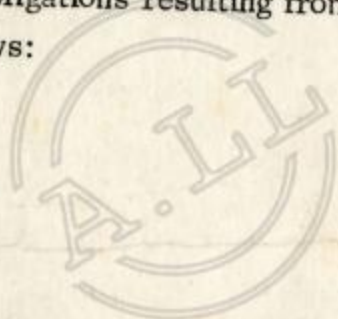


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NAKURU AGREEMENT

The Liberation Movements of Angola, FNLA, MPLA, UNITA meeting in Nakuru from the 16th to the 21st of June of 1975, and represented by the respective Presidents, Holden Roberto, Agostinho Neto and Jonas Savimbi, aware of the great situation in which the country finds itself and of the national interests which must necessarily be put above any political and ideological divergencies, solemnly affirm to f renounce the use of force as a way to solve problems and to honour all the obligations resulting from the conclusion of the Accord which follows:



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NAKURU SUMMIT MEETING

4. AN ANALYSIS OF THE GENERAL SITUATION IN ANGOLA AND OF THE RELATIONS AMONG THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Analyzing the general situation in the country, the Angolan liberation movements, of FNLA, MPLA and UNITA, state with great apprehension that the following reasons are the causes for the deterioration of the situation in Angola:

1. The introduction of great quantities of arms by the liberation movements after the 25th of April and especially after their move to Luanda.

This race for arms is due to the fact that the liberation movements have maintained their mutual lack of confidence resulting from their political and ideological differences and their divergences in the past.

2. The lack of political tolerance which manifests itself in violence in the activity of the liberation movements and their militants.

3. The existence of so-called zones of influence and of regions of supposed military superiority

4. The arming of the civilian population

5. Military clashes among the liberation movements and their tendency to regionalize which in addition to causing numerous innocent victims, aggravates the situation by tending to increase tribalism, regionalism and racism.

6. The presence of reactionary agitation and of elements foreign to the process of decolonisation.

In face of this situation and in order to re-establish a climate of peace in Angola, FNLA, MPLA AND UNITA decided:



1. To create a climate of political tolerance and national unity within the political and ideological diversity of Angola
- m 2. To solemnly promise to put an end to all forms of violence and intimidation of militants, and to liberate immediately all prisoners they are holding
3. To guarantee to all the liberation movements the right to free political activity in whatever part of the country
4. To accelerate the formation of a national army
5. To disarm the civilian population after the necessary conditions have been established
6. To accelerate the expulsion of the agents of the ex-PIDE/DGS who are still in Angola
7. To take measures to neutralize the internal and external reactionary forces.
8. To recommend to the official information organs and to those of the liberation movements widespread diffusion of these points mentioned above.

## NAKURU SUMMIT MEETING

### 2. THE ACTIVITY OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT

The liberation movements of Angola, FNLA, MPLA and UNITA, after a study on the activity of the Transitional Government considered:

- That the Transitional Government has made laudable efforts towards resolving the problems which present themselves to the Nation
- However in exercising governmental activity, they have met difficulties presented by the liberation movements which, either act without taking into consideration the government's decisions or do not give it the necessary support for executing their decisions.
- That the Government, therefore, up to now, could not act with authority nor assume its responsibilities in total
- This situation is aggravated by the inexistence of political and military forces solidly organized to guarantee not only the security of the State, but also the imposition of coercive measures to assure the fulfillment of laws
- The instability of justice, the existence of private justice and 'proteccionismo' of the liberation movements by which the militants practise illegal acts, also contribute to the lack of authority of the Government.
- In addition to this, the Angolan people are not sufficiently informed of the efforts of the Government, but on the contrary, they reach positions <sup>which</sup> put them in conflict with the government because of the absence of intermediary organisms directly linked to the people.
- In addition to this fact, within certain ministries, some officers and workers are deeply affected with partisan politics and transform the ministries into fiefdoms belonging exclusively to the movement of the Minister
- It is necessary also to point out aspects of the individual activity of the ministers which are:
  - a) a lack of self-responsibility
  - b) trips of Ministers outside Luanda and the country without the authorization of the Transitional Government
  - c) a non-implementation of decisions of the Ministerial Council



- (5)
- d) elaboration and execution of plans without the consultation and agreement of the Ministerial Council
  - e) a difficulty in separating, while working in the Government, his position as a militant of a liberation movement and his position as a member of the Government

- As well, the disturbances of public order, characterized by armed conflicts among the liberation movements, has greatly contributed to the deterioration of the situation
- Also noted was the usurpation by the National Defense Committee and the Presidential College of solutions of problems which are of the competency of the Ministerial Council and of the ministers, as well as the lack of bias on the part of the written and spoken press

Therefore, searching for solutions to problems which make the Transitional Government inoperative in this crucial phase of the process of decolonizing, the liberation movements of Angola, FNLA, MPLA and UNITA, have decided:

- To increase the support of the Transitional Government and force the militants at all levels to fulfill decisions of the Government
- To collaborate positively with the Government in the application of measures taken in all sectors of the national life, political economic and military
- To avoid substituting themselves for the Government in the exercise of prerogatives which belong only to it
- To collaborate actively with the Government in elaborating a minimum political, economic and social common program based in common principles of all the liberation movements
- To urgently create, in collaboration with the responsible institutions, sovereign organs which will execute, control and guarantee the real functioning of the Government and which will be dependent on it, such as: national armed forces, and policial organs (e.g. mineral police, border police)
- To demand the Government restructure the judicial system in order to put an end to all the forms of private justice.

- Encourage the participation of the people in the life of the Nation through popular organisms based on the liberation movements at the levels of neighborhoods, villages, kimbos, workers and students etc. utilizing administrative and syndicate structures.
- Discourage and combat preferences according to parties within the services dependent on ministries
- Demand that the Government integrally apply its administrative rules and introduce votes of censure and lack of confidence as sanctions on serious errors defined by special rules created for this effect.
- Demand that the rules governing the prerogatives and competency of the Presidential College and the National Defense Committee which are presently in vigor be followed
- Demand that various ministries carry out the decisions already taken by the Ministerial Council
- Demand that the Government take austerity measures in the economic and financial sphere
- Exhort the workers and contractors to take advantage of the capacity of the productive force available in our country
- Not to impede the free circulation of persons and goods throughout the national territory
- Demand that the Government constitute a Commission of Inquiry to detect the agents of the ex-PIDE/DGS and the colonialists who were notoriously fascist and who participated in the massacres of people, in order to accelerate their expulsion from the country. The Angolan agents or informers must be detained, judged and punished or re-educated.



### 3. DISARMING OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION

The Conference verified the existence of armed civilians who had received arms from the three liberation movements because of the historical process of liberation during the armed struggle and the fight against the reactionary forces.

Today, however, it was noted that this is a problem which must be resolved, because as is well known it is difficult to control armed civilians. This fact constitutes a danger for the keeping of peace in Angola, by kindling tribal rivalries.

The Conference noted also the necessity of guaranteeing the security of the population in order that these people will voluntarily give up their arms and the Conference came to the following conclusions:

1. there is a necessity for a real and immediate end to the attacks and punitive actions among the liberation movements and against the civilian population. The arguments among the liberation movements or between them and the civilian population must be resolved through dialogue.
2. the liberation movements launch an intense campaign which aims at preparing the civilian population both politically and morally to give up their arms; which must be part of the fight against tribalism, regionalism and racism.
3. this campaign must be mandatorily assisted by all the organs of social communication, whether public or private.
4. that the presidential college will constitute committees composed of representatives of the three liberation movements and which will be subordinated to the presidential college. These committees will be distributed throughout all the districts of Angola with the following functions:
  - a) to co-ordinate all information on armed civilians
  - b) to detect and disarm the elements of reaction
  - c) to collaborate in the campaign of public

5. the above-mentioned committee for disarmament will present the results of its activities to the Presidential College which will, in turn, take action, through the National Committee of Defence, to collect the arms.
6. the Ministry of Justice will write up a law meant to punish severely all infractions of the above measures.





4. DISARMING OF ZAMBIANS AND KATANGESE EX-GENDARMES

The summit meeting of the liberation movements of Angola, FNLA, MPLA and UNITA, after having analysed the question of the Zambians and the Katangese ex-gendarmes who are armed in our country and taking into account the presence of foreign armed elements in our country who act against peace and national security, have decided:

1. To reaffirm the principles of Alvor according to which the Katangese ex-gendarmes and Zambians living in our country must be immediately disarmed.
2. To make an appeal to our neighboring countries to take a similar attitude in relation to the Angolans resident in their countries who are involved in condemnable political activities contrary to the interests of the Angolan people and which put in danger the territorial integrity of Angola. Such attitudes constitute flagrant interference in the internal affairs of our country.

MOTION ON CABINDA

The summit meeting of the liberation movements of Angola after having analysed the general situation in the country and keeping in mind the principles of unity and territorial integrity as were established in the third article of the Accords of Alvor and recalling : what is stated in the Charters of the OAU and the UN,

1. Reaffirms that Angola is geographically and politically defined according to the presently existing borders and as such, Cabinda is an integral and inalienable part of its territory.
2. Determines that the Transitional Government will clarify and defend this position to international organisations whenever it is necessary.

5. CONSTITUTION OF THE SOVEREIGN ORGANS AND THE CREATION OF NATIONAL ARMED FORCES

The liberation movements of Angola, FNLA, MPLA and UNITA, considering the necessity to create an instrument capable of assuring the defense of our territorial integrity and of maintaining peace and order in Angola; considering also the inefficiency of the Mixed Military Forces created by the ALVOR Accords; considering as well, that the structures of the Mixed Military Forces and their functioning, far from contributing towards the constitution of a true national Angolan army, only encourage party divisions;

Have thus decided:

- I. To establish The Angolan National Armed Forces and to give total support to its creation and promise to contribute the required military forces.
  - I.A Permanent Military Commission will be created for this effect, composed of three superior officials, one from each movement and which will be under the control of the Presidential College of the Transitional Government with the following functions, in addition to those which may be decided by that Commission:
    - a) To create the necessary material and technical conditions for the constitution of the National Armed Forces
    - b) To set up the organic structures of the National Armed Forces
    - c) To make an inventory of the material and human resources of which the National Armed Forces can make use
    - d) To present to the Presidential College the budget necessary for the maintenance of the National Armed Forces
    - e) To decide on the places where the training centers for the National Armed Forces units will be
    - f) To outline principles of a patriotic nature which will govern the National Armed Forces and orient their members on a basis of National Unity, Defense of territorial integrity, Peace and Defense of the democratic regime.
    - g) To create the necessary organs to carry out the measures established above



- 2) The maximum limit of troops of the National Armed Forces will be 30,000 men who will be integrated progressively according to what is established by the Permanent Commission.
- 3) The Permanent Military Commission is charged with the demobilization of the extra military troops and will determine the periods for the formation of the first units of the Angolan National Armed Forces.

II. Demands the National Defense Committee reinforce the integration of the Mixed Military Forces by;

- 1) Eliminating the individual training camps of each movement and creating common camps for the Angolan side of the Mixed Military Forces.
- 2) Establishing a standard Code of Discipline and a common united code of rank.
- 3) Eliminating the emblems and distinctive markings of the respective movements as well as anything which could identify the soldier as a member of whatever movement, for example, berets, boots, uniforms, belts, etc. and then uniformizing them.

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OFFICE OF FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Liberation Movements of Angola, FNLA, MPLA and UNITA being aware of the necessity to begin foreign relations of Angola; and

- considering that the Presidential College must actively participate in the solution of the current problems of Angola's external affairs.
- have agreed that the Presidential College should create immediately, respecting the principle of heterogeneous policy, an Office of External Affairs which will be identified with it and has the task of promoting the external policies of Angola in collaboration with the High Commissioner.



NAKURU SUMMIT MEETING

6. THE TRANSFERENCE OF POWERS AND ELECTIONS

Reiterating the principles solemnly affirmed in the Accords of Alvor, the liberation movements FNLA, MPLA and UNITA continue to maintain that the holding of elections in Angola is the most adequate form of guaranteeing a peaceful transference of powers at the moment of Independence.

Keeping in mind the atmosphere which reigned after the installation of the Transitional Government, which presented difficulties in keeping the deadlines for the promulgation of the Fundamental Law and the Electoral Law, as set up in the Accords of Alvor, the Conference recognizes that to carry out the electoral process, it is necessary to establish a climate of peace and of ideological tolerance among the people and among the liberation movements.

Therefore it is obviously necessary to accelerate the creation of a national army, the guarantor of peace, democracy and internal and external security.

Because of the little time left until the 11th of November and because of the complexity of the electoral process, the liberation movements promise to make every effort to hold elections. They did, however, consider alternatives to take in case of difficulties which might appear.

Therefore, the liberation movements decided:

- m 1. That the Transtional Government will immediately put all the material resources which may be needed by the Central Commission at its disposition in order that the outlining of the projected Electoral Law can be facilitated. This work must be concluded by July 5, 1975.
- 2. That the Transtional Government proceed with the discussion of the Electoral Law in order that it can be published by July 15, 1975.
- 3. That just after the publication of the Electoral Law, an organ will be created or restructured which, at the national level will organize all the electoral process.

4. That the Transitional Government, through the Ministry of Planning and Finance, will make a study on the material and financial needs of the electoral process, including the electoral campaign of the liberation movements in order to give them the necessary financing.
  
5. That the principal deadlines for the electoral process will be:
  - a) For the electoral census, a period of not less than 60 days as of the first of August
  - b) For the electoral campaign, a period of not less than 20 days
  - c) For the electoral act, a day to be set during the month of October
  - d) For the meeting of the Constituent Assembly, a day to be set in the beginning of the month of November.
  
6. In case difficulties arise in carrying out these measures, a new summit meeting will be held in Angola, to adopt another form for the transference of powers
  
7. That the necessary alterations be made in the Fundamental Law as a result of the above mentioned points.



NAKURU SUMMIT MEETING

7. THE PROBLEM OF REFUGEES AND DISLOCATED PERSONS

- The liberation movements of Angola, FNLA, MPLA and UNITA,
- Considering that hundreds of millions of Angolans are returning to their lands because the armed struggle for national liberation has ended and the reasons for which they had to abandon their country no longer exist
  - Keeping in mind the necessity for assistance and immediate organization of these people in order that they can be reintegrated into the economic and social life of the country
  - Keeping in mind the creation, by the Accords of Alvor, of a National Commission for Refugees, which up to now has not carried out the work demanded by the situation in this area

Have decided:

1. That the Transitional Government institutionalize the National Commission for Refugees and give it an efficient organic structure.
2. That the activities of the National Commission for Refugees be dynamized so that it is able to:
  - a) Outline projects to present to the national and international organizations for assistance to the refugees and dislocated persons after obtaining approval from the Government
  - b) Establish a criterion of priorities in order to serve better the people most affected by the struggle for national liberation
  - c) Plan a total assistance for the refugees and dislocated people in such a manner as to create conditions for their economic and social promotion
  - d) Control, in collaboration with the Ministry of Interior, the entrance of refugees through the installation of special posts composed of the three parties in the areas where the refugees are processed

- m 3. That the Transitional Government contact the governments of neighboring countries of Angola in order to facilitate the return of the refugees.
- 4. That the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs coordinate the activities of the National Commission for Refugees, respecting its structure and not substituting it
- 5. Make an appeal to international organisations to support urgently the Transitional Government in this task





ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL SITUATION

The Liberation Movements of Angola, FNLA, MPLA and UNITA, having analysed the economic and financial situation of the country notice:

- 1- a worsening of the crisis inherited from colonialism, specifically in the industrial and rural sectors;
- 2- a deterioration in public finances, balance of payments and external credit;
- 3- a lack of orientation and coordination of a uniform policy as far as external commerce is concerned;
- 4- a systematic paralysation of the main harbours which, aggravated, by low production, has provoked serious difficulties in the import and export of products essential to the economic development of the country and well-being of the population;
- 5- a climate of insecurity which is the principle cause of a continuing exodus of technicians whose permanence in Angola is considered to be of major importance.
- 6- systematic strikes, without previous agreements from the respective Unions, as well as the wage demands which, in the face of the actual economic possibilities of the country, provoke a reduction in the national production/<sup>and</sup> further the inflationary processes whose consequences affect primarily the working classes ;
- 7- a noticeable increase in the smuggling of diamonds which, reflects negatively on the balance of payments and public finances,

- provoking an inequilibrium in the international markets.
- 8- the lack of an effective control at the borders which facilitates the illegal trade;
- 9- lack of supplies to various population centres of the country, especially Luanda, as a consequence of insecurity and barriers set up in the roads leading to the capital

Therefore, considering that in part, these difficulties are the result of a lack of co-ordination between the liberation movements and the transitional government as well as because of a climate of tension and crisis provoked by armed confrontation. It has been decided:

1. that the transitional Government must act with urgency and firmness to speed up the clearing of the harbours of Luanda and Lobito and to end the paralisation of those harbours;
2. that the honouring of commercial accords at the international level be mandatorily submitted for approval to the Council of Ministers;
3. that the transitional government shall act with firmness against technicians or businessmen whose activities constitute sabotage to the economic development of the country.
4. that the transitional government act firmly and efficiently to impede strikes and salary demands which endanger the economic stability of the country;
5. that the transitional government define and dynamise a salary policy and a policy of just work within local conditions;



6. that the transitional government dynamise a policy of inflation control and begin energetic measures to control speculation and felonies;
- 7- that the areas of diamond exploration be considered military zones and reinforce immediately military and police contingents in those areas and urgently expose all individuals or groups who are dealing illegally in diamonds;
- 8- that the transitional government reinforce the police posts on the borders;
9. that the transitional government agree to the creation of commissions referred to in Article 56 of the Accords of Alvor;
- 10- that all barriers in areas of communication or on the principle ways of access to the centres of population specially that of Luanda be lifted and that military posts;
- 11- that with greatest urgency all barriers now in the way of communication be lifted and that military posts which will permit efficient security be installed on all the principle ways of access to population centres especially that of Luanda ;
- 12- to support the transitional government guaranteeing it the necessary means to put into practice all the decisions referred to above.

NAKURU, JUNE 21, 1975

HOLDEN ROBERT - PRESIDENT - FNLA

AGOSTINHO NETO - PRESIDENT - MPLA

JONAS SAVIMBI - PRESIDENT - UNITA