

# Declaration of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of Unita

*Nova Lisboa, 15 October 1975*

## Where is the legality in the Civil War in Angola?

(1) The civil war which rages today in Angola is an anti-patriotic anti-democratic struggle which Unita has done everything to avoid. It has tried by all means possible to bring the three liberation movements to find a political compromise.

(2) Since 1961, the year when the armed liberation struggle began, the two then existing liberation movements, FNLA and MPLA, began to compete with one another politically and militarily in seeking leadership of Angolan nationalism instead of uniting their efforts for the joint purpose of the country's independence.

(3) The present civil war is only the tragic and unfortunate result of internal quarrels which have followed the long path of the national war of liberation.

(4) Unita does not believe in division and in fratricidal struggles and it made its first appeal for unity in 1966 at its constituent congress on 13 March in Muangai, which is today a historic village for our movement. Our appeal yielded no result because we were considered too small and too weak militarily.

(5) Immediately after the coup d'etat of 25 April 1974, which brought to power in Portugal the regime which began the decolonization of Africa, Unita considered that a valid discussion with the Portuguese Government was impossible without a minimum degree of unity between the three liberation movements.

In spite of the insults, lies and insinuations of which our movement has been the subject on the part of our brothers, we courageously undertook, in a spirit of selflessness and forgetting the past, journeys which took us to Kinshasa where we were to conclude a reconciliation agreement with the FNLA on 16 November 1974 thanks to the patriotic spirit of brother President of the FNLA, Roberto Holden.

We let them know that this act would not be complete if our brothers in the MPLA were not parties to it and that we would be prepared to go to Dar es Salaam for that purpose.

(6) After numerous journeys to Dar es Salaam and Lusaka, we finally succeeded in signing a reconciliation agreement with the MPLA at Luso in Angola on 20 December 1974. After this was done we put forward the idea of a conference of the three liberation movements before starting any talks of any sort with Portugal.

(7) In this way the efforts of Unita resulted in the conference at Mombasa in Kenya on 3 January 1975. We had agreed to set aside our ideological and political differences, but also succeeded in reconciling the FNLA and MPLA and putting in hand a programme of negotiations with Portugal.

(8) Thanks to the Mombasa conference, we succeeded in signing with Portugal on the 15 January 1975, at Alvor, the historic documents which recognizes the right of our people to independence and sets up a coalition government of the three liberation movements which would approve the most democratic formula for holding general

elections before independence and fix the date for independence as 11 November 1975. These victories have been possible thanks to the unity of the three liberation movements.

(9) In March 1975, the first military conflicts arose between the MPLA and FNLA. Unita was concerned to find another compromise for a reconciliation between the three liberation movements. Its efforts resulted in the conference at Nakuru (Kenya) on 10 June 1975. It was called the 'last-chance conference'. We should however pay our respects to the doyen of the struggle in Africa, President Mzee Jomo Kenyatta for acting as a mediator between the three liberation movements.

How is it then that, three weeks after the agreements reached in Nakuru, civil war began in Angola? How did Unita, believing in peace and unity, become involved in the war? What are the prospects for settling this conflict before 11 November, 1975?

The Political Bureau of Unita considered it opportune to prepare this document so as to state its position before the Angolans, before Africa and before the world. The entry of Unita into the war is entirely the fault of the MPLA which has systematically violated all the agreements which have been made, and has attacked the forces of Unita in a cowardly way.

Our troops have been massacred without possibility of defence at: Pica-Pau on 4 June 1975, Gabela 10 June 1975, Lobito 25 June 1975, Cassamba 30 June 1975, Henrique de Carvalho 15 July 1975, Kalabo 22 July 1975, Lukusse 30 July 1975. The aircraft which should have carried brother Savimbi, the President of the movement, was attacked on 5 August 1975 at Silva Porto by the MPLA. As a result of all these acts Unita understood that MPLA had declared war on it. It was necessary to defend itself and to defend the legality of the agreements of Kinshasa, Luso, Mombasa, Alvor and Nakuru.

The responsibility of Portugal, which did not honour its commitments to the three liberation movements, is pregnant with consequences. We are waging war against our will and we are ready to cease fighting immediately in order to begin talking. We have no preliminary conditions for the return of peace to our country and to reconciliation between brothers. Let others answer our appeal and tomorrow there will be no war in Angola.

Our immediate objects are as follows:

- (1) To stop the fighting in Angola immediately.
- (2) To hold a conference of the three liberation movements with Portugal, neighbouring countries of Angola and observers from UN and OAU so as to find a satisfactory solution to the conflict. Angola must not divide Africa.
- (3) To find a provisional solution for 11 November 1975 around a minimum programme for a government of national unity, and to include in this government political and religious leaders of the country who are outside the three liberation movements.
- (4) To organize free general elections within eight months after ceasing of military hostilities.
- (5) To work for the Unity of the country and its territorial integrity.
- (6) To work for national reconciliation of all Angolan brothers.
- (7) To work for national reconstruction on a socialist and democratic basis.
- (8) To call on international organizations to start the country's economy functioning again.
- (9) To compel Portugal to honour its commitments to the three liberation movements, to all Angolans, to Africa and the world as the sole security for its rehabilitation in the concert of nations.

Worse things will happen to our country and SA if:

- (a) The MPLA were encouraged in its attempt to make an unilateral declaration of independence. If this happened the other two movements (FNLA and Unita) would have no alternative to declaring that they are the government in turn. Thus, Angola would find itself with two Governments on the eve of its independence and

this would necessarily mean the division of the country with unfavourable repercussions at OAU and at world level.

(b) A unilateral declaration of independence by the MPLA would mean that the civil war in Angola becomes established with its procession of misdeeds. The MPLA would never be capable of controlling the immense area of the country and would never succeed in ending the civil war which it has lightly declared.

Every war in Angola is and will always be a war of the countryside where the towns would fall one after the other suffocated by the country people.

(c) The continued war in Angola would not favour the MPLA but it would favour the enemies of national liberation in Africa and the enemies of its unity.

Whatever happens to our country on 11 November 1975, Unita will be at its post. On 11 November 1965 a minority of white colonials seized power in Zimbabwe against the will of the black majority. Africa condemned this and it is fighting against it. On 11 November 1975, ten years later, if a handful of men who are thirsty for power should legally seize power in Angola Africa must show this same courage in re-establishing political legality and national reconciliation. At the side of legality is the truth. At the moment they are weak but they will end in triumphing.