

CHAPTER X

Joint Committees

Article 56

Joint technical parity committees shall be appointed by the High Commissioner in agreement with the Presidential Council, for the purpose of studying and offering solutions to the problems arising from the decolonization, and to establish the basis for an active co-operation between Portugal and Angola, mainly in the following fields:

- (a) Cultural, technical and scientific;
- (b) Economic and commercial;
- (c) Monetary and financial;
- (d) Military;
- (d) Acquisition of Angolan citizenship by Portuguese citizens.

Article 57

The committees mentioned in the preceding article shall conduct their work in an atmosphere of constructive co-operation and loyal adjustment. The conclusions thus reached shall be submitted within the shortest possible period of time for examination by the High Commissioner and the Presidential Council for the purpose of preparing agreements between Portugal and Angola.

CHAPTER XI

Generalities

Article 58

Any doubts arising from the interpretation and application of this Agreement that cannot be solved through the procedure specified in article 27 shall be decided through negotiation between the Portuguese Government and the liberation movements.

Article 59

Portugal, the FNLA, the MPLA and UNITA, faithful to the social-political ideas repeatedly stressed by their leaders, reaffirm their respect for the principles expressed in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and their active repudiation of all forms of racial discrimination, namely apartheid.

Article 60

The present Agreement shall become effective immediately after its homologation by the President of the Republic of Portugal.

The delegations of the Portuguese Government, FNLA, MPLA and UNITA emphasize the atmosphere of perfect co-operation and cordiality which presided at the negotiations, and congratulate themselves for the conclusion of this Agreement which gives satisfaction to the just aspirations of the Angolan people and fills with pride the Portuguese people. Both are now bound by ties of deep friendship and purposes of constructive co-operation, for the betterment of Angola, Portugal, Africa and the world.

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COMPOSITION OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT

HIGH COMMISSIONER

General António da Silva Cardoso (Portugal)

PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL

Dr. Johnny Eduardo (FNLA)  
Mr. Lopo do Nascimento (MPLA)  
Dr. José N'Dele (UNITA)

MINISTER OF INTERIOR

Eng. Ngola Kabanku (FNLA)

SECRETARIES OF STATE

Geólogo Henrique Santos (MPLA)  
Eng. Walken (UNITA)

MINISTER OF INFORMATION

Dr. Manuel Rui Monteiro (MPLA)

SECRETARIES OF STATE

Dr. Jaka Jamba (UNITA)  
Mr. Hendrick Vaal Neto (FNLA)

MINISTER OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL WELFARE

Eng. António Dembo (UNITA)

SECRETARIES OF STATE

Mr. Cornélio Caley (MPLA)  
Dr. Baptista Nguvulu (FNLA)

MINISTER OF THE ECONOMY

Dr. Vasco Vieira de Almeida (Portugal)

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDUSTRY AND ENERGY

Eng. Augusto Lopes Teixeira (MPLA)

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FISHERIES

Mr. Manuel Alfredo Teixeira Coelho (UNITA)

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR COMMERCE AND TOURISM

Dr. Graça Tavares (FNLA)

MINISTER FOR PLANNING AND FINANCE

Dr. Saydi Mingas (MPLA)

MINISTER OF JUSTICE

Dr. Diógenes Boavida (MPLA)

MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

Eng. Albino Antunes da Cunha (Portugal)

MINISTER OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Dr. Samuel-Abrigada (FNLA)

MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS, HOUSING AND URBAN AFFAIRS

Eng. Manuel Alfredo Rezende de Oliveira (Portugal)

MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Prof. Dr. Eduardo Wanga (UNITA)

MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE

Eng. Mateus Neto (FNLA)

MINISTER OF NATURAL RESOURCES

Eng. Jeremias Kalandula Chitunda (UNITA)

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## II. DEVELOPMENTS IN CAPE VERDE

On 18 December 1974 an agreement was signed in Lisbon between the Portuguese Government and representatives of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) concerning the decolonization of the Cape Verde Islands. The Agreement provided for the election on 30 June 1975 of a Constituent Assembly which would proclaim the independence of the State of Cape Verde on 5 July 1975. Pending independence a Transitional Government was to be set up composed of a High Commissioner appointed by Portugal who would have the functions of Prime Minister and five ministers three nominated by the PAIGC and two by the President of Portugal.

The Transitional Government of Cape Verde assumed office on 30 December 1974. Mr. Abdulrahim Farah, Assistant-Secretary-General for Special Political Questions, attended the investiture of the new government on behalf of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Following is the full text of the Agreement between Portugal and the PAIGC.

TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND PARTIDO AFRICANO  
DA INDEPENDENCIA DA GUINÉ E CABO VERDE (PAIGC)

I

The Portuguese Government reaffirms the right of the People of Cape Verde to self-determination and independence in accordance with Portuguese Constitutional Law No. 7/74 of 26 July and with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, and also bearing in mind the express wish of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

2

The Portuguese Government and PAIGC, aware of the need to bring about in the best possible circumstances the transfer of powers to the future Independent State of Cape Verde, agree to establish the programme and timetable of the said process of decolonization in conformity with the following articles:

3

By a constitutional Act of this date formalizing arrangements which have been endorsed by PAIGC, the following representative and governmental bodies shall be established for the territory of Cape Verde:

(a) A High Commissioner, having the rank of Prime Minister when in the territory of Cape Verde, who shall be appointed and removed from office by the President of the Portuguese Republic;

(b) A Transitional Government consisting of the High Commissioner, who shall preside, and five Ministers in charge of one or more of the following departments:

- I. Ministry of Internal Administration;
- II. Ministry of Justice;
- III. Ministry of Economic Co-ordination;
- IV. Ministry of Education and Culture;
- V. Ministry of Social Welfare and the Environment;
- VI. Ministry of Labour;
- VII. Ministry of Social Affairs.

4

The High Commissioner shall be empowered inter-alia:

- (a) To represent Portuguese sovereignty
- (b) To preside over the Transitional Government, to co-ordinate and supervise the implementation of the policy laid down by the Council.
- (c) To direct the government departments of Defence and Social Communications.
- (d) To perform the functions of Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.
- (e) To declare, if possible with the prior assent of the President of the Republic, a state of siege.
- (f) To ensure the implementation of this Agreement and to adopt, with the collaboration of the Transitional Government, to guarantee all citizens the untrammelled exercise of fundamental human rights.

5

The Transitional Government shall be responsible for the exercise of all legislative and executive powers within the territory of the State of Cape Verde, including:

- I. The conduct of the General policy of the State of Cape Verde.
- II. The economic and financial administration of the State of Cape Verde.
- III. The promotion of the democratization of the territory, in particular through the replacement of colonial structures.

6

The Transitional Government shall exercise the legislative function by means of legislative decrees and the executive function by means of decrees, regulations and orders, to be signed by the High Commissioner and by the Minister or Ministers responsible for the departments to which the matters in question relate.

7

The High Commissioner and the Ministers shall collectively determine general government policy, the execution of which shall be the responsibility of the head of the department concerned.

8

The Transitional Government shall take decisions by majority vote, the High Commissioner having a casting vote.

9

The President of the Portuguese Republic shall select and appoint, in addition to the High Commissioner, two Ministers of the Transitional Government, the remaining three being appointed by him on the basis of recommendations by PAIGC.

10

The Transitional Government shall carry out, in the manner to be laid down by the sovereign organ of the Republic, the operations of organizing the election, on 30 June 1975, of a representative assembly of the People of Cape Verde, which shall have sovereign and constitutive powers and shall have the function of declaring the independence of the State of Cape Verde and drawing up the future constitution of that State.

11

The ceremony of the declaration of independence of the State Cape Verde shall coincide with the investiture of the elected representatives of the Cape Verde people and shall take place at Praia on 5 July 1975, in the presence of the President of the Portuguese Republic, or his representative, for the purpose of signing the solemn instrument of full and final transference of sovereignty, which instrument shall also be signed by the President of the Constituent Assembly, who shall by that time have been appointed by the Assembly.

12

The Portuguese Government declares its intention, of which PAIGC takes note, of providing the State of Cape Verde, until independence is declared and thereafter, with all financial, technical and cultural assistance within its power with a view to maintaining and encouraging most friendly relations and active co-operation with the new State, on the basis of independence, mutual respect and co-operation, and reciprocity of interests.

13

The Portuguese Government specifically declares its intention, of which PAIGC also takes note, not to change its present policy with regard to emigrants from Cape Verde.

14

PAIGC, in turn, declares its intention, of which the Portuguese Government takes note, to do everything in its power to safeguard Portuguese citizens resident in the territory of Cape Verde and legitimate Portuguese interests there, and to preserve and strengthen the cultural affinities and friendship between the Portuguese people and the people of Cape Verde.

15

The Portuguese Government declares its intention, of which PAIGC takes note to conclude with the future State of Cape Verde bilateral agreements on active co-operation in all spheres.

16

The Portuguese Government and PAIGC undertake to strive directly or through the Transitional Government, to secure financial support for the State of Cape Verde from the specialized agencies or the United Nations Emergency Funds or from other countries on the basis of bilateral or multilateral agreements.

17

The Portuguese Government and the State of Cape Verde shall regulate, by means of an agreement signed by the Transitional Government or the government organs established in pursuance of the future constitution of the State of Cape Verde, the time-table and programme for the gradual reduction of Portuguese armed forces still in the territory until they are all withdrawn.

18

The delegation of the Portuguese Government and the delegation of PAIGC congratulate each other on having brought to a successful conclusion the negotiations which culminated in this Agreement, which is concluded in the firm conviction that it constitutes the best safeguard for the mutual interests of the Portuguese people and the people of Cape Verde.

19

This Agreement shall formally become valid when ratified by the President of the Portuguese Republic and the Secretary-General of PAIGC.

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COMPOSITION OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT

HIGH COMMISSIONER AND PRIME MINISTER ALSO MINISTER  
FOR SOCIAL COMMUNICATIONS

Commodore Vicente Almeida d'Eça (Portugal)

MINISTER OF INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

Major José Manuel Vaz Varroco (Portugal)

MINISTER OF JUSTICE AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Mr. Carlos Reis (PAIGC)

MINISTER OF ECONOMIC CO-ORDINATION AND LABOUR

Dr. Amaro Alexandre da Luz (PAIGC)

MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Dr. Manuel Faustino (PAIGC)

MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS AND ENVIRONMENT

Lieutenant-Colonel Wilton Pereira (Portugal)

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### III. DEVELOPMENTS IN SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

On 26 November 1974 a delegation of the government of Portugal led by the Minister for Interterritorial Coordination, Dr. António de Almeida Santos and a delegation of the Liberation Movement of Sao Tomé and Príncipe (MLSTP) led by Mr. Miguel Trovoada, member of the Political Bureau and of the Executive Secretariat in charge of the foreign relations of the MLSTP signed an Agreement in Algiers establishing the modalities for the accession of Sao Tomé and Príncipe to independence. Under the terms of the Agreement Portugal reaffirmed the right of the people of Sao Tomé and Príncipe to self-determination and independence and recognized the MLSTP as the its only interlocutor and as the legitimate representative of Sao Tomé and Príncipe. Sao Tomé and Príncipe were to accede to independence on 12 July 1975; during the interim period a Transitional Government was to be set up, composed of a High Commissioner appointed by the President of Portugal, a Prime Minister designated by the Liberation Movement of Sao Tomé and Príncipe and five ministers of whom four were to be nominated by the MLSTP and one by the Portuguese Government. The Transitional Government was to have legislative and executive powers over the territory pending elections to an Assembly on 7 July 1975. The Assembly would have the task to declare the independence of the State of Sao Tomé and Príncipe and to draw up the constitution of the new state.

The Transitional Government was sworn in on 21st. December 1974. Mr. Najmuddine Rifai, Director and Deputy to the Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs and Decolonization represented the Secretary-General of the United Nations at the ceremony which was also attended by representatives of the Government of Gabon and of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The Portuguese Government was represented by the Deputy Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Economic Affairs.

Following is the full text of the Agreement between Portugal and the MLSTP.

TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND THE LIBERATION  
MOVEMENT OF SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE (MLSTP)

1. The Portuguese Government reaffirms the rights of the people of Sao Tomé and Príncipe to self-determination and independence, according to Portuguese Constitutional Law 7/74 of 26 July 1974 and the relevant United Nations resolutions.

2. The Portuguese Government recognizes the Liberation Movement of Sao Tomé and Príncipe as its only interlocutor and as the legitimate representative of the people of Sao Tomé and Príncipe.

3. The Liberation Movement of Sao Tomé and Príncipe and the Portuguese Government, aware of the need to ensure, under the best possible conditions, the transmission of powers to the future independent State of Sao Tomé and Príncipe, agreed on establishing the outline and the time-table for decolonization and, for that purpose, the High Commissioner and a Transitional Government are established.

4. The High Commissioner will be appointed by the President of the Republic of Portugal and he will:

(a) Represent the President of the Republic of Portugal and the Portuguese Government;

(b) Ensure the territorial integrity of Sao Tomé and Príncipe;

(c) Promulgate the Decree-Laws approved by the Transitional Government;

(d) Be solidary with the Transitional Government in ensuring implementation of the present Accord and of other accords that might be established between the Liberation Movement of Sao Tomé and Príncipe and the Portuguese Government;

(e) Co-operate with the Transitional Government in taking the steps conducive to guaranteeing the exercise of fundamental human rights and to maintaining public order.

5. The Transitional Government will have the following members:

(a) The Prime Minister, appointed by the Liberation Movement of Sao Tomé and Príncipe; he will represent the Transitional Government, preside at meetings of the Council of Ministers and co-ordinate the activities of the Cabinet members, while retaining the possibility of taking care of the affairs of some departments in the Cabinet;

(b) Four Ministers, appointed by the Liberation Movement of Sao Tomé and Príncipe;

Pending the decision of the Transitional Government, each of the four Ministers will be in charge of the affairs of one or more of the following departments:

Ministry of Internal Administration;

Ministry of Economic Co-ordination;

Ministry of Education and Culture;

Ministry of Social Affairs;

Ministry of Justice;

Ministry of Labour;

Ministry of Environment and Social Equipment;

Ministry of Social Communication;

(c) One Minister, appointed by the Portuguese Government, having the role of securing the establishment of communications between the Transitional Government and the High Commissioner; pending the decision of the Transitional Government, this Minister could eventually be in charge of the affairs of one or more of the Departments referred to in paragraph 5, item (b).

6. If a vote of the Council of Ministers should come to a draw, the vote of the Prime Minister will be considered a qualified vote.

7.1 The Transitional Government will have the legislative and executive powers over the territory of the State of Sao Tomé and Príncipe and all matters concerning exclusively the interests of that State, namely, it will:

(a) Superintend the general administration of the territory;

(b) Establish the structures for economic and financial control contributing to the development of a prosperous and independent economy in Sao Tomé and Príncipe, namely by means of an agrarian reform;

(c) Enforce public order in co-operation with the High Commissioner;

(d) Guarantee, together with the High Commissioner, the implementation of this Accord and of any others that might be established between the Portuguese Government and the Liberation Movement of Sao Tomé and Príncipe;

(e) Draw up an Electoral Law and, based on it, elect an Assembly with sovereign constituent powers.

7.2 The legislative power of the Transitional Government will be exerted by means of Decrees-Laws, the executive power will be exerted by means of Decrees, Regulations and Instructions for the proper implementation of the Law.

7.3 The implementation of the policies defined by the Council for each Department will be ensured by the Minister in charge of the respective Department.

8.1 The Armed Forces stationed in the territory will be subordinated to the High Commissioner.

8.2 The Police Forces stationed in the territory will be subordinated to the Prime Minister.

8.3 In case of a serious violation of public order justifying the interference of the Armed Forces, it will be the duty of the High Commissioner to command and co-ordinate their operations with the assistance of the Prime Minister.

9. In order to follow an independent financial policy, a Central Bank, that will also function as an issuing Bank, will be established in Sao Tomé and Príncipe while the Transitional Government holds power.

To that effect, the Portuguese Government takes on itself the commitment of transferring to that Bank all the assets and liabilities in the Sao Tomé and Príncipe Department of the Banco Nacional Ultramarino. A joint commission will start immediately to study the conditions for such transfer.

10. The Transitional Government will strive to obtain from international organizations, both on a multilateral and on a bilateral basis, the necessary help for the development of Sao Tomé and Príncipe as well as for the resolution of its most pressing problems.

The Portuguese Government pledges all the co-operation that may be asked of it for this purpose.

11. The Liberation Movement of Sao Tomé and Príncipe and the Portuguese Government agree on the date of 12 July 1975 for the proclamation of the independence of Sao Tomé and Príncipe.

12.1 The Transitional Government will take the necessary steps to hold the election of an Assembly on 7 July 1975. That Assembly should be representative of the people of Sao Tomé and Príncipe according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It should have sovereign constituent powers and it should be incumbent on the Assembly to declare the independence of the State of Sao Tomé and Príncipe and to draw up the Constitution of that State.

12.2 The official declaration of independence of Sao Tomé and Príncipe will take place in the City of Sao Tomé at the same time as the assumption of power of the elected representatives of the people of the territory in the Assembly. The date of this ceremony is set for 12 July 1975. The President of the Republic of Portugal or his representative will be present for the signing of the solemn document of the total and definite transfer of the sovereignty; that document will also be signed by the chosen President of the elected Assembly.

13.1 The Portuguese Government and the Liberation Movement of Sao Tomé and Príncipe agree that all the elements of the Portuguese Armed Forces stationed in Sao Tomé and Príncipe must leave the territory within 30 days from the proclamation of independence.

13.2 The Portuguese Government will work out, in co-operation with the Liberation Movement of Sao Tomé and Príncipe, convenient administrative measures concerning the military who are natives of the territory.

14. The Liberation Movement of Sao Tomé and Príncipe reaffirms that its fight was not against the Portuguese people, but against the colonial fascist régime overthrown by the Armed Forces Movement on 25 April 1974 and declares its intention of respecting and protecting the Portuguese citizens living in Sao Tomé and Príncipe. The Portuguese Government takes note of this declaration.

15. Taking into account the historical, social and cultural ties existing between the peoples of Portugal and of Sao Tomé and Príncipe, both the Portuguese Government and the Liberation Movement of Sao Tomé and Príncipe do solemnly declare their intention of stimulating and developing understanding and friendship between both peoples by means of sincere and efficient co-operation based on mutual respect for the sovereignty, independence and equality of their countries and peoples.

For that purpose, bilateral treaties of co-operation will be established, namely, concerning financial, technical and cultural aspects.

16. Both delegations note that the negotiations took place in an atmosphere of perfect cordiality and express their satisfaction for the good results that were reached and that mark the beginning of a new era for the people of Sao Tomé and Príncipe and of its friendship towards the Portuguese people.

17. The present Accord depends on its confirmation by the President of the Republic of Portugal and by the Secretary-General of the Liberation Movement of Sao Tomé and Príncipe, to become formally valid.

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COMPOSITION OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT

HIGH COMMISSIONER

Colonel Pires Veloso (Portugal)

PRIME MINISTER AND ALSO INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION AND  
ECONOMIC COORDINATION MINISTER

Mr. Leonel Mario D'Alva (MLSTP)

MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Ms. Alda da Graça (MLSTP)

MINISTER OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Mr. Carlos Dias da Graça (MLSTP)

MINISTER OF JUSTICE AND LABOUR

Mr. Gastao Torres (MLSTP)

MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS AND ENVIRONMENT

Mr. Moreira D'Azevedo (MLSTP)

MINISTER OF SOCIAL COMMUNICATION AND LIAISON

Mr. Pedro de Barros Umbelina (Portugal)

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ANNEX I

PROGRAMME OF THE FRENTE NACIONAL DE LIBERTAÇÃO DE ANGOLA  
(FNLA)

1. Nationalization of the soil and subsoil.
2. Elimination of all forms of pre-capitalist production.
3. Elimination of the capitalist concentration of land by nationalization of concession enterprises.
4. Distribution of land to landless peasants or peasants who do not have enough land, preference being given to the agricultural collectives to be set up under the auspices of the State.
5. Organization of the peasants in collectives and encouragement of the collectivist and co-operative spirit which is traditional in the Angolan community. The agricultural sector must be one of the fundamental factors in a genuinely revolutionary agrarian reform.
6. Allowing in economic planning for freedom of action for small - and medium - scale producers, while at the same time helping them to understand the advantages of the co-operative system.
7. Exploitation by the State of unproductive lands.
8. The State shall promote the diversification and mechanization of agricultural production by the use of modern technology. Credit shall be extended to the peasants and they shall be helped to increase agricultural output by scientific means.
9. The State shall promote the marketing of agricultural output through a marketing and selling co-operatives services.
10. The State shall increase the amount of arable land in the territory by applying a vigorous irrigation policy, principally in certain areas in southern Angola which are considered unproductive.

Industrial and Financial Sector

1. Control by the State of all the large industrial enterprises and nationalization of all energy resources.

2. Control or broad participation by the State in all mining enterprises.
3. Control of all banks and insurance companies.
4. Nationalization of all means of transport and improvement of the highway infrastructure.
5. Economic planning of all branches of production.
6. Development of light consumer industries and establishment of heavy industry.
7. Establishment of a national currency, an issuing bank and a credit organization.

#### Political and Social Problems

1. Establishment of a sovereign secular Republic based on a democratic and social constitution. Protection of the territorial integrity of Angola in its present geographical administrative form.
2. Complete reform of the administrative structure.
3. Active measures to combat unemployment.
4. Demobilization of the Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola (FNLA) fighters and their integration into the economic life of the country.
5. Urban reform and the right of all workers to have decent living accommodations.
6. Establishment of national institutions for the protection of public health.
7. Application of a positive social insurance policy.
8. Abolition of any racist and discriminatory laws which deprive the masses of all freedoms and of justice for the benefit of any privileged category.
9. Protection of fauna and environment.

### Culture

1. Reform of education with a view to adapting it to national realities and needs and eliminating the cultural monopoly imposed by colonialism.
2. Free primary and secondary education.
3. Intensive literacy campaign among the masses and introduction of the principal national languages into education.
4. Development of scientific and technical education. Establishment of polytechnic schools, State universities and scientific research institutes.
5. Development and protection of free artistic and literary creation.
6. Intensive diffusion of agricultural instruction and revolutionary education among the peasants and the working class.

### Foreign Policy

1. Complete solidarity with all peoples fighting for justice, freedom and their rights.
2. Co-operation with all countries of the world, based on mutual respect for sovereignty and independence in all cases.
3. Adherence to the principles set forth in the Charters of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

Only a revolutionary vanguard which has its roots in the masses, only an organized party of the people (the FNLA, whose armed forces are constituted by the ELNA), is capable of achieving these national objectives, which, in addition to national independence, include the transformation of the anachronistic colonial structures and the establishment in Angola of a new order based on the triumph of independence and freedom, African values and the building of a democracy inspired by a new humanism reflecting the spirit of our century.

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ANNEX II

PROGRAMME OF THE MOVIMENTO POPULAR DE LIBERTAÇÃO DE ANGÓLA  
(MPLA)

Major Programme

1. Immediate and full independence

(a) Destruction in Angola by all available means of Portuguese colonial domination and all vestiges of colonialism and imperialism.

(b) Joint struggle with all Angolan patriotic forces in a vast people's movement with a view to the assumption of power by the people of Angola and the establishment of a democratic republican régime based on full independence.

(c) Abolition of all the privileges granted by the colonial régime to Portuguese and other aliens.

(d) The sovereignty of the Angolan State shall be vested entirely and exclusively in the Angolan people, without distinction as to race, class, sex, age, political affiliation, religious belief or philosophical convictions.

(e) The Angolan nation shall have the sacred right to determine its own destiny in political, economic, diplomatic, military and cultural affairs and in any other sphere.

(f) Review of the status of Angola with respect to all treaties, agreements and alliances to which Portugal has committed it without the free consent of the Angolan people.

(g) Popular unity in order to defeat any attempted imperialist aggression and any manoeuvres directed at undermining the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Angola.

2. Unity of the Nation

(a) To guarantee the equality of all races in Angola and strengthen unity and fraternal assistance.

(b) To oppose firmly any attempt to divide the Angolan people.

(c) To create the necessary conditions for the return home of hundreds of thousands of Angolans who were obliged to go into exile because of the colonial régime.

(d) Regions in which national minorities live in large homogeneous groups and have a distinctive character may be autonomous.

(e) Every national minority or race shall have the right to use its own language, to create its own system of writing and to preserve or restore its cultural heritage.

- In the interest of the entire Angolan Nation, to stimulate and develop economic and social solidarity and normal economic, social and cultural relations between all autonomous regions and all national minorities or races in Angola.

- To guarantee freedom of movement for all Angolan citizens within the national territory.

### 3. African Unity

(a) Total solidarity with all African peoples fighting for their full independence and, in particular, with peoples and political movements fighting against Portuguese colonialism.

(b) Furtherance of unity among all the peoples of the African continent based on respect for the liberty, dignity, and political, economic and social progress of each of those peoples.

(c) Unification of African peoples in accordance with the freely expressed will of each people and by democratic and peaceful means.

(d) Opposition to any attempt to annex or oppress any people.

(e) In the process of uniting African peoples, defence of the political, economic, social and cultural achievements of the working and peasant classes of every country.

### 4. Democratic Regime

(a) A republican, democratic and secular régime for Angola.

(b) Guarantee of freedom of expression, conscience and religion, freedom of the press, of assembly, of association, of residence, of correspondence, etc., for the entire Angolan people.

- (c) All Angolan citizens, without distinction as to nationality, race, sex, social class, cultural level, occupation, economic status, religious belief or philosophical conviction, shall have the right to vote at the age of 18 and the right to be elected at the age of 21.
- (d) Electoral system based on universal, equal and direct suffrage and the secret ballot.
- (e) The Assembly of the people of Angola shall be the supreme organ of State legislative power.
- (f) The Assembly of the people of Angola shall be the product of free general elections. In the free general elections, legal political parties may present their candidates on a single slate or separately.
- (g) The Assembly of the people of Angola shall draw the first Constitution of the Republic of Angola.
- (h) All members of the Assembly of the people of Angola shall enjoy parliamentary immunity.
- (i) The Assembly of the people of Angola shall appoint a coalition government which shall effectively strengthen unity among national or racial minorities, all regions of the country, all social classes and all political parties, and shall genuinely express the will of the nation in support of the freedom and progress of Angola and against the political, economic, territorial or cultural subordination of the country to foreign interests.
- (j) The Government of the Republic of Angola shall be the supreme organ of executive power.
- (k) The Government of the Republic of Angola shall take its powers from the Assembly of the people of Angola and shall account for its policy to that Assembly.
- (l) Each autonomous region shall have the right to enact regional provisions appropriate to its own circumstances, provided that such provisions do not conflict with the general legislation of Angola.
- (m) Africanization of the personnel of the entire administrative apparatus of the country.
- (n) Guarantee of personal safety for all aliens who obey the laws in force in the country, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

5. Economic Reconstruction and Development of Production
  - (a) Gradual development and planning of the Angolan economy.
  - (b) Transformation of Angola into an economically independent, industrial, modern prosperous and strong country.
  - (c) Development of agriculture with the primary aims of eliminating monoculture, gradually increasing agricultural productivity and gradually mechanizing farm work.
  - (d) Establishment and gradual expansion of State, commercial and industrial enterprises, trading Co-operatives and producers' Co-operatives. Gradual establishment of heavy industry and of light industries for the production of consumer goods.
  - (e) Exploration of the energy resources of the country by the STATE.
  - (f) Abolition of the privileges granted by the colonial régime to foreign enterprises.
  - (g) Re-establishment and development of traditional African industries.
  - (h) Development of communications and transport.
  - (i) Protection of private industry and trade.
  - (j) Encouragement of all private industry and trade which is useful to the State's economy and the people.
  - (k) Enterprises operated by aliens shall be required to comply with the new laws in force in Angola.
  - (l) Protection of economic enterprises operated by aliens which are beneficial to the life and progress of the Angolan people and to strengthening its real independence.
  - (m) Intensive development of economic relations between urban and rural areas with a view to improving rural living conditions and raising the standard of living of peasant populations.
  - (n) Institution of a policy which takes into account the interests of both employees and employers.
  - (o) Establishment of a State Bank and a national currency. Prevention of inflation and stabilization of the currency.

(p) State control of the foreign trade of Angola in the interests of all the people.

(q) Review of Angola's alleged debts to Portugal to reduce the deficit in Angola's balance of trade and to balance the income and expenditures of the country.

(r) Abolition of the system of taxation instituted by the Portuguese colonialists and establishment of a new and just, rational and simple system of taxation.

(s) Adjustment and stabilization of prices.

(t) Measures to combat speculation.

6. Agrarian Reform

(a) Institution of an agrarian reform with a view to eliminating all injustices, abolishing the private monopoly of the production of agricultural commodities and applying the principle that the land belongs to those who work it.

(b) Nationalization of the lands of the opponents of the people's movement for the full and immediate independence of Angola and of traitors and declared enemies of the independent democratic State of Angola.

(c) Establishment of an upper limit on private rural landholdings with due regard for the land situation in each district.

(d) After a review of land titles, purchase by the State at fair prices of landholdings in excess of the limits established by law.

(e) Distribution of the lands to landless peasants and to those who have not sufficient land.

(f) The recipients of legally redistributed lands shall not be required to make any payment to either the expropriated owners or the State.

(g) Safeguarding of the rights acquired by the peasants in the course of the people's struggle for the independence of Angola.

7. Policy of Social Justice and Progress

- (a) Protection by the State of the rights of workers, peasants and all social classes which actively defend the independence of Angola, the sovereignty and unity of the Angolan people and the territorial integrity of the country.
- (b) Immediate abolition of the system of forced labour.
- (c) Respect for the genuine independence of trade unions and licit workers' organizations.
- (d) Institution of an eight-hour working day and gradual enactment of new legislation for the protection of workers.
- (e) Establishment by the State of a minimum wage for workers and strict implementation of the principle of "equal pay for equal work". Elimination of all discrimination based on sex, age and ethnic origin.
- (f) Protection of churches, places and objects of worship and religious institutions recognized by the law.
- (g) Complete equality of rights without distinction as to sex in all spheres: political, economic and cultural. Women shall have exactly the same rights as men.
- (h) State assistance for pregnant women and young children.
- (i) Institution of social assistance. Assistance to all indigent Angolan citizens who are ill, to those unemployed through no fault of their own, aged or disabled.
- (j) Gradual elimination of unemployment. Guaranteed work for manual and office workers, government employees and school-leavers.
- (k) Special assistance for all citizens who are disabled as a result of their active participation in the struggle for the independence of Angola. Assistance to the families of those who died for their Angolan fatherland.

8. Development of Education, Culture and Training

- (a) Elimination of colonialist and imperialist culture and education. Reform of the existing system. Development of education, culture and training in the service of freedom and the peaceful progress of the Angolan people.

- (b) Successful and rapid campaign against illiteracy throughout the country.
- (c) Public education shall be within the competence of the State and shall be under its direct supervision.
- (d) Compulsory primary education and gradual progress towards free primary education.
- (e) Development of secondary and of technical and vocational education. Inauguration of higher education.
- (f) Establishment of cultural relations with other countries. Basic and advanced training for the technical personnel required to build up the country.
- (g) Encouragement and development of science, technology, literature and the arts.
- (h) Establishment in rural areas of adequate and efficient facilities for the medical and health welfare of peasant populations, balanced development of medical and health services at the national level.
- (i) Elimination of prostitution and alcoholism.
- (j) Encouragement and support of progressive youth activities.
- (k) Encouragement and protection of physical education throughout the country.

9. National Defence

- (a) Establishment of a national force of sufficient strength, with close ties to the people and entirely under the command of Angolan citizens.
- (b) To arm, equip and train the army immediately and properly, and to standardize instruction. To establish democratic relations between officers and soldiers. To strengthen discipline. To develop and reinforce national awareness within the army and to combat all trends towards regionalism.

10. Independent and Peaceful Foreign Policy

(a) Establishment and maintenance of diplomatic relations with all countries of the world on the basis of the following principles: mutual respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual advantage, peaceful co-existence.

(b) Respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter.

(c) Non-membership of any military bloc.

(d) Special relations of neighbourliness and co-operation with the Nations bordering Angola.

(e) Protection of Angolans residing abroad.

The Conference of Leaders reaffirms the determination of the Movement to do its utmost to combat tribalism or regionalism, and racial or religious intolerance.

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ANNEX III

PROGRAMME OF THE UNIÃO NACIONAL PARA INDEPENDENCIA TOTAL DE ANGOLA  
(UNITA)

1. To establish in Angola a sovereign State based on the African majority;
2. To free and develop all the productive forces of the country;
3. To free all political prisoners detained by the colonial régime;
4. To achieve the reconquest of complete national independence;
5. To organize general elections in the spirit of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, with a view to the establishment of a National Assembly elected by direct secret ballot by all citizens, men and women, who have reached the age of 18. The National Assembly shall be the supreme organ of the State and shall have the task of drafting a constitution guaranteeing the fundamental rights of all citizens. Before entering into force, the Constitution shall be approved by the people in a nation-wide referendum. All deputies to the National Assembly shall have parliamentary immunity;

6. To guarantee the territorial integrity of Angola;
7. To establish a system of free education from primary school to the university level;
8. To promote a genuinely Angolan and African culture and to combat obscurantism;
9. To guarantee the emancipation of the Angolan woman;
10. To protect the family and children;
11. To promote agrarian reform in accordance with the principle that the land belongs to those who work it. Land should be considered collective property, not private property;
12. To guarantee equality of all Angolans before the law, without discrimination of any kind;
13. To promote a planned economy with a view to the systematic development of all of the country's human and material potential, so as to guarantee the building of socialism in Angola;
14. To establish a national currency;
15. To abolish all privileges granted by the colonial régime;
16. To abolish all forms of forced labour and all forms of exploitation of human beings;
17. To establish a national army for the defence of the country, which will include the veterans of the war of liberation who over long years learned to serve the people even at the risk of their own lives;
18. To encourage participation of the people in the management of affairs of State, in accordance with the best revolutionary traditions of a popular democracy.

#### International Policy

1. To prohibit the maintenance or establishment of foreign military bases in the national territory;
2. To refuse to enter into any pact or alliance with any foreign Power;
3. To formulate a progressive policy which will guarantee independence and sovereignty;

4. To annul all unequal and unjust treaties signed by the Portuguese colonialists;
5. To give generous aid to all movements fighting for the liberation of Africa;
6. To give unreserved support to the brothers of African origin who live abroad;
7. To sign the Charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), provided that this organization upholds its anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist principles. Compromises with the enemies of Africa shall never be accepted;
8. Respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which condemns interference in the domestic affairs of other States, large or small.

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