity, P. O. Box 3243, ADDIS ABABA.

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1971-06

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