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DEVELOPMENTS IN ANGOLA, CAPE VERDE AND SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

	<u>Pages</u>
I. DEVELOPMENTS IN ANGOLA	3-4
Statements made at the Investiture of the Transitional Government of Angola in Luanda	
Speech by the Portuguese High Commissioner, General António da Silva Cardoso	4-5
Speech by Mr. Almeida Santos, Minister of Inter-territorial Co-ordination of Portugal	6-12
Speech by Mr. Johnny Eduardo, Member of the Presidential Council of the Transitional Government of Angola	12-16
Text of the Mombasa Agreement between the FLNA, MPLA and UNITA	16
Text of the Alvor Agreement between Portugal and the Angolan Liberation Movements	17-30
Composition of the Transitional Government	30-32
II. DEVELOPMENTS IN CAPE VERDE	32
Text of the Agreement between Portugal and Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC)	33-36
Composition of the Transitional Government	37
III. DEVELOPMENTS IN SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE	38
Text of the Agreement between Portugal and Liberation Movement of Sao Tomé and Príncipe (MLSTP)	39-43
Composition of the Transitional Government	43

IV. ANNEXES			<u>Pages</u>
Annex I	-	Programme of the Frente Nacional de Libertaçã~o de Angola (FNLA)	44-46
Annex II	-	Programme of the Movimento Popular de Libertaçã~o de Angola (MPLA)	47-54
Annex III	-	Programme of the Uniã~o Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA)	54-56

DEVELOPMENTS IN ANGOLA, CAPE VERDE
AND SAO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE

As a result of negotiations of the liberation movements of Angola, Cape Verde and the islands of Saõ Tomé and Príncipe with the Portuguese Government, formal agreements were signed and Transitional Governments were subsequently installed in those territories. The agreements also set the dates for their independence.

We include in this issue the agreements and information related to the investiture of transitional governments in Angola, the Cape Verde Archipelago and the islands of Saõ Tomé and Príncipe.

I. DEVELOPMENTS IN ANGOLA

On 15 January 1975 an agreement providing for the accession of Angola to independence on 11 November 1975 was signed in Alvor, Portugal, between the Portuguese Government and the three liberation movements of Angola. The Agreement was signed by Major Melo Antunes, Minister without Portfolio, Mr. Mário Soares, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Mr. Almeida Santos, Minister for Interterritorial Coordination, on behalf of the government of Portugal, as well as by Mr. Holden Roberto, President of the Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola (FNLA), Mr. Agostinho Neto, President of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) and by Mr. Jonas Savimbi, President of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA). Under the terms of the Agreement, Portugal recognized the three liberation movements as the sole and legitimate representatives of the Angolan people and a general ceasefire was formalized. The Agreement stressed that Angola was a single indivisible entity within its existing geographical and political boundaries with Cabinda forming an integral and inalienable part of the Angolan territory. Pending the proclamation of independence on 11 November 1975, all power in Angola was to be exercised by a High Commissioner appointed by the President of Portugal and by a Transitional Government presided over and directed by a Presidential Council composed of three members, one from each liberation movement. The Chairmanship of the Council would be held by rotation. The twelve members of the ministerial cabinet would be appointed in equal proportion by the FNLA, MPLA, UNITA and by the President of Portugal according to a distribution of portfolios spelt out in the Agreement.

The Agreement also provided for the creation of a unified armed force composed of 24,000 men from the Portuguese army and another 24,000 drawn in equal proportion from the three liberation movements.

A major task of the Transitional Government would be to organize elections for a Constituent Assembly which must be held within nine months of the investiture of the Transitional Government. Candidates for the Assembly would be presented exclusively by the three liberation movements.

The Transitional Government was inaugurated in Luanda on 31 January 1975. The investiture was attended by Mr. Tang Ming-chao, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs and Decolonization, who represented the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and representatives of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Algeria, Congo, Gabon, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Mozambique, Sao Tomé, Senegal, Tanzania, Tunisia, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zambia.

At the inauguration of the Transitional Government speeches were made by the Portuguese High Commissioner, General António da Silva Cardoso, the Portuguese Minister of Interterritorial Cooperation, Mr. Almeida Santos and by Mr. Johnny Eduardo, Member of the Presidential Council of Angola on behalf of the three liberation movements. The full text of the statements is reproduced below together with the Alvor Agreement between Portugal and the liberation movements and the Mombasa Agreement of 4 January 1975 between the FLNA, MPLA and UNITA which paved the way to the meeting in Alvor. The programmes of the three liberation movements are reproduced in Annexes I, II and III.

STATEMENTS MADE AT THE INVESTITURE OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT
OF ANGOLA IN LUANDA

Speech by the Portuguese High Commissioner, General
António da Silva Cardoso

In Angola we are today beginning the implementation of the agreement signed in the Algarve, which makes the legitimate representatives of the Angolan people - FNLA, MPLA and UNITA - responsible for formulating a policy that will give a national basis to the independent Government of this powerful country.

Let us then dedicate ourselves anew to the objectives that led to Mombasa and Alvor, objectives which are now better understood and have crystallized in the tasks each of us must perform, as part of a whole which is pledged to give the Angolan people the future they deserve and to enable Angola to make its unique contribution to Africa and to the world.

From this day forward the Angolan and Portuguese peoples, indeed, the entire world, will expect of the Government which is taking power the capacity to lead Angola to independence in a climate of peace, justice and mutual respect. The presence of the representatives of the many countries which have honoured us by accepting our invitation, giving this ceremony the international character which its significance warrants, is deeply gratifying proof of the world's interest in and expectations of this land. What Angola will be in the future will depend in large measure on the knowledge and capabilities of the men who are to guide the destiny of the nation in this period leading to independence. With regard to the privations and sufferings of the past struggle which have made this moment possible, I can say only that we must look to the future, build on the foundations of the present our hopes for tomorrow and devote to the pursuit of peace and progress all the potentialities of human beings - human beings who do not harbour grudges, who tear down barriers, in short, Angolans united and proud in the work of redemption and construction of a country capable of making its influence felt in the concert of nations.

Angola is fully entitled to ask of all its children, those born on Angolan soil and those who call Angola their home, sacrifices of every kind and whole-hearted dedication to the task which everyone should take upon himself in a generous contribution to a prosperous, just and equitable society.

Perhaps it is unnecessary for me to tell you how honoured I feel in being associated with you in the enormous and complex tasks which await us. However, let me simply assure you that I, together with the Ministers appointed by Portugal who are here with us, will place all my abilities at the service of Angola in the spirit of collaboration, friendship and fairness which has always guided me in my relations with the movement that are now responsible for the Government of Transition.

The time has come for carefully considered action.

History will tell the world who the men were whose destiny it was to lead Angola on its final steps to independence and what they achieved.

Let us all show ourselves worthy of the greatness of freedom!

Speech by Mr. Almeida Santos, Minister of Interterritorial Coordination
of Portugal

Mr. High Commissioner, Members of the Presidential Council and
Minister,

The honour of representing His Excellency the President of the Portuguese Republic on this occasion is equalled by my pleasure at being able to be here. Legally represented by Your Excellency, Mr. High Commissioner, His Excellency wished, by way of demonstrating his interest in the future of Angola, to emphasize by the presence of a member of the Government of the Republic the importance which he attaches to this occasion and the hopes which he places in it. I can bear witness to the extreme solicitude with which His Excellency, at the level of the National Decolonization Committee over which he presides, and, as incredible as it may seem, in connexion with every measure relating to Angola and its future, has impressed his personal stamp on the evolution of events. Angola, which he knows well, is one of his loves.

I have also been asked to transmit to the people of Angola, particularly to those who are now assuming the honourable and heavy responsibility of governing the country, a message of solidarity and confidence from His Excellency the Prime Minister and from the Government, of which I am a member. Nothing that might happen in Angola could be a matter of indifference to the Portuguese people or their Government. In good fortune or bad, we shall always be united by the same concern. Political contingencies and the determinants of history may produce instruments and conventions, the mistakes of diplomats may cause conflicts. Human societies are governed by laws which transcend the artificiality of treaties and they build realities which are not subject to the limitations of constitutions. What count are the feelings of human beings.

In this connexion, it seems to me that all the mistakes put together cannot neutralize the feelings of linguistic identity, cultural community, demographic integration and human friendship which unite the peoples of Portugal and Angola for all time.

I also wish to state that I am here on my own account and because of my own feelings. Never will I feel myself a stranger in Angola. As far back as the time when I first came here as a very young man, I began to have an abiding affection for Angola and to see Angola as a good giant led by the hand of a child. I realized then that there was something wrong with the proportions of that relationship.

From my observation post in Mozambique, where my profession took me and where the situation was similar in every respect, I was able to watch the African volcano become increasingly active. When I arrived, nationalism was white, God and his prophets were white. As I can bear witness to the fact that in the ferment of that time which was to lead to emancipation, the sweat of our African brothers, so little appreciated and so poorly remunerated, made its contribution. What followed was the awakening of an entire continent. The liberating conflagration spread throughout the land and set the peoples' hearts on fire. How easy it was to understand that message! Others, less aware and less human, were able to understand it too. As had happened in Europe, the map of Africa was in the process of being drawn. Where history had drawn the boundaries of game reserves, civilization established nations.

A reactionary evil genius moved backwards while others advanced.

It was the destiny of the Portuguese people, who were in the vanguard of the discoveries and were also pioneers in concepts of self-government, that they should be among the last to accept the new law.

This was because, in disregard of feelings which began to be manifested at an early date, a reactionary evil genius moved backwards while others were advancing. Claiming to defend a civilization which had not conferred any mandate upon it but had, on the contrary, repudiated its leadership, that evil genius dreamed at a very late date of a Napoleonic empire with its head in Europe and its body spread out all over the world. Angola was to be an arm of that body. When refusal to share that vision took the form of rebellion, that evil genius, once again showing its incapacity to understand history, had recourse to violence in an attempt to put the rebellion down. Within the Portuguese family, as that evil genius itself had, indeed, envisioned it, brother fought against brother and innocent young people were sacrificed to that insanity.

Portuguese progressives fought against that trend as courageously as they could. I fought against it - and I am proud that I did so - protesting and warning of the consequences as vehemently as possible. There were moments when that struggle of mine evoked a warm response in Angola. At the same time, democrats here of all shades of opinion kept the sacred flame of protest alive. All of us know the difficulties it cost them and the risks they took to do so.

Should we have taken up arms? Perhaps. But apart from the question of how much courage this one or that one had, there was always our innate horror of violence, particularly violence turned against innocent brothers. Others, more determined, did have recourse to arms - and it soon became clear that they were not fighting against the Portuguese people and that the Portuguese people did not grudge them support in the struggle they were waging. Moreover,

it was clear that the Portuguese Armed Forces were waging that war without any motivation or militaristic spirit, for it was a war in which brother mourned brother, a war which actually existed only in the pages of decrees. The hydra dies only when its heads are destroyed. Thus it was no surprise to anybody when one memorable day those same forces which had been waging war a contre coeur deposed the tyrannical régime and promptly announced their readiness to undertake the negotiations which were to lead to peace.

For us, Decolonization was, more than anything else, an ethical imperative.

It is true that a new front was opened: some persons who were benefiting from privileged positions or who were simply the victims of faith in the twisted beliefs disseminated by clever propaganda tried to continue a struggle which had to come to an end. They themselves were the victims of a régime which systematically cultivated indifference to politics, so that they lacked the historical perspective which only political visions affords, and they thus put their own individual interests, which they identified with quite respectable feelings of patriotism, above the higher demands of the historical imperative and of the collective interest. Perhaps even today there are some who think that it might have turned out differently. I can understand their feelings and I sincerely regret the disruption, sometimes irreparable, which decolonization has brought to their lives. But as I see it, assuming that it could have turned out otherwise, the point is: should it have done so?

I cannot dissociate myself from the moral determinants of the phenomenon which confronts us. For us decolonization was, more than anything else, an ethical imperative: that of making peace and of permitting access to self-government and independence for those territories with a sufficiently definite identity to constitute nations. If we had taken any other attitude we would have continued to be shunned by the rest of the world, and everyone knows that it is becoming increasingly difficult for a country to live outside the community of nations.

In practical military terms perhaps the situation in Angola as of 25 April was such that it would have been possible to continue to indulge a little more longer in the Czarist dream of an Angolan province.

But for one thing, it is a mistake, from the standpoint of history, to make only short-term plans. The situation soon becomes untenable and there is no way it can be remedied. For another, I am firmly convinced that if the precarious balance in Angola could have been maintained a little longer, that only adds to the merit of our having had the vision and the honour not to wish to maintain it. In politics as in everything else, a gift that is imposed on the recipient is not a gift.

You are the keystone of Angola, the key which opens the door to the future.

The task before you, Mr. High Commissioner, members of the Presidential Council and Ministers, is an inspiring one. Because it is honourable, because it imposes responsibilities and because it is not easy. You are the keystone of Angola, the key which opens the door to the future. History has already recorded in its annals your achievements and failures. You can figure in them as the builders of a great country or as its gravediggers. In any event - and in this lies the drama - you will appear.

Rarely has a Government been formed which is so heterogeneous and at the same time so lacking in homogeneity. After all, it is you who replace four armies which only yesterday were fighting each other.

No one doubts your exemplary honesty, the purity of your intentions, your intelligence or your ability. Your love for Angola is proved by the fact that most of you have accepted the risk of giving your lives for Angola. Therefore the hearts of those who were born in Angola or have settled there and those who love the country are trembling with anxiety, wondering whether you will be able to preserve to the end the homogeneity and cohesion so evident at the start. This is the greatest challenge, and also the greatest victory.

The eyes of the world are on you. Either you will disappoint or you will be an example. Africa has, since the emergence of African nationalism, created an image of itself which may make belief in your victory over yourselves difficult. This should be the greatest incentive for your resolve to attempt it.

I am wagering on you. Because you know the horrors of war, you will repudiate violence. Because intelligence has led you to negotiate, you will be wedded to dialogue. Because you feel yourselves bound to a duty named Angola, you will accept the necessary sacrifices. Because the enemy against whom you were fighting, and the cause for which you fought have disappeared, you will identify Angola's new enemies as any possible causes of misunderstanding among you.

It does not hurt to lose when the victor is called the will of the majority. That was the supreme lesson of the great Greek invention which is called democracy. The battle of the vote is a perpetual alternation of winners and losers. There can be no decisive victory against the people and its will, even if that will may occasionally be frustrated.

To build Angola, all the people of Angola are but a small force.

It has been Angola's good fortune - somewhat contrary to African political practice - that its first autonomous Government and its first steps as a nation were formed and organized in the democratic mould. Few would have believed it.

But Angola has a messianic destiny, within which everything has to happen on the scale of its greatness: in facts as in examples, a promising destiny as a leader of peoples awaits it. Those who know Angola find no pettiness in her. What is impossible for others will be easy for you.

It is true that wealth arouses ambitions. Among men as among peoples. But what greater ambition is there than that of contributing decisively, through glory or through sacrifice, if not by martyrdom, to the realization of a great, progressive, independent and unified Angola?

To build Angola, all the people of Angola are but a small force. How can one imagine you divided by mere side issues concerning the best way of making Angola great, progressive, independent and unified?

To you, Mr. High Commissioner, there falls a particularly important task. First of all you must change the image Angola has of Portuguese sovereignty. In a few short months we have been able to make a structural change in that image, distorted by the countless real mistakes of the past. But it is you who must add the final touches, those which will complete the final picture for history. They must be compounded of tolerance, understanding, just judgements, sincere friendship. Independence must not mean indifference but mutual co-operation, continuity of that which deserves to be continued, stimulation of that which deserves to be stimulated. I believe we are all thinking of a healthy partnership consistent with independence, dignity and mutual respect.

It will not be long before Angola surpasses Portugal's former material achievements. It will not surpass Portugal's stock of experience and culture quite so quickly. This, then, provides continuing scope for communication and exchange. There will be those who, richer in material things, may replace us in technical support or in the financial support required for carrying out large-scale physical projects. Nevertheless, I think I am justified in assuming that in other spheres, if not in these same spheres, Portugal will continue to be an irreplaceable partner for Angola. I am thinking of our common language, our acquaintance with persons and surroundings, our identity of feelings. I am thinking of our common historical past, of demographic interpenetration, of ethnic integration. And I am thinking of the all-embracing humanism and the propensity for co-existence of the Portuguese people, now that our relations are going to be organized, not so much in terms of Government to Government, as from people to people.

The Portuguese Government, through the delegation it sent to the Penina "Summit", unhesitatingly extended its hand to those of its sons born in the Territory of Angola or settled there who want to opt for Angolan citizenship. It did so because, as happened in the case of Brazil, it clearly understands the role that these Angolanized Portuguese can play in future relations between our two countries. They will, whatever citizenship they hold, remain divided between two loves and will build the ideal bridge between them. The same will happen with those Angolans who, for whatever reason, want to continue to be Portuguese.

We are at this very time shaping the new Angolan society.

The Portuguese population of Angola - now including all those who are going to become Angolans in law - has an extremely important role to play in the immediate future of Angola. Essentially, their role is to ensure continuity in those sectors of economic planning which were formerly in their charge. It would be regrettable if the pace of Angolan economic progress were to slow down. But, above all, their role is to understand that one era has ended and another is beginning to which they will have to adapt their thinking and life style. This adaptation effort involves sacrifices and self-denial. It is far from easy. But, apart from representing a response to something very just and very noble, it is the only way to remove a long-felt anxiety. Throughout Angola people were living on borrowed time, at the mercy of an unknown quantity. Well, we are at this very time shaping the new Angolan society. This work is the responsibility of everyone, the governing and the governed. And it is the special responsibility of the social group from whom most is being demanded because it is the one which has the most to give up. It will be wise, indeed, to abandon the group spirit entirely. White, black and mestizo are words which must be dropped from our everyday vocabulary. In Angola there must be only human beings.

A short reference to the Penina agreement may be of interest. It was welcomed everywhere as giving good grounds for hope. That is how it is viewed.

Its content was negotiated on the basis of the balance of the political forces which were represented. There may be others with understandable aspirations to be heard. But an agreement depends upon the consensus of the parties, and it would be futile to expect movements which fought and died for more than a decade for a cause that finally triumphed to agree to equal treatment for political associations which risked less and which were formed only after freedom of association became a right in Angola. We should not forget that the Penina agreement was primarily an armistice. To that extent, the fact of not having taken up arms - a stand which, from a certain point of view, may be a virtue - was, from the standpoint of legitimate capacity to negotiate peace, undoubtedly a disqualification.

In this, as in other spheres, particularly in the matter of certain preparatory formalities for the final agreement, there were those who argued on the basis of ideal solutions, without taking into account the determinants - not all of which were publicized - of the process, and who later sharply criticized the persons responsible and the negotiators. It must be remembered that the negotiators were agents, governed by those who could do more than they could and by a range of circumstance which were gradually revealed, sometimes contrary to the best intentions of those concerned. Thus, it was not always possible for some programmes of action that had been announced and even partially executed to be strictly followed. Frequently it was necessary to change course in order to prevent or cope with accidents on the way. The truth is that the decolonization process in general, and in Angola in particular, was no easy task. I accept the margin of error attributable to my personal limitations. But I cannot reproach myself with not

having at all times done everything in my power. It was a duty and a debt. Angola owes me nothing but I owe Angola the honour of being able to inscribe my name in the history of these nine months which have changed the Portuguese world and the destiny of this great country, whose progress I shall watch with intense interest.

Be that as it may, the Penina agreement will be what the Angolans want it to be: the first constitution of Angola or a piece of paper which has become a dead letter. However, I would say that is not unrealistic, that it in fact shows an awareness of the predictable difficulties of the transition phase. It contains, as a matter of prudence, some blank clauses, those which are to be the subject of further agreements to be negotiated by joint round-table commissions.

We followed the right course: instead of trying to divide and rule, we did everything to unify the new holders of power. And we should take great pride in having provided the cement for the political concrete of the new structures of Angola.

I have a vivid picture of the future: Angola growing, gaining dignity in the eyes of the world, strong, progressive democratic and free, and old Portugal, touched and solicitous, shedding tears of pride and nostalgia.

Mr. High Commissioner, members of the Presidential Council, Ministers, people of Angola, may good fortune accompany you.

Speech by Mr. Johnny Eduardo, Member of the Presidential Council
of the Transitional Government of Angola

Mr. High Commissioner, honoured guests, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen and fellow-combatants, on behalf of the liberation movements and of the members of the Government, I want to thank the High Commissioner of the Portuguese State for his simple language and for his encouraging words, which have moved us and which we shall bear in mind in the immense task of national reconstruction awaiting us.

As for the event which made this amicable meeting possible, we, the members of the Presidential Council of the Transitional Government, can legitimately consider ourselves honoured to be part of the first Government of a free Angola.

However, the chief honours must go to the presidents of our movements who, with intelligence and determination and without a moment of weakness, successfully led the implacable national liberation struggle against the ignoble colonialist apparatus. The glory is shared by the valiant Angolan fighters and by the heroes and worthy sons of Angola who fell on the battlefield so that the fatherland might live and free itself from servitude. In memory of those men, I invite you to observe a minute of silence.

May their courage, their spirit of abnegation and their sacrifices imbue us with a sense of duty and spur us on in the difficulties of our arduous mission, so that the truly independent Angola for which they gave the best of themselves may be born.

Fellow-combatants, our mission is particularly arduous inasmuch as the Transitional Government has been given the job of preparing the ground for a society which will fulfil the ideal of those who fell and of the most deserving among us. We have the task of laying the foundations of a just society which will satisfy all the aspirations of the mass of the people on whose behalf the struggle which enabled us to destroy the colonial yoke was fought.

The agreement signed at Alvor on 15 January 1975 with the Portuguese State was a step which will undoubtedly diminish some of the obstacles on the road which will lead our people to full independence on 11 November 1975. However, it is our primary duty to get the agreements accepted and put them into practice in order to safeguard the revolutionary ideals and interests of our people.

In the days to come, in accordance with the provisions of the Alvor agreement, we shall be engaged in drawing up the Fundamental Law which will govern our country until the adoption and promulgation of the Constitution of independent Angola. The Electoral Act which will govern the forms and procedures of the elections for the Constituent Assembly will, in turn, be based on that Law.

As soon as the Transitional Government has the necessary instruments to enable it to function properly, the electoral machinery will begin to operate and it will be necessary to set up the Sovereign Constituent Assembly which, in turn will elect the first President of the Angolan Republic.

But we are going to carry out this noble task of giving Angola its first sovereign institutions at the same time as another priority task, which is to take a series of urgent social measures concerning, for example, the improvement of working conditions, workers' safety, social welfare, and the readjustment of wages, taking into account both the profits of the employer and just compensation for the labour-capital of the workers. All must be balanced by a just policy of rehabilitating the country's economy, with due regard to the private sector, but without allowing that sector to continue exploiting the people and openly ignoring the rights of those who produce.

The spirit of non-discrimination which we intend to institute in Angola is not concerned solely with the rights and privileges which may arise from what may be called Angolan nationality, but also, and more importantly, with the just and equitable distribution of the wealth of this country, which

is immense, among all the people of Angola.

When we say "Angolan people", we sincerely mean it to include all the people of this country, without any racial discrimination whatsoever, since this sentiment expresses the profound conviction of the three liberation movements.

We would add that this aspect is so genuinely obsolete that, both in Mombasa and in Alvor, the mere exposition of the fact brought a completely unanimous response; it was thus possible to draft all the provisions concerning Portuguese born in Angola in complete harmony, inasmuch as they form part of the great Angolan nation.

It was therefore concluded that we must abolish all the structures established by the colonial administration, since they were never intended to benefit or to promote the welfare of the Angolan people.

It was also concluded that the means of production, whose action is decisive for the economic life of the country and consequently for the life of our people, should not be exclusive property of a handful of individuals.

We shall propose to our workers and to our entire people that they themselves should be the builders of the social and economic reforms which we are going to institute. In a few brief words, I believe I am expressing the general feeling of my fellow-members of the Transitional Government in declaring that we do not intend to replace the exploitation to which our people were subjected in the past by another, of whatever kind.

We want simply to provide freedom for the initiative of the people in the economic context of the country by giving the economic management of our country a new and just form.

Our society will never be able to call itself just if the rich become richer and the poor poorer.

Another matter on which the Transitional Government will be working will be health. As you know, since 25 April 1974 a considerable number of doctors - and there were already too few - has left the country, leaving the medical sector in such a state that, in present circumstances, it will be necessary to begin all over again in order to meet the needs of the people, and particularly those in the interior of the country.

The medical and health policy of the colonialist régime was, as is generally known, very unsatisfactory; to that we owe the outbreak of epidemics of all kinds. Accordingly, the Transitional Government will have conscientiously and objectively to plan the medical and health policy, in addition to prophylactic measures.

In the social sphere the Transitional Government is also required to plan the process of receiving and reabsorbing the refugees.

The influx of refugees from neighbouring countries since the signing of the Alvor Agreement is now such that extremely urgent measures must be taken to prevent unemployment and delinquency. In order to prevent these persons from settling in the urban areas alone, it is also essential to create conditions to attract them to rural areas.

At the political level, the National Defence Commission must be formed as soon as possible in order to deal with the secession attempts being made by certain people having links with European countries already implicated in this effort which have been the mentors of several secessionists, as in the sad case of Biafra.

Just as we are gratified by the patriotic decision of certain political groups formed since 25 April to wind up their activities and join the liberation movements of their choice, we regret the unexpected emergence of political groupings and other institutions which, under the label of cultural activities, have started and are carrying out political activities.

The Transitional Government will therefore still face difficulties of various kinds as long as these groupings continue to lead our long-suffering population astray. In view of these facts, the Transitional Government, in co-operation with the High Commissioner, will have no alternative but to prohibit their activities altogether, since stability and co-existence among the entire Angolan people will depend on it.

To those illustrious guests from various parts of the world, and in particular from Africa, who have come bearing messages of solidarity, goodwill and fraternity from your countries, we express our profound gratitude for the unfailing help which the glorious Angolan fighters always obtained from your Governments and peoples during our armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism. I shall be grateful if you will faithfully convey to your Chiefs of State the ardent desire of the new Angola to develop friendly links of solidarity and co-operation with your countries.

Finally, I should also like to express friendship to all our friends representing the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement, those sons of Portugal whom a sophisticated political régime launched against us but who from now onwards, will be counted among our best friends.

In the name of the Presidential Council and the Transitional Government, I beg you to believe in our gratitude for the help which the Armed Forces Movement gave to our cause by overthrowing the fascist Government in a

head-on attack on that glorious day, 25 April. To all of you dear friends who are shortly to leave us I now appeal to come and join us on our great day, 11 November 1975, when Angola will finally be restored to its place among free and sovereign nations.

In conclusion, I offer to all those who have been present at this historic event our most sincere gratitude.

TEXT OF THE MOMBASA AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE FNLA, MPLA AND UNITA

Joint Declaration of Principles of the Three Movements

The Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola (FNLA), the Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola (MPLA) and the Uniao Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA), meeting at Mombasa in the Republic of Kenya on 3 January 1975, having analysed the current political situation in Angola during this phase of decolonization, and bearing in mind that on 10 January next the "Summit Conference" with the Portuguese Government is to take place in Portugal with a view to forming the Transitional Government which will lead to national independence, have agreed to the following joint declaration:

1. They reaffirm their determination to safeguard the territorial integrity of Angola within the present frontiers. In this context, Cabinda is an inalienable and integral part of the territory of Angola.

2. The three liberation movements undertake to build the Angolan Nation on just and democratic foundations, eliminating, in consequence, all forms of ethnical, racial and religious discrimination and of any other type of discrimination.

3. Moreover, the three Angolan political organizations strongly express their disquiet concerning the deterioration of the country's economy and demand that the Portuguese Government take urgent and effective measures, with the concurrence of the liberation movements, to safeguard the social interests of the working masses and to promote the economic development of the Territory and the process of national reconstruction.

Done at Mombasa on 4 January 1975, signed by Holden Roberto, Agostinho Neto and Jonas Savimbi.

TEXT OF THE ALVOR AGREEMENT BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND THE
ANGOLAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

CHAPTER I

Independence of Angola

Article 1

Portugal recognizes the liberation movements - Frente Nacional para a Libertacao de Angola (FNLA), Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola (MPLA) and the Uniao Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) - as the sole and legitimate representatives of the people of Angola.

Article 2

Portugal solemnly reaffirms its recognition of the right of the Angolan people to independence.

Article 3

Angola constitutes a single indivisible entity within its present geographical and political boundaries. In this context, Cabinda is an integral and inalienable part of the Angolan territory.

Article 4

The independence and full sovereignty of Angola shall be solemnly proclaimed on 11 November 1975, in Angola, by the President of the Republic of Portugal or by a representative of his specifically appointed for the act.

Article 5

Until the proclamation of independence of Angola, all power shall be exercised by a High Commissioner and by a Transitional Government to be inaugurated on 31 January 1975.

Article 6

Portugal and the three liberation movements duly formalize through this agreement a general ceasefire, already being observed by their respective armed forces throughout the Angolan territory. As from this date, any resort to the use of force not determined by the competent authorities to thwart internal disorder or external aggression shall be deemed illegal.

Article 7

After the ceasefire, and until the implementation of the specific measures provided for in chapter IV of the present Agreement, the armed forces of FNLA, MPLA and UNITA shall remain fixed in the areas and localities corresponding to their present positions.

Article 8

Portugal undertakes to transfer progressively to the organs of the sovereignty of Angola, until the end of the transition period, all powers which it holds and exercises in Angola.

Article 9

All patriotic acts committed during the struggle for the national liberation of Angola, which were considered punishable under the laws in force at the time they were committed, shall be deemed amnestied for all purposes.

Article 10

The independent State of Angola shall fully and freely exercise its sovereignty at both the internal and the international levels.

CHAPTER II

The High Commissioner

Article 11

The President of the Republic and the Government of Portugal shall be represented in Angola, during the transition period, by a High Commissioner who shall have the duty to defend the interests of the Republic of Portugal.

Article 12

The High Commissioner in Angola is appointed and dismissed by the President of Portugal, before whom he is invested and to whom he is responsible.

Article 13

It is incumbent upon the High Commissioner:

- (a) To represent the President of the Republic of Portugal, and to ensure and guarantee the compliance with the laws in full agreement with the Transitional Government;
- (b) To protect and guarantee the integrity of the Angolan territory in close co-operation with the Transitional Government;
- (c) To ensure the fulfilment of this Agreement and of any others that might be established between the liberation movements and Portugal;
- (d) To ensure and dynamize the process of decolonization in Angola;
- (e) To ratify all acts of interest to Portugal or which concern Portugal;
- (f) To take part in the meetings of the Council of Ministers whenever he so wishes, participating in the deliberations without vote;
- (g) To sign, enact and publish the decree-laws and decrees written by the Transitional Government;
- (h) To provide, together with the Presidential Council, guidance to the National Defence Commission;
- (i) To direct the external policy of Angola during the transitional period, with the assistance of the Presidential Council.

CHAPTER III

The Transitional Government

Article 14

The Transitional Government shall be presided over and directed by the Presidential Council.

Article 15

The Presidential Council shall be constituted by three members, one from each liberation movement, and will have as its main duty the co-ordination of the Transitional Government.

Article 16

The Presidential Council may, at its discretion, consult with the High Commissioner on matters related to the governing action.

Article 17

The decisions of the Transitional Government shall be taken by a two-thirds majority, under the rotating chairmanship of the members of the Presidential Council.

Article 18

The Transitional Government shall consist of the following ministries: Interior, Information, Labour and Social Security, Economy, Planning and Finance, Justice, Transportation and Communications, Health and Social Matters, Public Works, Housing and Urbanization, Education and Culture, Agriculture, Natural Resources.

Article 19

The following secretariats of state are established as from now:

- (a) Two secretariats of state in the Ministry of Interior;
- (b) Two secretariats of state in the Ministry of Information
- (c) Two secretariats of state in the Ministry of Labour and Social Security;
- (d) Three Secretariats of state in the Ministry of Economy, named respectively, Secretariat of State for Commerce and Tourism, Secretariat of State for Industry and Energy, and Secretariat of State for Fisheries.

Article 20

The members of the transitional cabinet shall be appointed, in equal proportion, by the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA) and the President of the Republic of Portugal, and shall be invested before the High Commissioner.

Article 21

Due consideration being given to the transitional nature of the cabinet, the ministerial portfolios are distributed as follows:

(a) The President of the Republic of Portugal shall designate the ministers of economy, public works, housing and urbanization, and transportation and communications;

(b) FNLA shall appoint the ministers of interior, health and social matters, and agriculture;

(c) The MPLA shall appoint the ministers of information, planning and finance, and justice;

(d) The UNITA shall appoint the ministers of labour and social security, education and culture, and natural resources.

Article 22

The secretariats of state provided for in this Agreement shall be distributed as follows:

(a) The FNLA shall appoint a secretary of state each for information, labour and social security, and commerce and tourism;

(b) The MPLA shall appoint a secretary of state each for interior, labour and social security, and industry and energy;

(c) The UNITA shall appoint a secretary of state each for interior, information, and fisheries.

Article 23

The Transitional Government may establish new secretariats and under-secretariats of state, duly respecting in its distribution the rule of political heterogeneity.

Article 24

It is incumbent upon the Transitional Government;

(a) To watch over and co-operate in the satisfactory implementation of the decolonization process until full independence;

- (b) To undertake the over-all supervision of the public administration, ensuring its operation and promoting the access of Angolan citizens to positions of responsibility;
- (c) To conduct internal policies;
- (d) To prepare and guarantee the carrying out of general elections for the Constituent Assembly;
- (e) To exercise, through decree-laws, the legislative function, and to prepare decrees, regulations and instructions aiming at the proper execution of all laws;
- (f) To guarantee, in co-operation with the High Commissioner, the safety of all persons and property;
- (g) To reorganize the judicial system of Angola;
- (h) To define the economic, financial and monetary policies, and to establish the structures required for the rapid economic development of Angola;
- (i) To guarantee and protect the individual and/or collective rights and liberties.

Article 25

The Presidential Council and the ministers are jointly responsible for the acts of the government.

Article 26

The Transitional Government cannot be dismissed through any initiative of the High Commissioner. Any modification on its structure shall be effected only by agreement between the High Commissioner and the liberation movements.

Article 27

The High Commissioner and the Presidential Council shall attempt to decide, in a spirit of friendship and through reciprocal consultations, all difficulties arising from the governing action.

CHAPTER IV

The National Defence Commission

Article 28

A National Defence Commission is established with the following composition: the High Commissioner, the Presidential Council, and the Unified General Staff.

Article 29

The National Defence Commission shall be kept informed by the High Commissioner on all matters relating to the national defence on both the internal and the external areas, in order to:

- (a) Define and solidify the military policies resulting from this Agreement;
- (b) Ensure and protect the territorial integrity of Angola;
- (c) Guarantee the peace, safety and public order;
- (d) Watch for the safety of all persons and property.

Article 30

All decisions of the National Defence Commission shall be approved by simple majority, and the High Commissioner, who will serve as its Chairman, shall have a casting vote.

Article 31

It is established a Unified General Staff consisting of the commanders of the three branches of the Portuguese Armed Forces in Angola and three commanders of the liberation movements. The Unified General Staff shall be under the direct authority of the High Commissioner.

Article 32

The armed forces of the three liberation movements shall be integrated, in parity with Portuguese Armed Forces, in the joint armed forces, in the following proportions: 8,000 combatants from FNLA, 8,000 combatants from MPLA, 8,000 combatants from UNITA and 24,000 military from the Portuguese armed forces.

Article 33

It is incumbent upon the National Defence Commission to promote the progressive integration of the armed forces in the composite armed forces mentioned in the preceding article, the following schedule to be adopted in principle: from February to May, 500 combatants from each liberation movement and 1,500 Portuguese military to be integrated per month; from June through September, 1,500 combatants from each liberation movement and 4,500 Portuguese military to be integrated per month.

Article 34

The effectives of the Portuguese Armed Forces in excess of the contingent referred to in article 32 shall be evacuated from Angola by 30 April 1975.

Article 35

The evacuation of the contingent of Portuguese Armed Forces incorporated in the composite armed forces shall begin on 1 October 1975, and shall be completed by 29 February 1976.

Article 36

The National Defence Commission shall organize joint police forces in charge of maintaining public order.

Article 37

The Unified Police Command, consisting of three members, one from each liberation movement, shall be collectively directed and presided over according to a rotating system, and shall remain under the authority and supervision of the National Defence Commission.

CHAPTER V

Refugees and regrouped persons

Article 38

Joint parity committees, appointed by the High Commissioner and by the Transitional Government, shall be organized immediately after the investiture of the Transitional Government, to plan and prepare the structures, the means and the procedures required to receive the Angolan refugees. The Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare shall supervise and co-ordinate the work of such committees.

Article 39

All persons concentrated in the so-called sanzalas da paz will be authorized to return to their places of origin.

The joint parity committees shall propose to the High Commissioner and to the Transitional Government social, economic and other measures aiming at ensuring to the displaced populations the return to normal life and their reintegration in the several activities of the economic life of the country.

CHAPTER VI

General elections for the Constituent Assembly of Angola

Article 40

The Transitional Government shall organize general elections for the Constituent Assembly within nine months from 31 January 1975, the date of its investiture.

Article 41

The candidates to the Constituent Assembly shall be presented exclusively by the liberation movements - FNLA, MPLA and UNITA - sole legitimate representatives of the Angolan people.

Article 42

After the investiture of the Transitional Government, a Central Committee, formed in equal parts by the liberation movements, shall be established and charged with the preparation of the project of the Fundamental Law and with the organization of the elections for the Constituent Assembly.

Article 43

Once the Fundamental Law is approved by the Transitional Government and enacted by the Presidential Council, the Central Committee shall:

- (a) Prepare a draft of the electoral law;
- (b) Organize the lists of electors;
- (c) Record the lists of candidates to the Constituent Assembly submitted by the liberation movements.

Article 44

The Fundamental Law shall be in force until the enactment of the Constitution of Angola and shall not contravene the terms of this Agreement.

CHAPTER VII

Angolan citizenship

Article 45

Portugal and the three liberation movements of Angola - FNLA, MPLA and UNITA - pledge themselves to act in concert in order to erase all sequels of colonialism. To this purpose, the FNLA, MPLA and UNITA reaffirm their policy of non-discrimination, according to which the status of Angolan is defined by the birth in Angola or by domicile, whenever those domiciled in Angola identify themselves with the aspirations of the Angolan nation through a conscientious option.

Article 46

The FNLA, MPLA and UNITA pledge themselves at this time to accept as citizens of Angola all those born in Angola who do not declare, according to conditions and within dates to be defined, that they wish to retain their present nationality or to choose another.

Article 47

To the persons not born in Angola but radicated there, it is guaranteed the right to apply for Angolan citizenship according to the principles regulating the Angolan nationality to be enacted in the Fundamental Law.

Article 48

Special agreements, to be studied at the level of a joint parity commission, shall regulate the concession of Angolan citizenship to Portuguese citizens domiciled in Angola, the status of Portuguese citizens domiciled in Angola, and that of the citizens of Angola domiciled in Portugal.

CHAPTER VIII

Economic and financial matters

Article 49

Portugal pledges to regularize with the State of Angola the situation arising from the existence of property belonging to Angola but located outside the Angolan territory, so as to facilitate the transfer of such property or its corresponding value to the territory and possession of Angola.

Article 50

The FNLA, MPLA and UNITA declare themselves willing to accept the responsibility for the financial commitments assumed by Portugal in the name and behalf of Angola, provided that they were actually assumed in the interest of the Angolan people.

Article 51

A special joint parity committee, formed by experts appointed by the provisional government of the Republic of Portugal and by the Transitional Government of Angola, shall compile a list of the property referred to in article 49 and of the credits mentioned in article 50, conducting the necessary appraisals and proposing to both governments the most equitable solutions.

Article 52

Portugal assumed the commitment of facilitating to the committee described in the preceding article all information and elements in its power that might be required by the said committee in order to formulate well-founded opinions and to offer equitable solutions within the principles of truth, respect for the legitimate interests of each party and the most loyal co-operation.

Article 53

Portugal shall assist the State of Angola in the establishment and organization of a Bank of Issue.

Portugal undertakes to transfer to the State of Angola the attributions, assets and liabilities of the Angolan department of Banco de Angola, according to conditions to be agreed upon in the context of the joint committee for financial matters. This committee shall also study all problems concerning the Department of Portugal of the same Bank, proposing fair solutions in so far as they refer to Angola and to its interests.

Article 54

The FNLA, MPLA and UNITA pledge themselves to respect the property and legitimate interests of the Portuguese domiciled in Angola.

CHAPTER IX

Co-operation between Angola and Portugal

Article 55

The Portuguese Government, on the one side, and the liberation movements of Angola, on the other side, agree to establish between Portugal and Angola bonds of constructive and lasting co-operation in all fields, particularly in the cultural, technical, scientific, economic, commercial, monetary, financial and military areas, on a basis of independence, equality, liberty, mutual respect and reciprocity of interests.