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# Africa

## 1. The situation in Angola

### **Decision of 29 January 1993 (3168th meeting): resolution 804 (1993)**

On 21 January 1993, pursuant to resolution 793 (1992), the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a further report on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II), describing the political and military developments in the country and outlining options for the future of the Mission.<sup>1</sup> The Secretary-General reported that following consultations held by his Special Representative during the month of January, both sides had agreed to a two-tiered approach: a meeting between military leaders to bring about a ceasefire, to be followed, immediately afterwards, by political negotiations on all the fundamental issues, including the future of UNAVEM. Arrangements had been made to hold the meeting in Addis Ababa on 16 and 17 January 1993. However, on 14 January, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) had modified its position, insisting that political talks must take place at the same time as the military meeting. Meanwhile, on 21 January 1993, the Secretary-General received a letter from President dos Santos requesting him to recommend to the Security Council that the mandate of UNAVEM II be extended.

The Secretary-General noted in his report that, in spite of strenuous efforts by himself and his Special Representative, and the Security Council's support, the situation in Angola had continued to deteriorate since the adoption of resolution 793 (1992). The civil war had resumed, and it had been impossible for the United Nations to bring about a ceasefire meeting between the two sides, let alone the sustained political dialogue needed to put the peace process back on track and to define an enlarged United Nations role that he could recommend to the Council. He therefore, concluded that there was no realistic prospect, in the immediate future, of UNAVEM being enlarged to fulfil the role envisaged in the discussion paper which his Special Representative had made available to the two sides on 24 December 1992.<sup>2</sup> He outlined three options for the

Council's consideration regarding the future of UNAVEM II: (a) to maintain UNAVEM II at its authorized strength and to try to re-establish its deployment as it was immediately after the elections; (b) to reduce its provincial deployment to approximately six locations; and (c) to confine its deployment to Luanda for the time being. His Special Representative would in any case pursue his good offices and would be based in Luanda with the necessary civilian, military and police staff. He would also continue to be in charge of all United Nations activities in connection with the peace process.<sup>3</sup> The Secretary-General recommended that the Council approve the last option (c), while retaining sufficient equipment in Luanda to permit a subsequent move to option (b) if desirable and feasible. He also recommended 30 April 1993 as the deadline for the Mission's withdrawal, should the two parties fail to agree on a ceasefire and to resume negotiations.

By a letter dated 25 January 1993 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Angola transmitted a letter of 24 January from the President of Angola to the Secretary-General, informing the latter about military actions conducted by the South African army against the Angolan people and its Government, and the presence of Zairean soldiers and foreign mercenaries alongside UNITA's forces.<sup>4</sup> The situation threatened peace and stability in central and southern Africa. He therefore requested an urgent meeting of the Council to discuss the issue and take appropriate measures to restore peace and stability.

At its 3168th meeting, on 29 January 1993, held in response to Angola's request of 25 January, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representatives of Angola, Cuba, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Portugal, Zaire and Zimbabwe, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President

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<sup>1</sup> S/25140 and Add.1.

<sup>2</sup> S/25140, annex.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 29.

<sup>4</sup> S/25161.

(Japan) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of prior consultations.<sup>5</sup> He also drew their attention to several other documents.<sup>6</sup>

At the outset, the representative of Angola said that, despite a short-lived peace, his country continued to be in a virtual state of war caused by the leader of UNITA, which hindered the full functioning of Angola's elected democratic institutions. His delegation appreciated the clear and unequivocal position taken by the international community in condemning the aggressive and militaristic actions of UNITA's leadership. However, that position should be backed up with a resolution of the Security Council condemning UNITA's aggressive military faction. The direct or indirect involvement of Zaire and South Africa in the internal affairs of Angola must also be condemned and the Council should conduct an international investigation to look into the matter. The speaker was optimistic and hopeful that the Council's deliberations on UNAVEM II would be restricted to option A, as set out in the report of the Secretary-General. He stressed that the Government of Angola was the result of democratic elections, which had been endorsed by the international community and the United Nations, and therefore could not be treated on the same level as an armed military party and deserved the Council's support. The speaker further stated that his Government had not "closed the door" to dialogue, provided that UNITA would fully abide by the Peace Accords and would announce a date for an unconditional ceasefire. It must also agree to the confinement, disarmament and demobilization of its troops, under the supervision of UNAVEM II.<sup>7</sup>

The representative of the Russian Federation supported the Secretary-General's proposal to concentrate UNAVEM II personnel in Luanda, since it would guarantee their safety. He believed that a sizeable United Nations presence in the country would make that possible, by stabilizing the situation and ensuring a speedy resumption of the Mission's activities. The Council should call upon all sides immediately to ceasefire and, having resumed a

meaningful constructive dialogue, to agree on a clear timetable for the full implementation of the Peace Accords, in particular with regard to the confinement of troops, the collection of weapons, demobilization, the formation of unified national armed forces and effective restoration of central authority throughout the country. UNITA should also give the international community convincing proof of its willingness to resume dialogue. The Russian Federation, as one of the three observer countries, along with Portugal and the United States, of the Peace Accords on Angola would continue to support the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to bring about a resumption of peace process and the effective implementation of the mandate of UNAVEM II.<sup>8</sup>

The representative of China stated that the United Nations must make every effort to prevent the escalation of the conflict and to ensure peace and stability in the region. He therefore supported the principled position of the Government of Angola that no outside forces should be involved in the conflict and urged all countries to comply with the relevant Council resolutions and to desist from any action which might further aggravate the situation. He reiterated that the question of Angola should be eventually settled by the Angolans themselves. Mediation and other initiatives made by the international community should contribute to creating conditions favourable to that goal. His delegation believed that the Security Council should take immediate action to support the good offices of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative. It was also in favour of the continued stationing of UNAVEM II in Angola.<sup>9</sup>

The representative of the United States expressed his delegation's support for the draft resolution, which accurately reflected the situation in Angola, clearly outlined the steps to be taken by the warring parties, and provided the Organization with the authority and flexibility to fulfil its responsibilities. It was particularly appropriate for the Secretary-General to adapt the size and scope of UNAVEM II operations to existing political and security conditions. He noted, however, that the Secretary-General, UNAVEM II and concerned nations could not impose peace where the will for peace did not exist. Lasting peace would be possible only when all Angolans, particularly the

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<sup>5</sup> S/25187.

<sup>6</sup> Letters addressed to the Secretary-General from the representatives of Senegal (S/25109), Denmark (S/25151), Angola (S/25155) and South Africa (S/25177).

<sup>7</sup> S/PV.3168, pp. 6-20.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38-40.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

parties' leadership, desisted from pursuing power through violence.<sup>10</sup>

The representative of France stressed that at a time when Angola was going through difficulties, the international community must remain at its side. That meant that any outside interference in the conflict must stop. The United Nations should also continue to lend all possible assistance to restore peace in the country. The draft resolution before the Council, while authorizing the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps for the protection of UNAVEM II personnel, allowed for the possibility of a speedy resumption of the mission when conditions allowed. It also expressed the willingness of the Council to strengthen the United Nations presence in Angola should there be any significant progress in the peace process. He stressed, however, that it was primarily up to the Angolans themselves to restore peace and promote national reconciliation.<sup>11</sup>

The representative of the United Kingdom stated that the United Nations must remain actively engaged in Angola, as long as there was any prospect for a peaceful solution, with the emphasis being on the diplomatic role of the Special Representative, rather than on the earlier monitoring functions of UNAVEM II. He also called for the immediate release of all foreign prisoners, and for an end to the indiscriminate killing of civilians.<sup>12</sup>

The representative of Venezuela stated that the Council had the obligation to investigate the charges of foreign support and involvement in military actions in Angola and to take appropriate action. His delegation further believed that universal diplomatic recognition of the Government of Angola at that time would strengthen and support the draft resolution before the Council.<sup>13</sup>

The representative of Zaire rejected Angola's "unfounded accusations" against his country. He observed that both countries shared an extremely "porous" 2,650-kilometre border, and that neither Angola nor his country had the means to ensure control over that boundary. Moreover, his country was experiencing a catastrophic economic situation and would not dare to interfere in the internal affairs of

Angola. He pointed out that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) had established an observer mission to which his country and Angola had recourse whenever there was a border violation. Thus there was no reason to bring their disputes before the Security Council.<sup>14</sup>

The representative of Namibia, speaking on behalf of the Group of African States, stressed the need for a "visible and effective" United Nations presence in Angola to restore trust and confidence to the Angolan people. He recalled that the Secretary-General of OUA had recently appealed to the international community to give full support to UNAVEM II and to strengthen the Mission's presence, instead of withdrawing or reducing it. The Group of African States supported the meeting taking place in Addis Ababa between the Government of Angola and UNITA, and hoped that it would put the Peace Accords back on track.<sup>15</sup>

The representative of Portugal stated that the role of the United Nations was crucial to peace and stability in Angola. However, those efforts must be followed by the countries which had responsibilities in the process, namely the three observers: Portugal, the United States and the Russian Federation. He stressed that the United Nations presence in Angola must be maintained at an adequate level and not reduced to such a degree as to make it lose its visibility and operational capability and its usefulness to put pressure on the parties. The Organization must also adopt a more active attitude within the framework of the Peace Accords, demanding full compliance with their provisions and making it clear that violations would be unequivocally condemned. He commended the clear positions taken by the Council, as reflected in the draft resolution, namely its commitment to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Angola and to the immediate cessation of any external military interference.<sup>16</sup>

Other speakers were also in favour of a continued United Nations presence and involvement in Angola and of a substantial increase in the strength of UNAVEM, as soon as the situation warranted it.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 46-47.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., pp. 47-50.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp. 49-51.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 58-61.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pp. 65-75.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 76-78.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., pp. 97-102.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp. 21-30 (Brazil); pp. 31-32 (Cape Verde); pp. 52-56 (Spain); and pp. 63-65 (Japan).

The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 804 (1993), which reads:

*The Security Council,*

*Reaffirming* its resolutions 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991, 747 (1992) of 24 March 1992, 785 (1992) of 30 October 1992 and 793 (1992) of 30 November 1992,

*Having considered* the further report of the Secretary-General of 21 and 25 January 1993,

*Having considered also* the request submitted to the Secretary-General by the Government of Angola in its letter dated 21 January 1993,

*Gravely disturbed* by the recent outbreak of heavy fighting in many parts of Angola and the further deterioration of the already dangerous political and military situation in that country,

*Gravely concerned* at the continuing non-implementation of the major provisions of the Peace Accords for Angola,

*Concerned* at the recent absence of dialogue between the Government of Angola and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, and welcoming the meeting between them under United Nations auspices at Addis Ababa to discuss the ceasefire and political matters,

*Also concerned* at the outrageous harassment and physical abuse to which personnel of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II have been subjected, and the looting and destruction of United Nations property, as described in the report of the Secretary-General,

*Further concerned* at reports of foreign support for and involvement in military actions in Angola,

*Regretting* that the deteriorating situation has made it increasingly difficult for the Mission to carry out its mandate,

*Recalling* that democratic elections were held on 29 and 30 September 1992, which the Special Representative of the Secretary-General certified as being generally free and fair, and that steps have been taken to set up a Government of National Unity which would reflect the results of the legislative elections, and deeply regretting the failure of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola to take part in the political institutions thus established,

*Reaffirming its commitment* to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Angola,

*Recognizing* that the Angolans themselves bear ultimate responsibility for the restoration of peace and national reconciliation in their country,

*Reiterating its support* for the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative aimed at resolving the present crisis and resuming the political process, in particular through the completion of the electoral process,

1. *Takes note with appreciation* of the further report of the Secretary-General;

2. *Strongly condemns* the persistent violations of the main provisions of the Peace Accords for Angola, in particular the initial rejection by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola of the election results, its withdrawal from the new Angolan armed forces, its seizure by force of provincial capitals and municipalities and the resumption of hostilities;

3. *Demands* that the two parties ceasefire immediately, restore continued and meaningful dialogue at their meeting at Addis Ababa and agree on a clear timetable for the full implementation of the Peace Accords, in particular with regard to confinement of their troops and collection of their weapons, demobilization and formation of the unified national armed forces, effective restoration of the Government administration throughout the country, the completion of the electoral process and the free circulation of people and goods;

4. *Fully supports* the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in their continuing efforts to restore the peace process and to carry out the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II under extremely difficult conditions;

5. *Urges once again* the two parties, and in particular the National Union, to produce early evidence of their adherence to, and fulfilment without exception of, the Peace Accords;

6. *Strongly appeals* to the Government of Angola and the National Union to confirm as soon as possible to the Secretary-General that real progress has been made towards implementation of the Peace Accords;

7. *Appeals* to all Member States to render economic and technical assistance to the Government of Angola for reconstruction and development of the country;

8. *Calls upon* all Member States to support all those concerned in their efforts for the implementation of the Peace Accords;

9. *Urges* all Member States to take all necessary steps to stop immediately and effectively any direct or indirect military or paramilitary interference from their territories and to respect scrupulously the provisions of the Peace Accords concerning the cessation of supply of lethal material to any Angolan party;

10. *Strongly condemns* violations of international humanitarian law, in particular the attacks against the civilian population, including the extensive killings carried out by armed civilians, and calls upon both parties to abide by their obligations there under and the appropriate provisions of the Peace Accords;

11. *Demands* that the National Union immediately release foreign nationals taken hostage;

12. *Strongly condemns* attacks in Angola against personnel of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II, and demands that the Government and the National Union take all necessary measures to ensure their safety and security;

13. *Expresses its condolences* to the family of the Mission police observer who lost his life;

14. *Approves* the recommendation of the Secretary-General to maintain a Special Representative for Angola based in Luanda, with the necessary civilian, military and police staff with the mandate as described in paragraph 29 of the report of the Secretary-General;

15. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the Mission for a period of three months, until 30 April 1993, with the proviso that, as a provisional measure based on security considerations, the Secretary-General is authorized to concentrate Mission deployment in Luanda, and at his discretion in other provincial locations, with the levels of equipment and personnel he deems appropriate to be retained in order to allow the subsequent expeditious redeployment of the Mission as soon as this becomes feasible, with a view to the resumption of its functions in accordance with the Peace Accords and previous resolutions on this matter;

16. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit to it as soon as the situation warrants, and in any case before 30 April 1993, a report on the situation in Angola, together with his recommendations for the further role of the United Nations in the peace process, and in the meantime to keep the Council regularly informed;

17. *Stresses its readiness* to take action promptly, at any time within the period of the mandate authorized by the present resolution, on the recommendation of the Secretary-General, to expand substantially the United Nations presence in Angola in the event of significant progress in the peace process;

18. *Reiterates its readiness* to consider all appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations to secure implementation of the Peace Accords;

19. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

**Decision of 12 March 1993 (3182nd meeting):  
resolution 811 (1993)**

At its 3182nd meeting, on 12 March 1993, the Security Council resumed consideration of the item. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (New Zealand) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution

prepared in the course of prior consultations.<sup>18</sup> He also drew their attention to several other documents.<sup>19</sup>

The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 811 (1993), which reads:

*The Security Council,*

*Reaffirming* its resolutions 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991, 747 (1992) of 24 March 1992, 785 (1992) of 30 October 1992, 793 (1992) of 30 November 1992 and 804 (1993) of 29 January 1993,

*Gravely disturbed* by the recent outbreak of heavy fighting in many parts of Angola, the large number of casualties and massive loss of human life which have ensued and the further deterioration of the already dangerous political and military situation, bringing the country to the verge of the resumption of civil war,

*Gravely concerned* at the persistent violations by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola of the major provisions of the Peace Accords for Angola,

*Also concerned* at reports that military support and equipment continue to flow in contravention of the Peace Accords,

*Noting with particular concern* that a humanitarian tragedy of grave proportions is developing in Angola and the need, therefore, for increased international humanitarian assistance,

*Deeply regretting* that the second meeting between the delegations of the Government of Angola and the National Union, which had been scheduled to be held on 26 February 1993 at Addis Ababa under the auspices of the United Nations, did not take place because of the failure by the National Union to fulfil its commitment to send a delegation,

*Noting with satisfaction* the readiness displayed by the Government of Angola to participate in the Addis Ababa meeting,

*Reaffirming its commitment* to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Angola,

*Welcoming and supporting* the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative aimed at resolving the present crisis through negotiations,

1. *Strongly condemns* the persistent violations by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola of the major provisions of the Peace Accords for Angola, in particular

<sup>18</sup> S/25399.

<sup>19</sup> Letters addressed to the President of the Security Council by the representative of Angola (S/25271, S/25389 and S/25390); and letters addressed to the Secretary-General by the representatives of Argentina (S/25236); and Denmark (S/25304).

the continued rejection by the National Union of the results of the elections held on 29 and 30 September 1992, which the Special Representative of the Secretary-General determined to be generally free and fair, its failure to take part in the political institutions established on the basis of those elections, its failure to engage in meaningful negotiations with the Government of Angola, its withdrawal from the new Angolan armed forces and its seizure by force of provincial capitals and municipalities and the resumption of hostilities;

2. *Demands* that the National Union accept unreservedly the results of the democratic elections of 1992 and abide fully by the Peace Accords, and also demands that the two parties, particularly the National Union, produce early evidence, not later than 30 March 1993, that real progress has been made towards the implementation of the Accords;

3. *Strongly demands* an immediate ceasefire throughout the country, and also demands the resumption without delay and without preconditions of a continued and meaningful dialogue under United Nations auspices so that a clear timetable for the completion of the implementation of the Peace Accords may be established;

4. *Reaffirms* that it will hold responsible any party which refuses to take part in such a dialogue, thereby jeopardizing the entire process, and will consider all appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations to advance the implementation of the Peace Accords;

5. *Strongly condemns* verbal and physical attacks against the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and personnel in Angola of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II, and demands that these attacks cease forthwith and that the Government of Angola and the National Union take all necessary measures to ensure their safety and security;

6. *Condemns* the kidnapping of a Mission military observer in Cabinda on 23 February 1993 and demands that he be released unharmed and unconditionally and without further delay;

7. *Fully supports* the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in their continuing efforts to restore the peace process and to carry out the mandate of the Mission under extremely difficult conditions;

8. *Invites* the Secretary-General to seek to organize a meeting between the Government of Angola and the National Union at the highest possible level with a view to securing the full implementation of the Peace Accords, which meeting is to take place in good time before 30 April 1993, and to consider also the future role of the United Nations in Angola, and encourages the parties to respond positively;

9. *Requests* the Secretary-General, pending the submission of the report referred to in paragraph 16 of resolution 804 (1993), to present as soon as possible a progress report on the efforts for the resumption of the talks between the two parties in Angola at all appropriate levels;

10. *Calls on* all Member States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations to accord or increase humanitarian relief assistance to Angola, and encourages the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, with the resources at her disposal, to coordinate the provision of humanitarian assistance to the civilian population in need;

11. *Strongly appeals* to both parties strictly to abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law, including unimpeded access for humanitarian assistance to the civilian population in need;

12. *Appeals once again* to all Member States to render economic, material and technical assistance to the Government of Angola for the reconstruction and development of the country;

13. *Looks forward* to the report of the Secretary-General referred to in paragraph 16 of resolution 804 (1993) on the situation in Angola, together with his recommendations for the further role of the United Nations in the peace process;

14. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the Russian Federation stated that his country was concerned by the developments in Angola. The Security Council should take steps aimed at returning events in that country to a peaceful course. It should also ensure the implementation of its previous decisions, in particular the adoption of measures against the side that had been recognized as responsible for the breakdown of a political settlement in Angola. The legitimate Government of Angola and UNITA could and must return to the negotiating table. If that did not happen, the international community must provide comprehensive support to the Government of Angola, including all necessary assistance. The time had come for the international community to demonstrate responsibility and firmness in dealing with those forces which were ignoring the resolutions of the Council, and individual States must also apply every available means to exert influence on UNITA.<sup>20</sup>

The representative of France noted that the unanimous adoption of the resolution demonstrated the Council's commitment to the settlement of the Angolan conflict, despite many difficulties and disappointments. His Government welcomed the information provided by the Special Representative, and supported the Secretary-General's proposal for the holding of a high-level meeting between the Government of Angola and

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<sup>20</sup> S/PV.3182, pp. 11-12.

UNITA, under his auspices, with a view to breaking the deadlock.<sup>21</sup>

The representative of the United States noted that over the past months, when Angola rightfully should have been taking the first steps down a democratic path, its citizens had been faced instead with a bitter war and the resulting humanitarian tragedy of growing proportions. Although both sides had acknowledged that the conflict could not be resolved on the battlefield, the war continued to escalate. The United States continued to believe that a dialogue between the two parties without preconditions was the only way out for Angola. Such dialogue must be taken urgently and without preconditions. The speaker warned that the international community's patience was not endless. The party that continued to violate the Peace Accords, refused to engage in a serious dialogue and appeared to rely on a military solution would be held responsible.<sup>22</sup>

The representative of China stated that Angola faced an all-round civil war. His delegation supported the Secretary-General and the United Nations in their efforts to bring the peace process "back on track", and urged the two parties to resume negotiations, promptly and unconditionally, under United Nations auspices. It also supported the proposed high-level meeting between the leadership of the two Angolan parties, at an appropriate time.<sup>23</sup>

**Decision of 30 April 1993 (3206th meeting):  
resolution 823 (1993)**

By a letter dated 29 April 1993 addressed to the President of the Security Council,<sup>24</sup> the Secretary-General reported the resumption of peace talks, in Abidjan, on 12 April 1993, between the Government of Angola and UNITA, under United Nations auspices and the chairmanship of his Special Representative. They were expected to continue beyond 30 April. He therefore recommended extending the existing mandate of UNAVEM II for an interim period of 31 days, until 31 May 1993. He had hoped that, upon the conclusion of the talks, he would make appropriate recommendations on the future mandate and strength of the Mission.

At its 3206th meeting, on 30 April 1993, the Security Council included the above-mentioned letter in its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Pakistan) then drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of prior consultations.<sup>25</sup> He also drew their attention to a letter dated 11 March 1993 from the representative of Angola addressed to the President of the Security Council and to a letter dated 17 March 1993 from the representative of South Africa addressed to the Secretary-General.<sup>26</sup>

Speaking before the vote, the representative of Brazil noted that the humanitarian situation in Angola had deteriorated further, following attacks against humanitarian flights, and in particular the recent shooting of a World Food Programme chartered aircraft. Brazil had welcomed the resumption of the peace talks in Abidjan, and the representative expressed the hope that they would bring about an immediate ceasefire and the speedy and full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz", including the holding of a second round of elections. Turning to the draft resolution, he stated that the one-month extension of the mandate of UNAVEM II was a provisional measure, to be completed by a substantive consideration of the further role of the United Nations in Angola. The draft resolution clearly emphasized the willingness of the Council, at any time within the one-month period of the mandate, to take action to expand the United Nations presence in Angola.<sup>27</sup>

The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 823 (1993), which reads:

*The Security Council,*

*Reaffirming* its resolutions 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991, 747 (1992) of 24 March 1992, 785 (1992) of 30 October 1992, 793 (1992) of 30 November 1992, 804 (1993) of 29 January 1993 and 811 (1993) of 12 March 1993,

*Recalling* its resolution 804 (1993), in particular paragraph 15, in which it decided to extend the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II for a period of three months, until 30 April 1993,

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., pp. 13-14.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., pp. 14-16.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., pp. 16-18.

<sup>24</sup> S/25690.

<sup>25</sup> S/25694.

<sup>26</sup> S/25496 and S/25489.

<sup>27</sup> S/PV.3206, pp. 3-5.

*Extending its support* to the current and ongoing peace talks in Abidjan between the Government of Angola and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola under United Nations auspices and chairmanship, and expressing the hope that those talks will result in an immediate ceasefire and in the full implementation of the Peace Accords for Angola,

*Gravely concerned* at the continuing attacks against international humanitarian flights operating in Angola, in particular the recent shooting down of a World Food Programme airplane,

*Taking into account* the letter dated 29 April 1993 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council,

1. *Decides* to extend the existing mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II until 31 May 1993;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit to it as soon as the situation warrants, and in any case before 31 May 1993, a report on the situation in Angola with his recommendations for the further role of the United Nations in the peace process and in the meantime to keep the Council regularly informed;

3. *Stresses its readiness* to take action promptly, at any time within the period of the mandate authorized by the present resolution, on the recommendation of the Secretary-General, to expand substantially the United Nations presence in Angola in the event of significant progress in the peace process;

4. *Condemns* the attacks against international humanitarian flights operating in Angola and demands that these attacks cease forthwith and that both parties, in particular the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, take all necessary measures to ensure the safety of these flights as well as the security of Mission personnel;

5. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

**Decision of 1 June 1993 (3226th meeting):  
resolution 834 (1993)**

On 25 May 1993, pursuant to resolution 804 (1993), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a further report on UNAVEM II.<sup>28</sup> He reported that, despite six weeks of intensive efforts, the Abidjan meeting, which had begun on 12 April 1993, had ended on 21 May 1993 without agreement. The main rock on which the talks had foundered had been the insistence of UNITA on absolute parity in the simultaneous movement and quartering of Government and UNITA troops, rather than just UNITA troops, as foreseen in a draft Protocol of Abidjan which had been prepared by

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<sup>28</sup> S/25840 and Add.1.

the representatives of the three observer countries, and a Memorandum of Understanding.

The Secretary-General observed that the prospect that was facing Angola was graver than ever. Conflict had intensified throughout most of the country and the breakdown of the Abidjan talks marked a major and tragic setback to the peace process. He further noted that the failure to reach agreement on a ceasefire made it essential to reconsider the United Nations role in Angola. It would, however, be unthinkable to abandon it at that critical juncture.<sup>29</sup> In those circumstances, he recommended a further two-month interim extension of the Mission's mandate on a reduced basis. Such a mission would provide good offices and mediation, with the goal of restoring a ceasefire and reinstating the peace process. It would be a smaller mission with a reduced number of military, police and political personnel, some of which might also be deployed in several locations outside Luanda. In the event that, during that interim period, the parties reached an agreement, he would present specific proposals for adapting and strengthening the Mission's capabilities.<sup>30</sup> Noting the importance of increasing resources for the coordination of humanitarian assistance, he stated that new arrangements for the delivery of humanitarian aid were being proposed to the parties by his Special Representative. He appealed to them to abide by the rules of international humanitarian law and to facilitate unimpeded access for relief operations.

At its 3226th meeting, on 1 June 1993, the Security Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representatives of Angola and Portugal, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Spain) then drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of prior consultations.<sup>31</sup>

The representative of Angola stated that the Secretary-General's report reflected in great measure the tragic situation in the country, and also made it clear that the failure of the negotiations had been due entirely and exclusively to UNITA. The dramatic situation that prevailed in the so-called areas under its control was a result of Mr. Savimbi's refusal to allow

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., para. 36.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., para. 37.

<sup>31</sup> S/25857.



international humanitarian organizations to move around the country to evaluate the actual needs in those areas. More than 2 million refugees from all parts of the country had been registered. The international community should recognize that UNITA constituted a serious threat to regional peace and security. He therefore urged the Council to adopt strong “condemnatory and sanctioning measures” to compel UNITA to accept de facto the results of the 1992 democratic elections, and to participate in the overall process of pacification and national reconciliation.<sup>32</sup>

The representative of Portugal stated that the Angolan war must not become a forgotten war. The effects of the conflict were not limited to that country alone, but affected peace and international security in the whole southern African region. The international community, the observer countries, neighbouring States and the Security Council must unite their efforts and apply maximum pressure on the party that refused to seek a peaceful solution to the conflict. The Council’s weight must be felt effectively, and its resolutions, particularly resolutions 804 (1993) and 811 (1993), must not become merely exercises in rhetoric. Those who violated the Peace Accords and failed to respect the minimum standards of international behaviour must be made aware of the consequences unless they changed their position. He stated that his Government would continue to endeavour to ensure the early resumption of negotiations in order to bring an end to the conflict.<sup>33</sup>

Speaking before the vote, the representative of Cape Verde noted that the resolution of the Angolan crisis was vital to peace and stability in the southern African region. He stressed the importance of a continued and effective United Nations presence in Angola and supported the incorporation of humanitarian assistance in the UNAVEM mandate.<sup>34</sup>

The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 834 (1993), which reads:

*The Security Council,*

*Reaffirming* its resolutions 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991, 747 (1992) of 24 March 1992, 785 (1992) of 30 October 1992, 793 (1992) of 30 November 1992, 84 (1993) of 29 January

1993, 811 (1993) of 12 March 1993 and 823 (1993) of 30 April 1993,

*Having considered* the further report of the Secretary-General of 25 and 27 May 1993,

*Expressing grave concern* at the deterioration of the political and military situation, and noting with consternation the further deterioration of an already grave humanitarian situation,

*Gravely concerned* at the failure of the talks between the Government of Angola and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola held at Abidjan under the auspices of the United Nations and the chairmanship of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General with participation of the representatives of the three observer States to the Angolan peace process — Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States of America — and in particular at the failure to establish a ceasefire,

*Welcoming and supporting* the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative aimed at the earliest resolution of the Angolan crisis through negotiations,

*Emphasizing* the importance of a continued and effective United Nations presence in Angola, with a view to fostering the peace process and advancing the implementation of the Peace Accords for Angola,

*Reaffirming its commitment* to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Angola,

1. *Decides* to extend the existing mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II for a period of forty-five days, until 15 July 1993, in accordance with the recommendations contained in paragraphs 36 and 37 of the report of the Secretary-General;

2. *Stresses* the importance of the functions of good offices and mediation by the Mission and the Special Representative, with the goal of restoring a ceasefire and reinstating the peace process for the full implementation of the Peace Accords for Angola;

3. *Reiterates its demand* that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola accept unreservedly the results of the democratic elections of 1992 and abide fully by the Peace Accords;

4. *Condemns* the National Union for its actions and armed attacks, which have resulted in increased hostilities and which endanger the peace process, and demands that it immediately cease such actions and armed attacks;

5. *Welcomes* the disposition of the Government of Angola to reach a peaceful settlement of the conflict in conformity with the Peace Accords and pertinent Security Council resolutions, deeply regrets the refusal of the National Union at the talks to agree to the withdrawal of its troops from the locations which it has occupied since the resumption of the hostilities, and demands that it do so;

<sup>32</sup> S/PV.3226, pp. 6-13.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13-16.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23.

6. *Affirms* that such occupation is a grave violation of the Peace Accords;

7. *Strongly appeals* to the two parties, in particular to the National Union, to re-initiate as soon as possible the interrupted peace talks under United Nations auspices with a view to the earliest establishment of a ceasefire throughout the country and the full implementation of the Peace Accords, further undertakings between the two parties, and relevant resolutions of the Security Council, due account being taken of what was achieved during the discussion of the Abidjan draft protocol;

8. *Holds* the National Union responsible for the breakdown of the talks and for thereby jeopardizing the peace process, and reaffirms that it will consider all appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations to advance the implementation of the Peace Accords;

9. *Fully supports* the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative aimed at restoring the peace process and at carrying out the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II under extremely difficult conditions;

10. *Calls on* all States to refrain from any action which directly or indirectly could jeopardize the implementation of the Peace Accords, and urges all States to refrain from providing to the National Union any form of direct or indirect military assistance or other support inconsistent with the peace process;

11. *Welcomes* the steps taken by the Secretary-General to strengthen the humanitarian activities being undertaken by the United Nations system in Angola under the overall coordination of the Special Representative, including the preparation of the United Nations humanitarian assistance plan for Angola, and strongly appeals to the Government of Angola and to the National Union to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General's efforts in this field;

12. *Calls on* all Member States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations to respond swiftly and generously to the Secretary-General's appeal in implementation of the above-mentioned plan and to accord or increase humanitarian relief assistance to Angola, and encourages the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to continue to coordinate the provision of such assistance;

13. *Reiterates its appeal* to both parties strictly to abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law, including to guarantee unimpeded access for humanitarian assistance to the civilian population in need, and commends in particular the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to establish agreed humanitarian relief corridors;

14. *Also reiterates its appeal* to both parties to take all necessary measures to ensure the security and the safety of the personnel involved in humanitarian relief operations;

15. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit to it as soon as the situation warrants, and in any case before 15 July

1993, a report on the situation in Angola with his recommendation for the further role of the United Nations in the peace process and, in the meantime, to keep the Council regularly informed of developments;

16. *Reiterates its readiness* to take action promptly, at any time within the period of the mandate authorized by the present resolution, on the recommendation of the Secretary-General to expand substantially the United Nations presence in Angola in the event of significant progress in the peace process;

17. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

After the vote, the representative of the Russian Federation warned that if the UNITA leadership continued to flout the international community, the Security Council would have to consider all appropriate measures, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, to put an end to those actions, which disregarded its decisions and undermined the authority of the Organization.<sup>35</sup>

**Decision of 8 June 1993 (3232nd meeting):  
statement by the President**

At its 3232nd meeting, on 8 June 1993, the Security Council resumed its consideration of the item on the agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Spain) stated that, after consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:<sup>36</sup>

The Security Council received with grave concern and shock the report of the Secretary-General on the attack on 27 May 1993 by forces of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) on a train carrying civilians between Quipungo and Matala, which resulted in the death of 225 persons, including women and children, and several hundred wounded.

The Council strongly condemns this action by UNITA, which is a clear violation of Council resolutions and of international humanitarian law, and it reiterates its demand that UNITA immediately cease its armed attacks. The Council expresses its condemnation of such criminal attacks and stresses that those responsible must be held accountable. It urges UNITA leaders to make sure that its forces abide by the rules of international humanitarian law.

The Council emphasizes once again the imperative need for an immediate ceasefire throughout the country. It reiterates its appeal to the two parties, in particular UNITA, to re-initiate

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24-27.

<sup>36</sup> S/25899.

the interrupted peace talks with a view to the full implementation of the Peace Accords for Angola.

**Decision of 15 July 1993 (3254th meeting):  
resolution 851 (1993)**

On 12 July 1993, pursuant to resolution 834 (1993), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a further report on UNAVEM II.<sup>37</sup> He reported that the political and military situation in the country had continued to deteriorate dangerously as fighting had intensified and as the mistrust had deepened. The consequences, both for Angola and for regional security, were increasingly worrying. The neighbouring countries were receiving large inflows of Angolan refugees. Moreover, the repeated attempts of UNITA to seize additional territory had called into serious question its declarations about peaceful intentions. Meanwhile, the Government of Angola had reintroduced military conscription, and the National Assembly, on 17 June 1993, had empowered it to “use any means,” including placing the country on a war footing, to confront the UNITA offensive. As the fighting had intensified, so had mutual accusations regarding the use of mercenaries and foreign forces. In addition, there had been reports of foreign arrangements by both sides for the supply of military equipment. The Secretary-General further reported on regional efforts and on his Special Representative’s good offices. Since his arrival in Angola on 30 June, his new Special Representative had been pursuing intensive consultations with the parties, during which both sides had expressed their readiness to resume negotiations and to facilitate humanitarian relief operations. UNITA’s leader had also stressed the need for an effective United Nations mediation role.

The Secretary-General observed that in the prevailing circumstances, it would be unthinkable for the international community and the United Nations to abandon Angola. At the same time, it was the Angolans themselves who bore the ultimate responsibility for the establishment of peace and national reconciliation in their country. Noting that UNAVEM II had become an essential factor to facilitate the resumption of negotiations to advance the peace process and in supporting humanitarian activities in the country, as well as an indispensable channel for communication between the parties, he recommended a three-month extension of the Mission’s mandate.

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<sup>37</sup> S/26060 and Add.1 and 2.

At its 3254th meeting, on 15 July 1993, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representatives of Angola, Egypt, Namibia, Portugal, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (United Kingdom) drew the attention of the members of the Council to several documents.<sup>38</sup>

The representative of Angola stated that his Government had repeatedly called the attention of the Security Council to the persistence of UNITA in resorting to arms to obtain the power that had been denied it at the polls. The time had come to move from the phase of simple resolutions of condemnation to the adoption of coercive mechanisms to put an end to the UNITA rebellion against the legitimate Government and the international community. He stressed the importance of safeguarding the Council’s authority, which was being challenged by the “militaristic wing” of UNITA, in order to avoid creating a precedent that might jeopardize the resolution of various international conflicts. Never before, since the resumption of the war, had Angola suffered so many deaths and so much destruction, in such a short period of time. His delegation was of the view that the outright adoption by the international community of a set of restrictive measures would help persuade UNITA to give up war and violence. Measures such as freezing UNITA bank accounts, imposing travel restrictions, closing its overseas offices and banning the use of propaganda facilities in Member States should be taken urgently. He stressed that although his Government continued to believe that a negotiated settlement was the only alternative, it would nevertheless resort to any means,

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<sup>38</sup> Letter dated 9 July 1993 from the representatives of Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting the text of a joint statement made on 8 July 1993 in Moscow, on the situation in Angola (S/26064); letter dated 13 July 1993 from the representative of Uganda addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting a copy of the Declaration on the situation in Angola adopted by the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government at its twenty-ninth ordinary session, held at Cairo from 28 to 30 June 1993 (S/26076); letter dated 14 July 1993 from the representative of Uganda addressed to the President of the Council, transmitting the text of a resolution on the situation in Angola, adopted by the OAU Council of Ministers at its fifty-eighth ordinary session, held at Cairo from 21 to 26 June 1993 (S/26081).

including military action, to enforce the law and restore democratic rule. To that end, the Government would accept all assistance and international aid available under the Charter of the United Nations to defend Angola's sovereignty and territorial integrity and to protect its people.<sup>39</sup>

The representative of Zimbabwe stated that the collective measures proposed in the draft resolution should be imposed forthwith. In the view of his delegation, the time had come for initiating and implementing a comprehensive programme for UNAVEM III. The Council and the international community should take the initiative to create peace by adopting collective measures that would give UNITA and its leader no other alternative but to return to the negotiating table on the basis of the Peace Accords and the Abidjan formulas. His delegation was also concerned that the involvement of too many negotiators might actually retard progress and allow UNITA to buy time to continue its military offensive. It therefore urged that discussions continue to be conducted solely under the auspices of the United Nations and OAU.<sup>40</sup>

The representative of Namibia stated that Africa and the world could not afford another Somalia. Thus Angola should not be allowed to drift into a similar tragedy. The Security Council must take strong and effective measures to deprive UNITA of its supply of arms and other war materiel. The region needed peace and stability to start its economic reconstruction; it did not need any more weapons. In that regard, he urged the Council to request the Secretary-General to elaborate a plan for the reconstruction of Angola, including the convening of a pledging conference. He also called for a sizeable and effective United Nations presence in Angola. The speaker reiterated his Government's invitation to Mr. Savimbi to come to Windhoek with a view to seeking a solution to the conflict.<sup>41</sup>

The representative of Egypt, speaking on behalf of OAU, stated that the tragic developments in Angola clearly demonstrated the deterioration of the political and military situation in that country as a result of unabated hostilities and the growing mistrust between the parties. It also posed a threat to security and peace

in the region. OAU fully endorsed the draft resolution, which condemned UNITA violations and warned of serious consequences if it failed to return to the negotiating table. She noted that the OAU Summit Declaration on the situation in Angola, adopted in Cairo, *inter alia*, laid down the foundations for a solution to the crisis and reflected the African leaders' commitment to the preservation of the unity and territorial integrity of Angola, as well as their strong condemnation of UNITA actions. The Declaration recommended that the Council take concrete measures against UNITA, such as the adoption of sanctions, including the closure of its offices abroad. It further called on the Governments of neighbouring countries to prevent their territories and space from being used as a springboard for any action against the Government of Angola. Her delegation expressed full support for extending the mandate of UNAVEM II and reinforcing its personnel. In conclusion, the speaker emphasized the importance of continuing coordination and consultation between the United Nations and OAU in regard of the Angolan problem.<sup>42</sup>

The representative of Portugal stated that, as a mediator of the process that had led to the signing of the Peace Accords, and as an observer, his country had special responsibilities. It was not his delegation's intention to take sides in the Angolan conflict nor to suggest that one of the parties be subjugated or annihilated. On the contrary, his delegation was convinced that the future of Angola could only be built on a political solution respecting the results of the elections and including all the signatory parties. However, it felt compelled to denounce UNITA's violation of the Peace Accords and its choice of a strategy of war. The latter must understand that its behaviour would inevitably incur costs and lead to international isolation. It was in that context that the three observers had discussed in Moscow additional measures that might be considered by the Council. His delegation took note of the Council's determination to consider the imposition of measures against UNITA and supported the extension of the mandate of UNAVEM II and the possibility of enlarging it.<sup>43</sup>

The representative of the Russian Federation stated that the continuing deterioration of the military, political and humanitarian situation in Angola posed a

<sup>39</sup> S/PV.3254, pp. 3-18.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28-42.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59-70.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 91-95.

serious threat not just to the people of that country, but also to the security of the entire region. The Council must send a serious warning to UNITA that, if it failed to cease hostilities and fully implement the Peace Accords, the Council would consider imposing measures under the Charter, including a mandatory arms embargo. Moreover, if it continued to defy the relevant resolutions, the Council would consider additional measures, such as freezing its overseas assets and bank accounts.<sup>44</sup>

Speaking before the vote, the representative of China urged UNITA to cease immediately all hostile actions, to withdraw from the occupied territories and to return to the negotiating table. It must also ensure the safe departure of foreign nationals from areas under its control and allow unimpeded access for humanitarian relief. He contended that UNAVEM II had not only become an indispensable channel of communication between the two warring parties, but it also played an essential role by monitoring the escalation of the conflict. His delegation thus supported the draft resolution and the extension of the Mission's mandate.<sup>45</sup>

In the course of the debate, other speakers supported the imposition of collective measures, under the Charter of the United Nations, to persuade UNITA to desist from its military actions, to comply with previous Council resolutions and to return to the negotiating table.<sup>46</sup>

The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 851 (1993), which reads:

*The Security Council,*

*Reaffirming* its resolutions 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991, 747 (1992) of 24 March 1992, 785 (1992) of 30 October 1992, 793 (1992) of 30 November 1992, 804 (1993) of 29 January 1993, 811 (1993) of 12 March 1993, 823 (1993) of 30 April 1993 and 834 (1993) of 1 June 1993,

*Having considered* the further report of the Secretary-General of 12 and 14 July 1993,

*Recalling* the statement made by the President of the Security Council on 8 June 1993,

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., pp. 94-98.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., pp. 103-106.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., pp. 53-60 (Spain); pp. 81-91 (United Republic of Tanzania); pp. 94-98 (Russian Federation); pp. 106-108 (Venezuela); pp. 121-124 (Hungary); and pp. 124-126 (United Kingdom).

*Welcoming* the Declaration on the Situation in Angola adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity at its twenty-ninth ordinary session, held at Cairo from 28 to 30 June 1993, and the resolution on the situation in Angola adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity at its fifty-eighth ordinary session, held at Cairo from 21 to 26 June 1993,

*Welcoming also* the joint statement issued in Moscow on 8 July 1993 by the representatives of Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States of America, the three observer States to the Angolan peace process,

*Taking note* of the Special Declaration on Angola adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights, held at Vienna from 14 to 25 June 1993,

*Expressing grave concern* at the deterioration of the political and military situation, and noting with consternation the further deterioration of an already grave humanitarian situation,

*Deeply concerned* that the peace talks remain suspended and that a ceasefire has not been established,

*Welcoming and supporting* the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative aimed at the earliest resolution of the Angolan crisis through negotiations,

*Emphasizing* the importance of a continued and effective United Nations presence in Angola with a view to fostering the peace process and advancing the implementation of the Peace Accords for Angola,

*Reaffirming its commitment* to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Angola,

1. *Welcomes* the further report of the Secretary-General of 12 and 14 July 1993, and decides to extend the existing mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II for a period of two months, until 15 September 1993;

2. *Reiterates its readiness* to consider taking action promptly, at any time within the period of the mandate authorized by the present resolution, on the recommendation of the Secretary-General, to expand substantially the United Nations presence in Angola in the event of significant progress in the peace process;

3. *Stresses* the importance of the functions of good offices and mediation by the Mission and the Special Representative, with the goal of restoring a ceasefire and reinstating the peace process for the full implementation of the Peace Accords for Angola;

4. *Reiterates its demand* that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola accept unreservedly the results of the democratic elections of 1992 and abide fully by the Peace Accords;

5. *Condemns* the National Union for continuing military actions, which are resulting in increased suffering for the civilian population of Angola and damage to the Angolan

economy and again demands that it immediately cease such actions;

6. *Also condemns* the National Union's repeated attempts to seize additional territory and its failure to withdraw its troops from the locations which it has occupied since the resumption of the hostilities, and demands once again that it immediately do so and agree without delay to return its troops to United Nations-monitored areas as a transitional measure pending full implementation of the Peace Accords;

7. *Reaffirms* that such occupation is a grave violation of the Peace Accords and is incompatible with the goal of peace through agreements and reconciliation;

8. *Stresses* the fundamental need to re-initiate without delay the peace talks under United Nations auspices with a view to the immediate establishment of a ceasefire throughout the country and the full implementation of the Peace Accords and relevant resolutions of the Security Council;

9. *Takes note* of statements by the National Union that it is prepared to resume peace negotiations and demands that it act accordingly;

10. *Welcomes* the continued disposition of the Government of Angola to reach a peaceful settlement of the conflict in conformity with the Peace Agreements and the relevant Security Council resolutions;

11. *Urges* all States to refrain from any action which directly or indirectly could jeopardize the implementation of the Peace Accords, especially from providing any form of direct or indirect military assistance to the National Union, or any other support to the National Union inconsistent with the peace process;

12. *Expresses its readiness* to consider the imposition of measures under the Charter of the United Nations, including a mandatory embargo on the sale or supply to the National Union of arms and related materiel and other military assistance, to prevent it from pursuing its military actions, unless by 15 September 1993 the Secretary-General has reported that an effective ceasefire has been established and that agreement has been reached on the full implementation of the Peace Accords and relevant Security Council resolutions;

13. *Recognizes* the legitimate rights of the Government of Angola, and in this regard welcomes the provision of assistance to the Government in support of the democratic process;

14. *Welcomes* the steps taken by the Secretary-General to implement the emergency humanitarian assistance plan;

15. *Takes note* of statements by the National Union that it will cooperate in ensuring the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to all Angolans and demands that it act accordingly;

16. *Calls upon* all Member States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations to respond swiftly

and generously to the Secretary-General's appeal in implementation of the above-mentioned plan and to accord or increase humanitarian relief assistance to Angola, and encourages the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to continue to coordinate the provision of humanitarian assistance;

17. *Demands* that the National Union continue to extend its cooperation in ensuring the immediate evacuation of foreign nationals and their family members from Huambo and other locations which it has occupied;

18. *Reiterates its strong condemnation* of the attack by National Union forces on 27 May 1993 on a train carrying civilians, and reaffirms that such criminal attacks are clear violations of international humanitarian law;

19. *Reiterates its appeal* to both parties strictly to abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law, including to guarantee unimpeded access for humanitarian assistance to the civilian population in need, and commends in particular the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to establish agreed humanitarian relief corridors;

20. *Also reiterates its appeal* to both parties to take all necessary measures to ensure the security and safety of personnel of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II, as well as of the personnel involved in humanitarian relief operations;

21. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit to it as soon as the situation warrants, and in any case before 15 September 1993, a report on the situation in Angola with his recommendation for the further role of the United Nations in the peace process and, in the meantime, to keep the Council regularly informed of developments;

22. *Also requests* the Secretary-General to submit as soon as possible the budgetary implications of bringing the Mission up to its full strength as mandated in resolution 696 (1991);

23. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United States expressed her delegation's support for the United Nations effort to relieve the humanitarian suffering in Angola, as well as its concern about the plight of the people of Angola. She called on UNITA to refrain from military action and to return to the peace process. Noting that peacekeeping had become a growth industry, she contended that, before the increased demand could be effectively met, her delegation would need clarification on the relevant costs and their duration.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

The representative of France expressed his Government's concern at the deterioration of the situation in Angola and reiterated its appeal for dialogue between the leaders of the two parties and looked forward to the resumption and speedy conclusion of the negotiations. Should they fail, his Government would support the imposition by the Council of any necessary measures against the party opposed to peace.<sup>48</sup>

**Decision of 15 September 1993  
(3277th meeting): resolution 864 (1993)**

On 13 September 1993, pursuant to resolution 851 (1993), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a further report on UNAVEM II.<sup>49</sup> He reported that despite intensified international efforts to steer the peace process back on track, the grave situation in Angola had worsened further and had become particularly tragic in the humanitarian domain. Since early August, the Government had embarked on a counter-offensive which had resulted in UNITA being removed from several places it had held before. On 11 August, Mr. Savimbi had proposed, via a press interview, an immediate ceasefire without preconditions which was reiterated to the Special Representative on 20 August through the Special Envoy of the President of Zaire. Despite his request to meet with Mr. Savimbi in order to obtain additional information concerning the UNITA proposal, the Special Representative had not yet been able to meet with the leader of UNITA. Meanwhile, the international community had persevered in its efforts towards a peaceful resolution of the Angolan crisis. The Secretary-General highlighted two of the initiatives that were under way. One sought the convening of a meeting between the President of Angola and the leader of UNITA, under the auspices of the King of Morocco, the President of Cote d'Ivoire and the President of the African National Congress of South Africa, while the other involved efforts of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa to meet with Mr. Savimbi.

He outlined the action taken by his Special Representative and some African Presidents towards the crisis. He further noted that the humanitarian situation had worsened dramatically and described the

steps taken by the United Nations to provide humanitarian assistance. Regarding the situation of UNAVEM II, he stated that the number of international civil staff was inadequate to carry out the various tasks under the Mission's mandate, especially that of meditation and good offices.

Voicing his concern at the continued tragic situation, the Secretary-General urged both parties to return to the negotiating table without delay, in order to agree on an immediate ceasefire which would allow for the distribution of desperately needed humanitarian assistance. He also urged the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa, the Heads of State of neighbouring countries, and the three observer States, to continue their efforts. He recommended a three-month extension of the Mission's mandate and that the Council confirm its readiness to take prompt action to expand the United Nations presence in Angola, in the event of significant progress in the peace process.

At its 3277th meeting, on 15 September 1993, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representatives of Angola, Egypt, Nigeria and Portugal, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Venezuela) then drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of prior consultations, as well as to a letter dated 3 September 1993 from the representative of Angola addressed to the President of the Security Council.<sup>50</sup>

The representative of Angola stated that, in spite of the efforts made by his Government, the international community and the Special Representative, to end hostilities, there had been no progress since the adoption of the Council's last resolution, due to UNITA's continued refusal to participate in the negotiation process. For its part, his Government had made several concessions at the Abidjan talks, with a view to ending the suffering of the people and stopping the destruction by UNITA of the country's social and economic infrastructure. UNITA, on the other hand, had intensified its military operations to gain additional territory. The time had come to impose mandatory sanctions against UNITA to force it to cease hostilities and to resume the political dialogue. He therefore called for the adoption of the

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., pp. 122-123.

<sup>49</sup> S/26434 and Add.1.

<sup>50</sup> S/26445 and S/26410.

following measures, under Chapter VII of the Charter: a mandatory comprehensive arms embargo; a ban on the sale or supply of petroleum and petroleum products to UNITA; the closure of UNITA's foreign offices or any form of representation; and a ban of its political and propaganda activities in any country. The Council should also seize and freeze UNITA's bank accounts, and take appropriate measures, under Chapter VII, to guarantee the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the population. Moreover, it should recognize the legitimate rights of the Government of Angola and welcome all assistance to the Government in restoring peace, defending its sovereignty, territorial integrity and the consolidation of democracy; demand that UNITA respect human rights and free all Angolan citizens and foreigners being held captive and call upon the international community to contribute to the humanitarian emergency plan of assistance to Angola.<sup>51</sup>

The representative of Egypt, speaking on behalf of OAU, stated that the Angolan conflict threatened peace and security in the region. By resolution 851 (1993) of 15 July 1993, the Security Council had given UNITA a chance to participate in the national efforts to achieve peace, however the latter had not complied with that resolution. The Council must therefore take the necessary measures, under Chapter VII, to prompt UNITA to abide by the international will. Expressing his delegation's support for the draft resolution, he emphasized the importance of consultation and continuous coordination between the United Nations and OAU to put an end to the crisis.<sup>52</sup>

During the debate, other speakers while recognizing the need for, and supporting, the imposition of mandatory sanctions against UNITA, under Chapter VII of the Charter, noted that the resolution gave that organization a final opportunity to comply with previous Council resolutions.<sup>53</sup>

Speaking before the vote, the representative of China contended that the imposition of sanctions against UNITA was not the end, but rather the means to persuade it to resume negotiations with the

Government of Angola. He expressed his delegation's support for the draft resolution and its hope that the sanctions envisaged would bring about a genuine ceasefire at an early date and an agreement on the comprehensive implementation of the Peace Accords and Council resolutions so that it would be able to consider lifting the sanctions in due course.<sup>54</sup>

The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 864 (1993), which reads:

*The Security Council,*

*Reaffirming* its resolutions 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991, 747 (1992) of 24 March 1992, 785 (1992) of 30 October 1992, 793 (1992) of 30 November 1992, 804 (1993) of 29 January 1993, 811 (1993) of 12 March 1993, 823 (1993) of 30 April 1993, 834 (1993) of 1 June 1993 and 851 (1993) of 15 July 1993,

*Having considered* the further report of the Secretary-General of 13 and 14 September 1993,

*Expressing grave concern* at the continuing deterioration of the political and military situation, and noting with consternation the further deterioration of an already grave humanitarian situation,

*Deeply concerned* that, despite its previous resolutions and the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, the peace talks remain suspended and a ceasefire has not been established,

*Welcoming* the joint statement issued in Lisbon on 10 September 1993 by the representatives of Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States of America, the three observer States to the Angolan peace process,

*Welcoming also and supporting* to that end the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative aimed at the earliest resolution of the Angolan crisis through negotiations, and stressing the importance it attaches thereto,

*Welcoming further* the efforts of the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity and of heads of State of neighbouring countries to facilitate the resumption of the peace process in Angola,

*Emphasizing* the importance of a continued and effective United Nations presence in Angola with a view to fostering the peace process and advancing the full implementation of the Peace Accords for Angola,

*Reaffirming its commitment* to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Angola,

<sup>51</sup> S/PV.3277, pp. 3-11.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16-20.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*: pp. 12-15 (Nigeria); pp. 21-22 (Portugal); pp. 23-27 (Brazil); pp. 30-35 (Spain); pp. 35-36 (Cape Verde); pp. 36-38 (Djibouti); pp. 47-50 (Hungary); pp. 51-52 (Pakistan); and pp. 51-52 (New Zealand).

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28-30.



A

1. *Welcomes* the further report of the Secretary-General of 13 and 14 September 1993, and decides to extend the existing mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II for a period of three months, until 15 December 1993;

2. *Reiterates its readiness* to consider taking action promptly, at any time within the period of the mandate authorized by the present resolution, on the recommendation of the Secretary-General, to expand substantially the United Nations presence in Angola in the event of significant progress in the peace process;

3. *Reaffirms* the importance of the functions of good offices and mediation by the Mission and the Special Representative, with the goal of restoring a ceasefire and reinstating the peace process for the full implementation of the Peace Accords for Angola;

4. *Welcomes* the continued disposition of the Government of Angola to reach a peaceful settlement of the conflict in conformity with the Peace Accords and relevant resolutions of the Security Council;

5. *Reaffirms its recognition* of the legitimate rights of the Government of Angola and in this regard welcomes the provision of assistance to the Government in support of the democratic process;

6. *Reiterates once again its demand* that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola accept unreservedly the results of the democratic elections of 30 September 1992 and abide fully by the Peace Accords;

7. *Condemns* the National Union for continuing military actions, which are resulting in increased suffering for the civilian population of Angola and damage to the Angolan economy, and again demands that it immediately cease such actions;

8. *Also condemns* the repeated attempts by the National Union to seize additional territory and its failure to withdraw its troops from the locations which it has occupied since the resumption of the hostilities, and demands once again that it immediately do so and agree without delay to return its troops to United Nations-monitored areas as a transitional measure pending full implementation of the Peace Accords;

9. *Reaffirms* that such occupation is a grave violation of the Peace Accords and is incompatible with the goal of peace through agreements and reconciliation;

10. *Stresses once again* the fundamental need to re-initiate without delay the peace talks under United Nations auspices with a view to the immediate establishment of a ceasefire throughout the country and the full implementation of the Peace Accords and Security Council resolutions;

11. *Takes note* of statements by the National Union that it is prepared to resume peace negotiations and demands that it act accordingly;

12. *Welcomes* the further steps taken by the Secretary-General to implement the emergency humanitarian assistance plan;

13. *Strongly condemns* the repeated attacks carried out by the National Union against United Nations personnel working to provide humanitarian assistance and reaffirms that such attacks are clear violations of international humanitarian law;

14. *Takes note* of statements by the National Union that it will cooperate in ensuring the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to all Angolans and demands that it act accordingly;

15. *Reiterates its appeal* to both parties to take all necessary measures to ensure the security and safety of personnel of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II as well as of the personnel involved in humanitarian relief operations, and strictly to abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law;

16. *Demands* that the National Union proceed immediately to the release of all foreign citizens held against their will and to abstain from any action which might cause damage to foreign property;

B

*Strongly condemning* the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola and holding its leadership responsible for not having taken the necessary measures to comply with the demands made by the Security Council in its previous resolutions,

*Determined* to ensure respect for its resolutions and the full implementation of the Peace Accords for Angola,

*Urging* all States to refrain from providing any form of direct or indirect assistance, support or encouragement to the National Union,

*Determining* that, as a result of the National Union's military actions, the situation in Angola constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

*Acting* under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

17. *Decides* that the provisions set forth in paragraphs 19 to 25 below shall come into force ten days after the date of adoption of the present resolution unless the Secretary-General notifies the Council that an effective ceasefire has been established and that agreement has been reached on the implementation of the Peace Accords and relevant Security Council resolutions;

18. *Decides also* that if, at any time after the submission of the above-mentioned report of the

Secretary-General, the Secretary-General reports to the Council that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola has broken the ceasefire or ceased to participate constructively in the implementation of the Peace Accords and the relevant Council resolutions, the provisions set forth in paragraphs 19 to 25 below shall come into force immediately;

19. *Decides further*, with a view to prohibiting all sale or supply to the National Union of arms and related materiel and military assistance, as well as petroleum and petroleum products, that all States shall prevent the sale or supply, by their nationals or from their territories or using their flag vessels or aircraft, of arms and related materiel of all types, including weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment and spare parts for the afore-mentioned, as well as of petroleum and petroleum products, whether or not originating in their territory, to the territory of Angola other than through named points of entry on a list to be supplied by the Government of Angola to the Secretary-General, who shall promptly notify the Member States of the United Nations;

20. *Calls upon* all States, and all international organizations, to act strictly in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution, notwithstanding the existence of any rights or obligations conferred or imposed by any international agreement or any contract entered into or any license or permit granted prior to the date of adoption of the present resolution;

21. *Calls upon* States to bring proceedings against persons and entities violating the measures imposed by the present resolution and to impose appropriate penalties;

22. *Decides* to establish, in accordance with rule 28 of its provisional rules of procedure, a committee of the Security Council consisting of all the members of the Council to undertake the following tasks and to report on its work to the Council with its observations and recommendations:

(a) To examine the reports submitted pursuant to paragraph 24 below;

(b) To seek from all States further information regarding the action taken by them with a view to effectively implementing the measures imposed by paragraph 19 above;

(c) To consider information brought to its attention by States concerning violations of the measures imposed by paragraph 19 and to recommend appropriate measures in response thereto;

(d) To make periodic reports to the Council on information submitted to it regarding alleged violations of the measures imposed by paragraph 19, identifying where possible persons or entities, including vessels, reported to be engaged in such violations;

(e) To promulgate guidelines that may be necessary to facilitate the implementation of the measures imposed by paragraph 19;

23. *Calls upon* all States to cooperate fully with the committee established by paragraph 22 above in the fulfilment

of its tasks, including supplying such information as may be sought by the committee in pursuance of the present resolution;

24. *Requests* all States to report to the Secretary-General by 15 October 1993 on the measures they have adopted in order to meet the obligations set out in paragraph 19 above;

25. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide all necessary assistance to the committee established by paragraph 22 above and to make the necessary arrangements in the Secretariat for this purpose;

26. *Expresses its readiness* to consider the imposition of further measures under the Charter of the United Nations, including, inter alia, trade measures against the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola and restrictions on the travel of its personnel, unless by 1 November 1993 the Secretary-General has reported that an effective ceasefire has been established and that agreement has been reached on the full implementation of the Peace Accords for Angola and relevant Security Council resolutions;

C

27. *Expresses also its readiness* to review the measures in the present resolution if the Secretary-General reports to the Council that an effective ceasefire has been established and that substantial progress has been achieved towards the full implementation of the Peace Accords for Angola and relevant Council resolutions;

28. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit to it as soon as the situation warrants, and in any case in good time before 1 November 1993 and again before 15 December 1993, a report on the situation in Angola and the implementation of the present resolution, with his recommendation for the further role of the United Nations in the peace process and, in the meantime, to keep the Council regularly informed of developments;

29. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United Kingdom stated that the unanimous adoption of the resolution reflected the Council's determination to support the democratic process in Angola. The measures adopted were not intended to punish, but rather to persuade UNITA to rejoin the negotiating process. Stressing that the humanitarian priorities were equally clear, he noted that his Government had already pledged two million pounds for emergency humanitarian relief, and it would continue to do its utmost to alleviate the human suffering in that country.<sup>55</sup>

The representative of the United States stressed that the international community held UNITA's

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

leadership responsible for the Angolan crisis and would not tolerate its continued attempts to wage war on its own people in an effort to conquer militarily what it could not win in a democratic election. UNITA must also understand the Council's readiness to impose additional sanctions unless it fully complied with the Peace Accords and relevant Council resolutions. That was the last warning.<sup>56</sup>

The representative of the Russian Federation noted that the resolution just adopted afforded the leadership of UNITA a final opportunity to return to the path of genuine interaction with the Government of Angola. Should it refuse once again to fully meet its obligations under the Peace Agreements, however, the imposition of Chapter VII measures banning the supply of weapons, oil and petroleum products to UNITA would be automatic. Moreover, if there was no progress in the peace process, the Council should consider taking additional measures under the Charter, including trade measures against UNITA, restrictions on the travel of its representatives and a ban on all air, land and sea deliveries to Angola, with the exception of those previously authorized by the Government of Angola. The resolution would also strengthen the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to obtain a peaceful settlement of the conflict.<sup>57</sup>

Noting that the Council had given Mr. Savimbi a reprieve of 10 days, the representative of France expressed the hope that he would "heed the voice of wisdom" and thus avoid the mandatory measures. Such a decision would also allow the establishment of a massive United Nations peacekeeping operation and the restoration of peace in the country.<sup>58</sup>

**Decision of 1 November 1993 (3302nd meeting):  
statement by the President**

On 27 October 1993, pursuant to resolution 864 (1993), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a further report on UNAVEM II.<sup>59</sup> He reported that on 14 and 15 September 1993 his Special Representative had met with a high-level UNITA delegation in Abidjan

and had received a proposal on a "unilateral declaration of a ceasefire in situ throughout the Angolan national territory" which would come into effect on 20 September 1993. The proposal also called for immediate discussions on a number of political and military issues. His Special Representative had noted, however, that the proposal did not make reference to the legal framework for the peace process, acceptance of the 1992 election results, the understandings reached at Abidjan and relevant Council resolutions, nor to the fact that the UNITA statement was a unilateral declaration of a cessation of hostilities rather than a ceasefire. The Government of Angola, in its peace plan of 22 September 1993,<sup>60</sup> set out the following principles for the resolution of the post-electoral crisis: UNITA's withdrawal from the occupied areas, followed by a ceasefire; unimpeded access for humanitarian aid and immediate evacuation of the wounded, the sick and foreigners after the ceasefire; full and unequivocal acceptance of the validity of the Accords and the election results; and respect for the legislation produced by the instruments of sovereignty constituted as a result of the elections. Subsequently, in a communiqué issued on 6 October 1993, UNITA had reaffirmed the validity of the Peace Accords as the basis of the peace process but believed they should be updated; reiterated its acceptance of the results of the elections, although it considered them fraudulent; and considered the Abidjan Protocol as a serious basis for negotiations. It had also stated, *inter alia*, that the institutions resulting from the elections should reflect the position of UNITA; it pledged to maintain the unilateral ceasefire; and would request its verification by United Nations observers; and requested the Special Representative to announce the date of the resumption of negotiations. While welcoming these statements by UNITA, the Special Representative had underlined the need for UNITA to clarify its position on several important aspects, including the Security Council resolutions.

The Secretary-General reported that the ability of UNAVEM II effectively to verify the military situation following UNITA's declaration of a unilateral ceasefire was limited. On the humanitarian situation, he reported that the United Nations system, working with non-governmental organizations had significantly increased the rate of delivery of relief aid to all parts of Angola.

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<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43. See also the similar statements made by the representatives of the United Kingdom, the Russian Federation and France.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43-47.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>59</sup> S/26644 and Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1.

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<sup>60</sup> S/26492.

The Secretary-General further reported that following extensive consultations by his Special Representative with the Angolan parties, the observer countries and the countries of the region, the two parties had begun exploratory talks in Lusaka, Zambia, on 25 October 1993, under United Nations auspices. In view of the ongoing negotiations, he recommended postponing until 1 December 1993 the imposition of further measures against UNITA under Chapter VII of the Charter as stipulated in resolution 864 (1993). He also recommended an increase of UNAVEM II personnel who would be deployed in the event of a breakthrough and would enhance the Mission's ability to verify major developments on the ground and to provide good offices. In the meantime, he intended to proceed with the necessary contingency planning for the possible augmentation of the Mission's strength, to enable the United Nations to respond at short notice in the event of significant progress in the peace process.

At its 3302nd meeting, on 1 November 1993, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Cape Verde) drew the attention of the members of the Council to several other documents.<sup>61</sup> The President then stated that, after consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:<sup>62</sup>

The Security Council has considered the report of the Secretary-General of 27 October 1993 submitted in response to paragraph 28 of resolution 864 (1993). It notes the exploratory talks in Lusaka under the auspices of the United Nations, to which both the Government of Angola and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) have sent delegations. It affirms its complete support for the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in their efforts aimed at the earliest resolution of the Angolan crisis through negotiations within the framework of the Peace Accords for Angola and Security Council resolutions. It calls upon the Angolan parties to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to this end.

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<sup>61</sup> Letter addressed to the President of the Security Council from the representative of Angola transmitting the "Peace Plan of the Republic of Angola" (S/26492); letters from the representative of Angola addressed to the Secretary-General and the President of the Council (S/26516 and S/26569).

<sup>62</sup> S/26677.

The Council notes recent actions taken by both parties, including the lessening of hostilities, and considers it essential that the two parties take the necessary steps to resume direct negotiations towards a peaceful settlement and agree without delay on the modalities for an effective ceasefire in accordance with Council resolutions.

The Council notes UNITA's communiqué of 6 October referred to in paragraph 11 of the report of the Secretary-General. It expresses its concern that the Secretary-General has reported that not enough progress has yet been made towards the full implementation of the Peace Accords and relevant Council resolutions. It demands that UNITA take the necessary steps to comply with its previous resolutions. It expresses its readiness to consider the immediate imposition of further measures under the Charter of the United Nations, including, *inter alia*, trade measures against UNITA and restrictions on the travel of UNITA personnel, at any time that it observes that UNITA is not cooperating in good faith to make the ceasefire effective and implement the Peace Accords and relevant Council resolutions, or upon a report from the Secretary-General to that effect.

The Council expresses its grave concern at the serious deterioration in the humanitarian situation in Angola. It is encouraged, however, by the Secretary-General's report that the United Nations system, working with humanitarian agencies, has now been able significantly to increase the rate of delivery of relief aid to all parts of the country. It welcomes the resumption of humanitarian relief deliveries to the cities of Cuito and Huambo. It calls upon the parties to cooperate fully in ensuring the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to all Angolans throughout the country, to take all necessary measures to ensure the security and safety of United Nations and other personnel involved in humanitarian relief operations, and strictly to abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law. It commends the international community for its generous provision of relief aid and calls upon the international community to make available further relief aid rapidly to meet the growing need.

The Council shares the Secretary-General's view that the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II) should be able to respond rapidly to any progress which might be achieved in the peace process. It encourages the Secretary-General to carry out urgent contingency planning for the possible augmentation of the existing strength of the military, police and medical components of UNAVEM II for deployment in the event of significant progress in the peace process, including contacting potential troop contributors. It stands ready to take decisions in the matter at any time within the period of the mandate authorized by resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993.

The Council again expresses its strongest appeal that both sides, in particular UNITA, undertake to commit themselves to the peace process that will lead to a comprehensive settlement in Angola on the basis of the Peace Accords.

The Council will remain actively seized of the matter and will review the position again with regard to further measures at the latest on 15 December in the context of its consideration of the report that the Secretary-General is due to make by that date pursuant to its resolution 864 (1993).

**Decision of 15 December 1993  
(3323rd meeting): resolution 890 (1993)**

On 14 December 1993, pursuant to resolution 864 (1993), the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a report on UNAVEM II.<sup>63</sup> He reported that following exploratory contacts held at Lusaka, from 25 to 31 October 1993, under United Nations auspices, with the participation of the three observer States, direct negotiations between the parties had begun on 15 November 1993, with the following agenda: reaffirmation of the acceptance by both parties of relevant legal instruments, namely, the Peace Accords and Security Council resolutions; further implementation of the Accords and completion of the Abidjan work regarding military questions, police, mandate of the United Nations and role of observers in respect of the Peace Accords, national reconciliation and the conclusion of the electoral process, as well as the date and venue for the signing of the Lusaka Protocol. An ad hoc military committee, which was established, considered general and specific roles relating to the military aspects on the agenda. The negotiations had culminated, on 10 December 1993, in the formal adoption of general and specific principles on the re-establishment of the ceasefire and the completion of the formation of the Angolan Armed Forces. Both parties had also insisted on a substantial increase in the involvement of the United Nations for the purpose of verifying and monitoring the withdrawal and quartering of UNITA troops; collecting, storing and guarding UNITA armaments; overseeing the disarming of civilians; and verifying the formation of the Angolan armed forces and the police; and the expansion of the State administration throughout the country.

The Secretary-General underlined that the formal adoption by the Government and UNITA of the general and specific principles constituted a significant accomplishment of the peace process. He, once again, recommended postponing the imposition of additional measures against UNITA, under Chapter VII of the Charter. He also recommended that, in view of the

<sup>63</sup> S/26872 and Add.1.

encouraging results achieved at Lusaka, the mandate of UNAVEM II be extended for three months.

At its 3323rd meeting, on 15 December 1993, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (China) then drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of prior consultations.<sup>64</sup>

Speaking before the vote, the representative of Brazil noted that, following the adoption of Chapter VII measures against UNITA, the overall situation in Angola had improved to some extent, with reduced military actions, relative progress in humanitarian activities and the resumption of the peace talks. That confirmed the importance of respect for the legal and political framework established by the Council for promoting peace in Angola. The draft resolution reaffirmed the Council's readiness to take action at any time and to impose further measures, if necessary. The Council must confirm and strengthen its unequivocal commitment not only to support the negotiations but also to contribute substantially to the implementation of an eventual agreement between both parties. As to the foreseen expansion of the United Nations presence in Angola, his delegation encouraged the Secretary-General to proceed with the necessary contingency planning and to make his recommendations as soon as appropriate.<sup>65</sup>

The representative of the United States stated that the Government and UNITA must still address the difficult question of national reconciliation. Both parties needed to approach that crucial phase of the negotiations in a spirit of compromise and flexibility. The international community would also need to receive cogent demonstrations that it was indeed committed to peace, if it were to assist in implementing an eventual peace agreement.<sup>66</sup>

The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 890 (1993), which reads:

<sup>64</sup> S/26877.

<sup>65</sup> S/PV.3323, pp. 3-6.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17.

*The Security Council,*

*Reaffirming* its resolutions 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991, 747 (1992) of 24 March 1992, 785 (1992) of 30 October 1992, 793 (1992) of 30 November 1992, 804 (1993) of 29 January 1993, 811 (1993) of 12 March 1993, 823 (1993) of 30 April 1993, 834 (1993) of 1 June 1993, 851 (1993) of 15 July 1993 and 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993,

*Recalling* the statement made by the President of the Security Council on 1 November 1993,

*Having considered* the report of the Secretary-General of 3 and 15 December 1993,

*Reiterating* the importance it attaches to the full implementation of the Peace Accords for Angola and relevant Security Council resolutions,

*Welcoming* the resumption of direct negotiations in Lusaka under the auspices of the United Nations, and the ongoing efforts of the Government of Angola and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola to reach a negotiated settlement,

*Commending* the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative aimed at the earliest resolution of the Angolan crisis through negotiations within the framework of the Peace Accords and relevant Council resolutions,

*Noting* actions taken by both parties, including the lessening of hostilities, but deeply concerned that an effective ceasefire has not yet been established,

*Stressing* the importance it attaches to the acceptance by the National Union without reservations, as requested by the Security Council, of the results of the democratic elections of 30 September 1992 held under United Nations supervision and to their abiding fully by the Peace Accords and relevant Council resolutions,

*Deeply concerned also* about the continued grave humanitarian situation,

*Reaffirming its commitment* to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Angola,

1. *Welcomes* the report of the Secretary-General of 3 and 15 December 1993;

2. *Stresses again* the importance it places on a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Angola in conformity with the Peace Accords for Angola and relevant resolutions of the Security Council, and urges both parties to continue to demonstrate flexibility in the negotiations and a commitment to peace;

3. *Decides* to extend the existing mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II until 16 March 1994;

4. *Reaffirms its willingness* as necessary to review the existing mandate of the Mission to determine whether it is able to carry out effectively its mission, taking account of any

progress achieved towards the early establishment of peace in the country;

5. *Reaffirms* the importance of the functions of good offices and mediation of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative and the Mission, with the goal of restoring a ceasefire and reinstating the peace process for the full implementation of the Peace Accords and relevant Council resolutions;

6. *Calls upon* both parties to honour the commitments already made by them at the talks in Lusaka, urges them to exercise maximum restraint and to stop immediately all military actions in order to prevent further suffering on the part of the civilian population of Angola and damage to Angola's economy, and also urges them to agree on the modalities for and establishment of an effective and sustainable ceasefire in accordance with relevant Council resolutions and to conclude a peaceful settlement as soon as possible;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to inform the Council as soon as an effective ceasefire is established and in any case by 1 February 1994 on progress made by the parties in the Lusaka talks, including a report on progress achieved in furthering the peace process, establishing an effective ceasefire and implementing relevant Council resolutions and the Peace Accords;

8. *Notes* the steps taken by the Secretary-General to initiate contingency planning for the possible augmentation of the existing components of the Mission for deployment in the event of significant progress in the peace process, and requests him to inform the Council periodically in this regard;

9. *Reiterates its readiness*, in the event of the achievement of an effective and sustainable ceasefire, to consider promptly any recommendations by the Secretary-General on the basis of that contingency planning;

10. *Reaffirms further* the need for unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to all civilian populations in need;

11. *Welcomes* the actions taken by the Secretary-General to implement the emergency humanitarian assistance plan;

12. *Commends* those Member States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations which have already contributed to the relief efforts, and strongly appeals to all Member States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations to provide rapidly further assistance to Angola to meet the growing humanitarian needs;

13. *Reaffirms* the obligation of all States to implement fully the provisions of paragraph 19 of resolution 864 (1993);

14. *Decides*, in view of the direct negotiations under way between the parties, not to impose at present the additional measures against the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola contained in paragraph 26 of resolution 864 (1993), but reiterates its readiness to consider at any time further steps, in the light, inter alia, of a recommendation of the

Secretary-General, either to impose such additional measures or to review those in effect;

15. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of France stated that, bearing in mind the substantial progress achieved in the peace process, his delegation had voted in favour of the resolution, which postponed the imposition of additional measures against UNITA. He expressed the hope that the negotiations would conclude soon and would lead to a comprehensive agreement aimed at putting an end to the fighting and restoring democracy in the country. France was also ready to give favourable consideration to the United Nations taking an active part in the implementation of an agreement.<sup>67</sup>

The representative of the Russian Federation welcomed the resumption of direct negotiations in Lusaka and the important compromise solutions reached by the parties, including agreement on general and special principles for a ceasefire and on the constitution of the Angolan armed forces. It was the view of his delegation that the primary condition for reaching a peaceful settlement was the full compliance by UNITA with the Peace Accords and the unconditional recognition by its leaders of the results of the elections. The Council should respond duly to any attempts by UNITA to delay the peace process — *inter alia*, by imposing additional measures, as provided for in the resolution.<sup>68</sup>

**Decision of 10 February 1994 (3335th meeting):  
statement by the President**

On 29 January 1994, pursuant to resolution 890 (1993), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on UNAVEM II.<sup>69</sup> He reported that the Lusaka talks had been interrupted, following an alleged attempt on Mr. Savimbi's life on 13 December 1993. They resumed briefly, on 21 December, after a United Nations fact-finding mission dispatched to the area had concluded that although the government air force did carry out a bombing raid against UNITA, there was no credible and conclusive evidence that the Government had intended to kill Mr. Savimbi. After being suspended on 23 December 1993, the discussions were reconvened on 5 January 1994 to consider the agenda

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<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20-22.

<sup>69</sup> S/1994/100.

item dealing with the police and culminated in the adoption of general and specific principles concerning that item.

The Secretary-General noted that, notwithstanding progress made in the political arena, the military situation had continued to deteriorate. He urged both sides to respect the commitments already entered into during the negotiations, to exercise maximum restraint and to put an immediate end to all military operations. Moreover, since UNITA had already indicated its readiness to dismantle its military structure and become a political party, it was essential to reach agreement on how to reintegrate UNITA personnel into the Government and State administration. He reported considerable progress in the humanitarian assistance activities undertaken by United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations throughout Angola but, nevertheless, highlighted the urgent need to strengthen their capacity to address the enormous needs of the Angolan population. In conclusion, he said that a United Nations team of experts had recently visited Lusaka and Luanda to make a preliminary assessment of the needs in connection with his contingency planning, should a comprehensive settlement be reached.

At its 3335th meeting, on 10 February 1994, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Djibouti) then stated that, after consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:<sup>70</sup>

The Security Council has considered the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II, submitted pursuant to resolution 890 (1993) of 15 December 1993.

The Council commends the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the Chief Military Observer on their efforts to bring to a successful conclusion the talks between the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, currently taking place at Lusaka, with a view to reaching an effective and sustainable settlement of the conflict, within the framework of the "Acordos de Paz" and the relevant resolutions of the Council. The Council also commends the efforts of the three observer States to the Angolan peace process and those of the Organization of African

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<sup>70</sup> S/PRST/1994/7.

Unity and of neighbouring States in support of the Lusaka talks, and encourages them to continue these efforts.

The Council notes the progress made to date in the Lusaka talks, in particular the adoption of the general and specific principles, as well as the modalities, relating to all the military and police issues on the agenda. The Council calls upon the parties to renew their commitment to a peaceful settlement. It demands that they redouble their efforts in the Lusaka talks with the aim of urgently attaining an effective and sustainable ceasefire, completing work on the remaining points on the agenda and concluding a peaceful settlement without procrastination.

The Council is deeply concerned at the intensification of hostilities and, in particular, at the recent outbreak of serious military activity at several locations in Angola, particularly at Kuito-Bie. It deplores the great loss of life and destruction of property.

The Council stresses that the only way to achieve an effective, verifiable and sustainable ceasefire is for the parties to conclude and sign a comprehensive peace agreement. It calls upon them to honour the commitments they have already voluntarily agreed to at Lusaka, to exercise maximum restraint, to stop immediately all offensive military actions, and to commit themselves to the urgent conclusion of the Lusaka talks.

The Council welcomes the improvement in the delivery of humanitarian relief assistance to the affected population in Angola, while acknowledging that the overall situation remains serious. It urges the parties to continue to cooperate with the United Nations agencies and the non-governmental organizations in ensuring the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian relief supplies and the necessary security for its efficient distribution. It calls upon the international community to contribute generously to humanitarian aid efforts in Angola.

The Council requests the Secretary-General to keep it informed on a timely basis of developments in the Lusaka peace talks. It reaffirms its readiness to consider promptly any recommendations from the Secretary-General once an agreement has been concluded between the parties. It also reaffirms its readiness to consider further action in accordance with its previous resolutions.

The Council will remain seized of the matter.

**Decision of 16 March 1994 (3350th meeting):  
resolution 903 (1994)**

On 9 March 1994, pursuant to resolution 890 (1993), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on UNAVEM II.<sup>71</sup> He reported that an agreement had been reached on 17 February 1994 on the general principles concerning national reconciliation and that the negotiations were currently focused on the specific

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<sup>71</sup> S/1994/282 and Add.1.

principles, particularly UNITA's participation in the management of state affairs. He further reported that the military situation remained volatile and fighting at varying levels of intensity continued in several provinces, hampering emergency relief activities. However, the overall humanitarian situation in Angola had improved over the last months as a result of an increase in multisectoral assistance.

The Secretary-General noted that the precarious nature of the military situation underscored once again the utmost importance for both parties to exercise maximum restraint on the ground. They also needed to show greater flexibility in addressing the remaining issues on the agenda, particularly with regard to the question of national reconciliation, the conclusion of the electoral process and the re-establishment of national administration throughout the country. Stressing that UNAVEM II was an essential factor in the ongoing peace efforts, he recommended a three-month extension of the Mission's mandate, at its existing strength. He also recommended to the Security Council that it authorize, in principle, an increase in the existing strength of UNAVEM II on the understanding that the additional personnel would only be deployed upon achievement of a comprehensive peace agreement.<sup>72</sup>

At its 3350th meeting, on 16 March 1994, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (France) then drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of prior consultations.<sup>73</sup> He also drew their attention to a letter dated 2 March 1994 from the representatives of Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal and São Tomé and Príncipe transmitting the joint communiqué of the First Meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and External Relations of the Portuguese-speaking Countries and to a letter dated 16 March 1994, from the representative of Angola transmitting a message dated 15 March from the President of Angola. Both letters were addressed to the Secretary-General.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> For further information, see chapter V.

<sup>73</sup> S/1994/298.

<sup>74</sup> S/1994/263 and S/1994/299.



The representative of Angola recalled that during the preceding two years, the Council had adopted 10 resolutions and various declarations on the situation in Angola, setting forth mandatory measures with which UNITA had never complied. The international community must thus use all available means under international law to ensure that the Angolan people would not continue to be penalized by the ambitions of an organization and the “power obsession” of its leader. For its part, the Angolan Government had always demonstrated a deep commitment to the restoration of peace, national reconciliation and democratization of the country. It had recently offered to UNITA four ministerial portfolios and five deputy ministries, including defence, at the central, provincial and local government levels. UNITA, unfortunately, had responded with an “unrealistic proposal”, asking to head some provincial governments, as well as various key ministries. If implemented, those demands for equal power-sharing would cast a shadow over the democratic electoral process, and would set a dangerous precedent by encouraging the losers to wage war to achieve a similar solution. Since UNITA had not shown the political will to resolve the conflict it had initiated, the Angolan Government believed that the time had come to consider a second package of sanctions against it. The Council might also establish a deadline for the conclusion of the negotiations.<sup>75</sup>

Noting that, in accordance with resolution 864 (1993), which had been adopted under Chapter VII, all States must refrain from and prevent the sale and supply of weapons and military equipment to Angola, the representative of Djibouti expressed his concern at the level of military resupplying which was taking place in Angola in clear violation of that resolution. Those violations were feeding the fighting and bolstering the ability of everyone, particularly UNITA, to withhold agreement.<sup>76</sup>

The resolution was thereupon put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 903 (1994), which reads:

*The Security Council,*

*Reaffirming* its resolution 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991 and all subsequent relevant resolutions,

*Recalling* the statement made by the President of the Security Council on 10 February 1994,

*Having considered* the report of the Secretary-General of 9 March 1994,

*Reiterating* the importance it attaches to the full implementation of the “Acordos de Paz” and relevant Security Council resolutions,

*Reiterating also* the importance in current circumstances of a continued and effective United Nations presence in Angola with a view to fostering the peace process and advancing the full implementation of the “Acordos de Paz”,

*Welcoming* the progress, described in the report of the Secretary-General, in the talks being held between the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola at Lusaka, under the auspices of the United Nations, and urging the parties to complete the negotiation process expeditiously,

*Commending* the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative aimed at the earliest resolution of the Angolan crisis through negotiations within the framework of the “Acordos de Paz” and relevant Security Council resolutions,

*Commending also* the efforts of the three observer States to the Angolan peace process, the Organization of African Unity and some neighbouring States, in particular Zambia, and encouraging them to continue their efforts,

*Stressing* the importance it attaches to the acceptance without reservation by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola of the results of the democratic elections of 30 September 1992 held under United Nations supervision and to their abiding fully by the “Acordos de Paz” and relevant Security Council resolutions,

*Strongly urging* both parties, and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, to exercise maximum flexibility and good faith at this crucial stage of the negotiations at Lusaka and to refrain from any acts which could delay their early and successful completion,

*Stressing* that its future decisions concerning Angola will take into account the continued demonstration by the parties of their political will to achieve a lasting peace,

*Reaffirming its commitment* to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Angola,

*Noting* that Angolans bear ultimate responsibility for the successful implementation of the “Acordos de Paz” and any subsequent agreement,

*Expressing its concern* at the continuing hostilities and their effect on the civilian population in terms of loss of life and property, which underlines the need for an effective and sustainable ceasefire,

*Welcoming* the improvement in the overall humanitarian situation in Angola, while noting that the situation remains serious in certain areas of the country,

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<sup>75</sup> S/PV.3350, pp. 2-5.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

1. *Welcomes* the report of the Secretary-General of 9 March 1994;

2. *Calls upon* both parties to honour the commitments already made by them in the talks at Lusaka, and urges them to redouble their efforts with the aim of urgently completing work on the remaining points on the agenda, attaining an effective and sustainable ceasefire and concluding a peaceful settlement without procrastination;

3. *Expresses its deep concern* at continued offensive military actions, and demands the cessation of all such actions immediately;

4. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II until 31 May 1994;

5. *Declares its readiness*, in principle, to consider authorizing promptly, with a view to consolidating a settlement in its initial and most critical stages, the increase of the strength of the Mission to its previous level of three hundred and fifty military observers, one hundred and twenty-six police observers and fourteen military medical staff, with an appropriate number of international and local civilian staff, following a report from the Secretary-General that the parties have reached an agreement and that the conditions are right for deployment, and invites the Secretary-General to proceed with contingency planning to this effect;

6. *Takes note* of the preparations and contingency planning undertaken by the Secretary-General for an appropriate United Nations presence in Angola once a comprehensive peace settlement has been reached, and reaffirms its readiness to consider promptly any recommendations from the Secretary-General in this regard;

7. *Condemns* any actions that threaten the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to all in need in Angola and put the lives of the humanitarian assistance workers at risk, and calls for the full cooperation of all parties;

8. *Strongly appeals* to the international community to respond generously to the 1994 revised inter-agency appeal for Angola, and commends those who have already contributed to humanitarian relief efforts in Angola;

9. *Reaffirms* the obligation of all States to implement fully the provisions of paragraph 19 of Council resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993;

10. *Decides*, in view of the direct negotiations continuing between the parties, not to impose at present the additional measures against the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola contained in paragraph 26 of resolution 864 (1993), but reiterates its readiness to consider at any time further steps in the light, inter alia, of a recommendation by the Secretary-General either to impose such additional measures or to review those in effect;

11. *Requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that the Council is informed regularly of the progress of the talks at Lusaka as well as of the military and humanitarian situation in

Angola, and to this end requests the Secretary-General to submit a report by 4 April 1994;

12. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United States stated that the ongoing peace negotiations offered the parties a chance to start anew and to begin the process of reconstruction and reconciliation. That chance, however, would not last forever. The United States Government did not accept efforts that were under way to delay essential decisions. Noting her Government's readiness to assist in the implementation of a peace accord, she stressed that Angolans must first demonstrate political will, flexibility and the courage to make peace a reality.<sup>77</sup>

The representative of the United Kingdom stated that the resolution reflected the Council's commitment to an early and successful conclusion of the peace talks. It was not for the international community, however, to define the details of a settlement between the Government and UNITA. Any long-term settlement, must be determined by the Angolans themselves, with the assistance of the Special Representative. The resolution also made it clear that the members of the Council expected the parties to redouble their efforts to achieve an early solution.<sup>78</sup>

The representative of the Russian Federation stated that his country had voted in favour of the resolution because it sent a clear signal to the Angolan parties — and first and foremost to UNITA — that they must redouble their efforts. Expressing concern over UNITA's "obstructionist tactics" at the Lusaka talks, he said that its leadership must be made aware of the Council's readiness to adopt additional measures against that organization. It was important in that regard that the Secretary-General present to the Council, during the first days of April, a progress report on the ongoing direct negotiations to enable the Council to take timely action.<sup>79</sup>

#### **Decision of 14 April 1994: letter from the President to the Secretary-General**

On 31 March 1994, pursuant to resolution 903 (1994), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9. Similarly cautious comments were made by the representatives of the United Kingdom and the Russian Federation.

<sup>78</sup> S/PV.3350, pp. 9-10.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

a report on UNAVEM II.<sup>80</sup> He reported that, at the Lusaka talks, agreement had been achieved on 12 of the 18 specific principles relating to the question of national reconciliation. The six outstanding principles concerned: UNITA's participation in organs of central, provincial, and local government, and in diplomatic missions; the future status of "Vorgan" radio; the re-establishment of State administration throughout Angola; the return of Government property in the hands of UNITA, and vice-versa; the assumption by UNITA deputies of Parliament of their seats in the National Assembly; and the provision of appropriate facilities to UNITA. One of the six remaining points, UNITA participation in the management of State affairs, had caused the talks to stall for the past month, in spite of efforts undertaken by himself and his Special Representative. He therefore urged both parties to show the flexibility needed to reach a comprehensive settlement and to heed the Council's demands for restraint on the ground and the cessation of all military actions. Notwithstanding a reduction of large-scale armed operations, UNITA had continued its actions. For its part, the Government of Angola had attempted to keep those actions in check and had conducted limited offensive operations. With regard to humanitarian activities, the assistance programme remained on track and United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations had continued to distribute relief assistance to the affected populations. The Secretary-General believed that it would be essential to strengthen the presence of the United Nations on the ground as soon as a comprehensive peace agreement had been reached. He therefore trusted that the necessary financial resources would be made available in a timely manner, so as to consolidate the agreement in its initial stage, and create the best possible conditions for its successful implementation.

By a letter dated 14 April 1994,<sup>81</sup> the President of the Security Council informed the Secretary-General of the following:

The members of the Security Council have considered your report of 31 March 1994 on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II.

The members of the Council commend you, your Special Representative, the three observer States to the Angolan peace process, the Organization of African Unity and neighbouring States for the efforts aimed at the prompt resolution of the

Angolan crisis and express the strong hope that these efforts will be continued.

The members of the Council have reaffirmed the importance they attach to the prompt and successful conclusion of the Lusaka peace talks. They believe that it is essential that the parties approach the remaining issues with realism and the necessary political will, within the framework of the "Acordos de Paz".

Council members are concerned at continuing outbreaks of hostilities in Angola and their impact on the civilian population in terms of loss of life and property. They expressed their deep concern at continued offensive military actions and demand the cessation of all such actions immediately. They condemn any action that threatens the free and unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to all in need in Angola.

The members of the Council have reaffirmed their readiness, depending on the progress achieved towards the full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz" and relevant Council resolutions, to consider further action in accordance with previous Council resolutions.

The members of the Council consider that the Lusaka peace talks are of crucial importance, and are determined to continue to monitor them closely. In that regard, they have asked me to recall the importance they attach to receiving timely briefings on the state of the Lusaka talks and on the situation in Angola.

**Decision of 31 May 1994 (3384th meeting):  
resolution 922 (1994)**

On 24 May 1994, pursuant to resolution 903 (1994), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on UNAVEM II.<sup>82</sup> He reported that consideration of the other remaining issues of the Lusaka agenda, namely the completion of the electoral process, the future mandate of the United Nations in Angola and the role of the three observer States of the Peace Accords, had taken place and that on 5 May 1994, agreement had been reached on the question of the completion of the electoral process. However, no decisions had been taken yet on the six specific issues of which the most contentious was UNITA's participation in the management of State affairs. In that regard, he reiterated his appeal to both parties to show the flexibility needed to reach a comprehensive settlement.

The Secretary-General expressed concern at the continuing fighting throughout the country and its devastating impact on Angolan society. He called upon the Council to urge the parties to take all necessary

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<sup>80</sup> S/1994/374.

<sup>81</sup> S/1994/445.

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<sup>82</sup> S/1994/611.

steps to create an atmosphere of trust in the Lusaka negotiations. Should the Lusaka Protocol be concluded, he hoped that the Council would be in a position to decide immediately on the strengthening of the United Nations presence in Angola. However, if the talks did not produce early positive results, the Council might consider taking appropriate action, including a decision on the Mission's future. In the meantime, the Secretary-General recommended that the structure and mandate of UNAVEM II remain unchanged, and that the Mission be extended for an additional three months.

At its 3384th meeting, on 31 May 1994, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representatives of Angola and Portugal, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Nigeria) then drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of prior consultations,<sup>83</sup> and read out revisions to be made to the draft in its provisional form. He also drew their attention to a letter dated 31 May 1994 from the representative of Angola, addressed to the President of the Council, enclosing a list of the Government's most recent offers regarding UNITA's participation in State administration.<sup>84</sup>

The representative of Angola, while commending the Secretary-General's report, expressed reservations about the reference contained therein concerning the Mission's future. He stated that his Government had committed itself, since the beginning of the post-electoral crisis, to find a rapid solution, and had taken the initiative to negotiate with UNITA. However, during the last two years there had been an escalation of the conflict and a premeditated delay on the part of UNITA to proceed with the negotiations. Furthermore, the Security Council resolutions containing mandatory measures had not been fully implemented and the international community had failed to pressure UNITA into showing more flexibility. At the same time, new demands for flexibility had been placed upon the Government of Angola. The Government considered as unconstructive and as bad faith UNITA's efforts to persuade the United Nations to withdraw its forces from Angola at a time when the Organization was

playing a crucial role in the attempt to re-establish peace in Lusaka. He contended that UNITA's increased military operations were made possible by the continued support it received from Zaire, in flagrant violation of the arms and fuel embargo. His Government was in possession of evidence of such support and requested the Council to instruct the Sanctions Committee to send an investigating team to Zaire to verify the charges and recommend measures to stop such support. He also contended that the involvement of Zaire constituted an act of aggression, in light of the definition of aggression given by the United Nations in 1974.<sup>85</sup>

The representative of Portugal stated that the negotiations could not be prolonged indefinitely. The Security Council must send a clear and powerful signal to the parties that the international community expected them to reach an agreement within a reasonable time period. It must also be ready to adopt further measures if the situation warranted it. He added that violations of relevant Council resolutions must not be permitted to continue since, apart from flouting its authority, they also had a negative impact on the peace process.<sup>86</sup>

The representative of Brazil stated that the draft resolution was not merely a "routine" renewal of the Mission's mandate. The one-month extension reflected the international community's commitment to a prompt conclusion of the negotiations. His delegation would vote in favour of the draft resolution in the expectation that when the Council would again consider the issue of Angola, it would be to determine how an expanded United Nations presence could best contribute to a comprehensive peace settlement.<sup>87</sup>

The representative of Spain noted that the draft resolution would extend the Mission's mandate only until 30 June 1994. The next review must be exhaustive and, if warranted, must censure the party responsible for delaying the peace talks. The international community's future commitment depended, more than ever before, on the attitude of the parties. Stressing the obligation of all States to comply strictly with the enforcement measures, he said that the

<sup>83</sup> S/1994/628.

<sup>84</sup> S/1994/637.

<sup>85</sup> S/PV.3384, pp. 2-5.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

Sanctions Committee must investigate Angola's allegations of violations.<sup>88</sup>

The draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form, was thereupon put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 922 (1994), which reads:

*The Security Council,*

*Reaffirming* its resolution 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991 and all subsequent relevant resolutions,

*Recalling* the letter dated 14 April 1994 from the President of the Security Council addressed to the Secretary-General,

*Having considered* the report of the Secretary-General of 24 May 1994,

*Reaffirming its commitment* to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Angola,

*Reiterating* the importance it attaches to the full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz" and relevant Security Council resolutions,

*Reiterating also* the importance of United Nations support in fostering the peace process and advancing the full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz",

*Commending* the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and those of the three observer States to the Angolan peace process and of the Organization of African Unity and some neighbouring States, in particular Zambia, and encouraging them to continue their efforts aimed at the earliest resolution of the Angolan crisis through negotiations within the framework of the "Acordos de Paz" and relevant Security Council resolutions,

*Recalling* its readiness, in principle, in accordance with its resolution 903 (1994) of 16 March 1994, to consider authorizing promptly an increase of the strength of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II to its previous level,

*Noting with grave concern*, however, the resurgence of military operations throughout the territory of Angola, which cause continued suffering to the civilian population and hamper the effective implementation of the current mandate of the Mission,

*Deeply concerned* at alleged violations of the measures contained in paragraph 19 of its resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993,

*Concerned also* at the protracted duration of the Lusaka peace talks, and reaffirming the importance it attaches to their prompt and successful conclusion,

*Emphasizing* that Angolans bear ultimate responsibility for the successful implementation of the "Acordos de Paz" and any subsequent agreement,

*Reiterating its strong appeal* to the Government of the Republic of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to show the good faith and flexibility needed to reach an early and comprehensive settlement at the Lusaka peace talks,

1. *Welcomes* the report of the Secretary-General of 24 May 1994;

2. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II until 30 June 1994;

3. *Stresses* that its future decision concerning Angola will take into account the extent to which the parties demonstrate their political will to achieve a lasting peace;

4. *Welcomes* the formal acceptance by the Government of the Republic of Angola of the proposals on national reconciliation put forward by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the three observer States to the Angolan peace process, urges the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to do likewise, and encourages both parties to finalize outstanding details without further procrastination to allow the successful conclusion of the Lusaka peace talks;

5. *Reaffirms its readiness* to consider promptly any recommendations from the Secretary-General for an expanded United Nations presence in Angola in the event a comprehensive peace settlement is reached;

6. *Declares its intention* to reconsider the role of the United Nations in Angola in the event a peace agreement has not been reached at Lusaka by the time of the expiration of the extended mandate of the Mission;

7. *Decides*, in view of the direct negotiations continuing between the parties, not to impose at present the additional measures against the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola contained in paragraph 26 of resolution 864 (1993), but reiterates its readiness to consider at any time further steps in the light, inter alia, of a recommendation by the Secretary-General either to impose such additional measures or to review those in effect;

8. *Reaffirms* the obligation of all States to implement fully the provisions of paragraph 19 of resolution 864 (1993);

9. *Strongly deplores* the resurgence of military actions throughout Angola contrary to resolution 903 (1994), and reiterates its demand that both parties cease immediately all offensive military operations;

10. *Further deplores* in this regard the worsening of the humanitarian situation, and condemns acts that imperil humanitarian relief efforts and all actions which would inhibit the free and unrestricted movement of humanitarian relief and humanitarian relief workers;

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., pp. 10-11.

11. *Commends* those States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations which have already contributed to the relief efforts, and strongly appeals to all States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations to provide rapidly further assistance to Angola to meet the growing humanitarian needs;

12. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit to the Council, as soon as there is progress, and in any case by 30 June 1994, a report on the Lusaka peace talks and on the continued political will of the parties to achieve a lasting peace, with recommendations for the future United Nations presence in Angola;

13. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of France warned that his country would not hesitate to reconsider the United Nations presence and the deployment of additional "Blue Helmets" if the parties could not manage to agree.<sup>89</sup>

Similarly, the representative of the United Kingdom noted that if no settlement was reached by the end of June, the Council would be compelled to reconsider the future role of the United Nations in Angola. He added that, in that event, the Council would also be ready to consider at any time further measures against UNITA.<sup>90</sup>

The representative of the Russian Federation also stressed the possibility of adopting additional measures against UNITA and the need to step up the work of the Committee of the Security Council established under resolution 864 (1993).<sup>91</sup>

**Decision of 30 June 1994 (3395th meeting):  
resolution 932 (1994)**

On 20 June 1994, pursuant to resolution 922 (1994), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on UNAVEM II.<sup>92</sup> He reported that agreement had been reached on all but one of the specific principles pertaining to the question of national reconciliation, namely the provision of appropriate facilities to UNITA. Regarding the modalities, the three most contentious issues pertained to UNITA's participation in the management of State affairs; the re-establishment of State administration throughout

Angola; and the future status of the President of UNITA. After intensive consultations, the United Nations and the observer States had put forward a number of proposals on the allocation of senior Government posts to UNITA, which had been accepted by the Government on 28 May 1994. UNITA had indicated, on 8 June 1994, its acceptance of the proposals but had requested an additional post of Governor. His Special Representative had pointed out to UNITA that the proposals constituted an indivisible package. The Secretary-General suggested in that regard that if UNITA persisted in its refusal to accept the complete set of proposals, the Council could consider further measures.

The Secretary-General also reported that both sides were intensifying their military operations throughout the country, resulting in heavy casualties, extensive damage to property and further suffering for the population. The continuing operations were also having a deplorable effect on the humanitarian situation. He recommended that the Council, in addition to urging an immediate suspension of hostilities, press the Government and UNITA to grant immediately security clearances and guarantees for relief deliveries to all locations, and to refrain from any action which could jeopardize the safety of relief personnel or disrupt the distribution of humanitarian assistance to the Angolan people. He further recommended the extension of the Mission's mandate for an additional three-month period. Should an agreement be reached within that period, he would immediately dispatch a reconnaissance mission to Angola to prepare further recommendations for the Council.

In an addendum to the report, the Secretary-General, in view of the continuing deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Angola, recommended that the Council urge the parties, in particular UNITA, to take the necessary action to permit the resumption of humanitarian assistance in all parts of the country.

At its 3395th meeting, on 30 June 1994, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Oman) then drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of prior

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12. See also comments made by the representatives of France and the Russian Federation.

<sup>91</sup> S/PV.3384, pp. 12-13.

<sup>92</sup> S/1994/740 and Add.1.

consultations.<sup>93</sup> He also drew their attention to a letter dated 28 June 1994 from the representative of the United States addressed to the President of the Security Council.<sup>94</sup>

The representative of Angola stated that when his Government had accepted the mediation proposals, providing for greater participation by UNITA at the central, provincial and local Government level, it was convinced that UNITA would respond in an equal manner. The latter had instead made further demands, thus clearly demonstrating its unwillingness to enter into a negotiated solution. It was up to the Security Council to use all the means at its disposal to prevent the failure of the peace talks due to UNITA's intransigence. The Lusaka talks had already covered more than 90 per cent of the issues on the agenda, the sole remaining item awaited UNITA's acceptance of the set of proposals. His Government firmly supported the measures referred to in paragraph 5 of the draft resolution, although it considered that the grace period was excessive and that the measures should be imposed automatically. His Government also favoured a deadline for the completion of the talks.<sup>95</sup>

The representative of the Russian Federation stated that by systematically escalating its demands and disregarding previous Council resolutions and mediation proposals, UNITA was forcing the introduction of additional sanctions by the Council. He warned that if the Council failed to show any resolve against UNITA, it could be construed as being rather soft on the obstructionist leadership of UNITA.<sup>96</sup>

The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 932 (1994), which reads:

*The Security Council,*

*Reaffirming* its resolution 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991 and all subsequent relevant resolutions,

*Having considered* the report of the Secretary-General of 20 June 1994,

*Reaffirming its commitment* to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Angola,

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<sup>93</sup> S/1994/773.

<sup>94</sup> S/1994/770.

<sup>95</sup> S/PV.3395, pp. 2-4.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

*Reiterating* the importance it attaches to the full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz" and relevant Security Council resolutions,

*Reiterating also* the importance of United Nations support in fostering the peace process and advancing the full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz",

*Stressing* the importance it attaches to the acceptance without reservation by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola of the results of the democratic elections of 30 September 1992 held under United Nations supervision and to its abiding fully by the "Acordos de Paz" and relevant Security Council resolutions,

*Stressing also* that its future decisions concerning Angola will take into account the extent to which the parties demonstrate their political will to achieve a lasting peace,

*Strongly urging* both parties, and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, to exercise maximum flexibility and good faith in the negotiations at Lusaka at this crucial stage and to refrain from any acts which could delay their early and successful completion,

*Commending* the efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and those of the three observer States to the Angolan peace process and the Organization of African Unity and some neighbouring States, in particular Zambia, and encouraging them to continue their efforts aimed at the earliest resolution of the Angolan crisis through negotiations within the framework of the "Acordos de Paz" and relevant Security Council resolutions,

*Recalling* its readiness, in principle, in accordance with its resolution 922 (1994) of 31 May 1994, to consider authorizing promptly an increase of the strength of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II to its previous level,

*Noting with grave concern*, however, the intensification of military operations throughout the territory of Angola, which cause extensive suffering to the civilian population and hamper the successful conclusion of the Lusaka peace talks and the effective implementation of the current mandate of the Mission,

*Deeply concerned* at alleged violations of the measures contained in paragraph 19 of its resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993,

*Concerned also* at the protracted duration of the Lusaka peace talks, and reaffirming the importance it attaches to their prompt and successful conclusion,

*Emphasizing* that Angolans bear ultimate responsibility for the successful implementation of the "Acordos de Paz" and any subsequent agreement,

1. *Welcomes* the report of the Secretary-General of 20 June 1994;

2. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II until 30 September 1994;

3. *Calls upon* both parties to honour the commitments already made by them in the talks at Lusaka, and urges them to redouble their efforts with the aim of urgently completing work on the remaining points on the agenda, attaining an effective and sustainable ceasefire and concluding a peaceful settlement without procrastination;

4. *Welcomes* the formal acceptance by the Government of the Republic of Angola of the proposals on national reconciliation put forward by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the three observer States to the Angolan peace process, and strongly urges the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to do likewise;

5. *Declares its readiness* to impose additional measures against the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola as indicated in paragraph 26 of resolution 864 (1993) if by 31 July 1994 the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola has not formally accepted the complete set of proposals on national reconciliation put forward by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the three observer States, and declares further that in such a case it will decide what further measures it will impose;

6. *Welcomes* the preparations and the contingency planning undertaken by the Secretary-General for an appropriate United Nations presence in Angola once a comprehensive peace settlement is reached, and reaffirms its readiness to consider promptly any recommendations from the Secretary-General in this regard;

7. *Declares its intention* to review the role of the United Nations in Angola in the event that a peace agreement has not been reached at Lusaka by the time of the expiration of the extended mandate of the Mission;

8. *Reaffirms* the obligation of all States to implement fully the provisions of paragraph 19 of resolution 864 (1993), and in that context urges the two neighbouring States which have so far failed to respond substantively to requests from the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993) concerning Angola for information required regarding alleged sanctions violations to do so promptly, and requests the Committee to provide a report to the Council, by 15 July 1994, on compliance with the sanctions regime and in particular on possible violations of that regime by those neighbouring States;

9. *Strongly deplotes* the intensification of offensive military actions throughout Angola contrary to resolution 922 (1994), and reiterates its demand that both parties cease immediately all military operations;

10. *Further deplotes* in this regard the worsening of the humanitarian situation, and strongly condemns acts that imperil humanitarian relief efforts and all actions which inhibit the free and unrestricted movement of humanitarian relief and humanitarian relief workers;

11. *Strongly urges* both parties to grant immediately security clearances and guarantees for relief deliveries to all locations and to refrain from any action which could jeopardize the safety of relief personnel or disrupt the distribution of humanitarian assistance to the Angolan people;

12. *Commends* those States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations which have already contributed to the relief efforts, and appeals to all States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations to provide rapidly further assistance to Angola to meet the growing humanitarian needs;

13. *Requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that the Council is informed regularly of the progress of the Lusaka peace talks as well as of the military and humanitarian situation in Angola, and to this end requests the Secretary-General to submit a report by 31 July 1994;

14. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of France stated that the Council had repeatedly given the parties more time to conclude the negotiations, and “its patience was running out”. France called on UNITA to accept the proposals in their entirety or face new sanctions. He however stressed that the goal of the Council was not to punish but, on the contrary, to contribute to the restoration of peace and democracy in Angola. It was in that spirit that the Council had reaffirmed its willingness to increase the Mission’s strength once a peace agreement was reached.<sup>97</sup>

The representative of the United States pointed out that the resolution gave the Angolan leaders two choices: first, hostilities must cease throughout the country, and secondly, UNITA must accept the mediation proposals on national reconciliation, already accepted by the Government.<sup>98</sup>

The representative of the United Kingdom said that the resolution reflected the Council’s unanimous view that the negotiations could not be prolonged indefinitely. Expressing concern at the escalation of hostilities, he contended that it was unacceptable and counterproductive for the parties to pursue military offensives while simultaneously conducting negotiations.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., p. 7. Similar comments were made by the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom.

<sup>98</sup> S/PV.3395, pp. 8-9.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., p. 9.



**Decision of 12 August 1994 (3417th meeting):  
statement by the President**

On 22 July 1994, pursuant to resolution 932 (1994), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on UNAVEM II.<sup>100</sup> He reported that his Special Representative had travelled to Angola on 18 June for talks with the President of UNITA and to Cape Town on 23 June for a meeting with the President of South Africa. He had also held meetings with several African leaders, in order to resolve the question of UNITA's participation in the management of State affairs, including the future status of the President and other UNITA senior officials. On 7 July, President Mandela had hosted a summit meeting in Pretoria attended by the Presidents of Angola, Mozambique and Zaire, during which it was decided to revive a long dormant Security and Defence Commission between Angola and Zaire. The Government of Angola and UNITA were examining a compromise text proposed by the United Nations on the modalities pertaining to national reconciliation. The Secretary-General noted that despite those efforts, limited progress had been made at the Lusaka Peace talks. He expressed the hope that the expected visit of Mr. Savimbi to Pretoria, at the invitation of President Mandela, would improve the prospects for the resolution of pending issues. The Secretary-General called upon the Council to urge both parties to cease hostilities forthwith and to refrain from any action that could jeopardize the safety of relief personnel or disrupt the distribution of humanitarian relief. He also reiterated his intention, in the event that a comprehensive agreement was reached, to dispatch an advance team to Angola to prepare further recommendations.

At its 3417th meeting, on 12 August 1994, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Russian Federation) drew the attention of the members of the Council to two letters dated 28 July and 3 August 1994 from the representative of Angola addressed to the President of the Security Council and to the Secretary-General, respectively.<sup>101</sup> He stated that, after consultations among the members of the Council, he

had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:<sup>102</sup>

The Security Council has reviewed the report of the Secretary-General of 22 July 1994 on the situation in Angola, which was submitted in accordance with Security Council resolution 932 (1994) of 30 June 1994.

The Council commends the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the three observer States to the Angolan peace process and encourages them to continue their efforts to put an end to the destructive civil war and bring peace to Angola through negotiations within the framework of the "Acordos de Paz" and relevant Security Council resolutions. It urges both the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to offer their full cooperation to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to allow the earliest and successful conclusion of the Lusaka peace talks.

Nonetheless, the Council expresses its impatience over the protracted nature of the negotiations, and warns that the peace process cannot be delayed indefinitely. The Council believes that a just and comprehensive peace agreement is within reach and strongly urges the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to demonstrate its commitment to peace and accept the complete set of proposals put forward by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the three observer States.

The Council expresses its appreciation for the efforts of Mr. Frederick Chiluba, President of Zambia, in support of the Lusaka peace process.

Furthermore, the Council expresses its gratitude to Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of South Africa, who offered his assistance to help the finalization of the Lusaka peace process, and agrees that these helpful efforts deserve time to come to fruition.

Consequently, the Council decides to defer temporarily the imposition of the additional measures against the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola as referred to in paragraph 5 of resolution 932 (1994). The Council confirms its readiness to impose further measures against the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola if the latter does not accept the mediation proposals on national reconciliation during the course of the month of August. The Council states that it will start to compile a list of such possible measures and will not tolerate further procrastination in the peace process.

The Council again reminds both parties that offensive military actions threaten all of the progress that has been achieved thus far at Lusaka, and that no tactical battlefield advantage is worth the tremendous cost in human suffering that is being paid by the Angolan people.

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<sup>100</sup> S/1994/865.

<sup>101</sup> S/1994/889 and S/1994/926.

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<sup>102</sup> S/PRST/1994/45.

The Council expresses its dismay at the actions of both parties, particularly the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, which have led to deterioration of the humanitarian situation and again reminds them of their responsibility to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian supplies. The Council calls for the necessary steps to ensure that relief flights can resume to Malange and Cuito.

Referring to the report of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993) concerning Angola, the Council reminds the Member States concerned of their obligation to respond substantively to requests from the Committee for the information required regarding alleged sanctions violations, and urges them to do so effectively without further delay. The matter of cooperation with the Committee by those States which have so far failed to respond satisfactorily will be taken up by the Council as a matter of urgency for appropriate action, if such reply is not received forthwith.

**Decision of 9 September 1994 (3423rd meeting):  
statement by the President**

At its 3423rd meeting, on 9 September 1994, the Security Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Spain) drew the attention of the members of the Council to a letter dated 2 September 1994 from the representative of Angola addressed to the President of the Security Council.<sup>103</sup> He then stated that, after consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:<sup>104</sup>

The Security Council takes note of the information conveyed to it by the Secretariat on the situation in Angola, in particular in the light of the letter dated 5 September 1994 from the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. The Council considers this letter as constituting the required formal acceptance by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola of the complete set of proposals on national reconciliation, which were submitted to it on 28 May 1994 by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the representatives of the three observer States of the Angolan peace process.

The Council welcomes this development. By accepting the complete set of proposals, the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola has met the requirements demanded in this regard in Council resolution 932 (1994) of 30 June 1994. In this context and in view of the current negotiations, the Council has agreed not to consider, at present, the imposition of additional measures against the União

Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola as indicated in paragraph 26 of resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993.

The Council considers that, following the acceptance by both the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola of the complete set of proposals on national reconciliation, the way is now clear for an early conclusion of the negotiations at Lusaka towards a comprehensive agreement within the framework of the "Acordos de Paz" and relevant Council resolutions. It urges both parties to reach such an agreement before the expiry of the present mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II on 30 September 1994. It reiterates its intention to reconsider the future role of the United Nations in Angola in the event a peace agreement has not been concluded by that date.

The Council remains deeply concerned by the continuation of the armed conflict in Angola. It reiterates its demand that the parties cease all offensive military actions and reminds them again that all such actions threaten the prospects for a negotiated peace. Attempts to gain short-term military advantage and to procrastinate at the Lusaka peace talks will only prolong the conflict and the continued suffering of the Angolan people and discourage the involvement of the international community in assisting Angola.

The Council expresses its grave concern about any act against United Nations and other international personnel in Angola, and calls upon all parties to ensure the safety and security of the staff and property of the United Nations and all humanitarian organizations. The Council stresses the importance of facilitating the free and unrestricted movement of humanitarian relief supplies and humanitarian assistance workers throughout the territory of Angola.

**Decision of 29 September 1994 (3431st meeting):  
resolution 945 (1994)**

On 17 September 1994, pursuant to resolution 932 (1994), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on UNAVEM II.<sup>105</sup> He reported that he had dispatched a high-level mission to Angola to prepare an assessment of the state of United Nations efforts in the areas of peacemaking, peacekeeping and humanitarian activities. The military situation had been marked by an increase in hostilities. There were widespread reports of concentration of Angolan Armed Forces and UNITA troops in several parts of the country and of preparations for further attacks and offensives. On the humanitarian side, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations had been consolidating plans to implement a nationwide mine-awareness campaign and to develop an overall mine-

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<sup>103</sup> S/1994/1026.

<sup>104</sup> S/PRST/1994/52.

<sup>105</sup> S/1994/1069.

action strategy. Preparatory work on demobilization and reintegration programmes was also continuing.

The Secretary-General noted that the developments in Lusaka had been encouraging, especially the formal acceptance by UNITA of the set of proposals on national reconciliation. However, additional efforts were needed to bring the peace talks to a prompt and successful conclusion. Moreover, while the United Nations efforts would be maintained, it was up to the parties to capitalize on the recent breakthrough in the talks. The Secretary-General further noted that the persistence of hostilities throughout the territory threatened the progress achieved so far. Drawing attention to the renewed attacks against international relief personnel, he urged both parties, and in particular UNITA, to cooperate with the United Nations and to ensure unimpeded delivery of humanitarian supplies to all areas. In the meantime, he recommended that the Mission's mandate be further extended for a short period, until 30 November 1994, to allow time for the conclusion of the talks, for follow-up meetings between the parties' military representatives, for the signing of the Lusaka protocols and for preparations for the expansion of the Mission.

At its 3431st meeting, on 29 September 1994, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Spain) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of prior consultations, as well as to a letter dated 2 September 1994 from the representative of Angola addressed to the President of the Security Council.<sup>106</sup>

The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 945 (1994), which reads:

*The Security Council,*

*Reaffirming* its resolution 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991 and all subsequent relevant resolutions,

*Recalling* the statement made by the President of the Security Council on 9 September 1994,

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<sup>106</sup> S/1994/1110 and S/1994/1026.

*Having considered* the report of the Secretary-General of 17 September 1994 and the oral report of his Special Envoy on 23 September 1994,

*Reaffirming its commitment* to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Angola,

*Stressing also* that its future decisions on the future role of the United Nations in Angola will take into account the extent to which the parties demonstrate their political will to achieve a lasting peace,

*Commending* the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative and those of the three observer States to the Angolan peace process and of the Organization of African Unity and some neighbouring States, and encouraging them to continue their efforts aimed at the earliest resolution of the Angolan crisis through negotiations within the framework of the "Acordos de Paz" and relevant Security Council resolutions,

*Reiterating its grave concern* over the continuation of military hostilities throughout the territory of Angola, which cause extensive suffering to the civilian population and hamper the successful conclusion of the Lusaka peace talks and the effective implementation of the current mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II,

*Deeply concerned* at alleged violations of the measures contained in paragraph 19 of its resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993,

*Concerned also* by the protracted duration of the Lusaka peace talks, and reaffirming the importance it attaches to their prompt and successful conclusion,

1. *Welcomes* the report of the Secretary-General of 17 September 1994 and the oral report of his Special Envoy on 23 September 1994;

2. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II until 31 October 1994;

3. *Calls upon* both parties to honour the commitments already made by them at the Lusaka peace talks, and urges them to complete their negotiations as soon as possible and to make every effort necessary to have the Lusaka agreement formally signed before 31 October 1994;

4. *Declares* in this context that any further obstruction or procrastination in the peace process would be unacceptable;

5. *Declares further* that in view of the formal acceptance by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola of the complete set of proposals put forward by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the three observer States and in view of the current negotiations, it will not consider at this time the imposition of additional measures against the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola as indicated in paragraph 26 of its resolution 864 (1993);

6. *Reiterates its intention* to review, at any time, the role of the United Nations in Angola in the event that a peace agreement has not been reached at Lusaka;

7. *Strongly deplors* the intensification of the offensive military actions throughout Angola contrary to resolution 932 (1994) of 30 June 1994, and reiterates once again its demand that both parties cease forthwith all military operations;

8. *Affirms its readiness* to consider authorizing promptly, once an agreement is initialled by the parties, the rapid increase of the strength of the Mission to its previous authorized level, with a view to consolidating that agreement in its initial and most critical stages;

9. *Further affirms its readiness* to consider promptly, once the agreement to be concluded at Lusaka is formally signed, any recommendation from the Secretary-General for an expanded United Nations presence in Angola;

10. *Condemns* any action, including the laying of landmines, which threatens the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to all in need in Angola and puts the lives of the humanitarian relief workers at risk, and calls for the full cooperation of all parties, especially the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola;

11. *Expresses its grave concern* over the disappearance of humanitarian relief workers on 27 August 1994, demands their immediate release by the responsible parties, and calls for the complete cooperation of the parties, especially the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, with the United Nations investigation into their disappearance;

12. *Commends* those States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations which have already contributed to the relief efforts, and appeals to all States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations to provide rapidly further assistance to Angola to meet the growing humanitarian needs;

13. *Notes with concern* continued reports of violations of the provisions of paragraph 19 of its resolution 864 (1993), and reaffirms the obligation of all Member States to implement fully that resolution;

14. *Requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that the Council is informed regularly of the progress of the talks at Lusaka, as well as of the military and humanitarian situation in Angola, and to this end requests the Secretary-General to submit a report by 20 October 1994;

15. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

**Decision of 27 October 1994 (3445th meeting):  
resolution 952 (1994)**

On 20 October 1994, pursuant to resolution 945 (1994), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on UNAVEM II, including the findings of the mission to Angola.<sup>107</sup> The mission reported that the

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<sup>107</sup> S/1994/1197.

concept of operations envisaged in the contingency planning for an expanded United Nations presence in Angola was generally compatible with the principles and modalities which had so far been agreed upon at Lusaka. The operational plan would be carried out in three phases: (a) the disengagement of Government and UNITA forces, followed by the deployment of United Nations military and police observers to monitor and verify the ceasefire; (b) the monitoring and verification of the ceasefire by United Nations peacekeeping troops, the quartering of UNITA troops, the collection and storage of arms and ammunition, the demobilization process, the formation of the Angolan Armed Forces, and the reintegration of the police; and (c) the consolidation of national reconciliation activities and the completion of the electoral process.

The Secretary-General noted that the peace talks had entered their final phase and it was expected that their conclusion, including an agreement on the timetable for implementing the Lusaka Protocol, would be followed by the initialling of the agreement, a meeting on technical modalities for re-establishing the ceasefire, the signing of the Protocol by both leaders, and the formal coming into effect of the ceasefire. He urged both parties to make every effort to conclude the peace talks by 31 October 1994 and to ensure that the subsequent military talks produced the earliest possible agreement on the remaining important military questions. The Secretary-General recommended that the mandate of UNAVEM II be extended until 30 November 1994. He further suggested that the Council might consider taking a decision at that time to authorize the restoration of the strength of the mission to its previous level. The consolidation of peace would also require the continuing support of the international community for humanitarian assistance programmes, many components of which would be directly related to the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. It was therefore of paramount importance that the two sides, in particular UNITA, respect the neutrality of humanitarian personnel and cooperate with the United Nations in determining the whereabouts of relief workers missing since August 1994.

At its 3445th meeting, on 27 October 1994, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (United

Kingdom) then drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of prior consultations.<sup>108</sup>

The resolution was thereupon put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 952 (1994), which reads:

*The Security Council,*

*Reaffirming* its resolution 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991 and all subsequent relevant resolutions,

*Having considered* the report of the Secretary-General of 20 October 1994,

*Reaffirming its commitment* to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Angola,

*Reiterating* the importance it attaches to the full implementation of the “Acordos de Paz” and relevant Security Council resolutions,

*Commending* the efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the Force Commander and personnel of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II, the three observer States to the Angolan peace process, the Organization of African Unity and some neighbouring States, in particular Zambia, and encouraging them to continue their efforts aimed at the earliest resolution of the Angolan crisis through negotiations within the framework of the “Acordos de Paz” and relevant Security Council resolutions,

*Encouraged* by the substantial progress made recently in the Lusaka peace talks, and reaffirming the importance of the parties showing flexibility and bringing them to a prompt and successful conclusion and achieving a comprehensive settlement,

*Declaring* that renewed obstruction or procrastination in the peace process would be unacceptable,

*Deeply concerned*, however, at continued military hostilities throughout the territory of Angola, which cause extensive suffering to the civilian population and obstruct humanitarian relief efforts and have delayed the successful conclusion of the Lusaka peace talks and hampered the effective implementation of the current mandate of the Mission,

*Reaffirming* the obligation of all States to implement fully the provisions of paragraph 19 of resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993,

*Emphasizing* that Angolans bear ultimate responsibility for the successful implementation of the “Acordos de Paz” and any subsequent agreement,

1. *Welcomes* the report of the Secretary-General of 20 October 1994;

2. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II until 8 December 1994;

3. *Calls upon* the parties to honour the commitments already made by them in the talks at Lusaka, and urges them to conclude immediately an agreement and thereafter to establish and respect fully an effective and sustainable ceasefire as a matter of urgency;

4. *Authorizes*, with the aim of consolidating the implementation of the peace agreement in its initial and most critical stages, the restoration of the strength of the Mission to its previous level of three hundred and fifty military observers and one hundred and twenty-six police observers, with an appropriate number of international and local staff, the deployment of such additional personnel to take place upon receipt of a report from the Secretary-General to the Council that the parties have initialled a peace agreement and that an effective ceasefire is in place;

5. *Reaffirms its readiness* to consider promptly, once the agreement to be concluded at Lusaka is formally signed, a report from the Secretary-General containing any recommendation for an expanded United Nations presence in Angola based on his assessment of the circumstances that warrant that, and welcomes the contingency planning done in this regard by the Secretary-General;

6. *Deplores* the continuation of military hostilities throughout Angola contrary to resolutions 922 (1994) of 31 May 1994, 932 (1994) of 30 June 1994 and 945 (1994) of 29 September 1994, and reiterates its demand that both parties cease immediately all military operations;

7. *Further deplors* the deterioration in the humanitarian situation, condemns all acts, including the laying of landmines, that imperil or inhibit humanitarian relief efforts, and demands that both parties grant security clearances and guarantees for relief deliveries to all locations and refrain from any action which could jeopardize the safety of relief personnel or disrupt the distribution of humanitarian assistance to the Angolan people;

8. *Reiterates*, in this context, its demand for the immediate release by the responsible parties of the humanitarian relief workers who disappeared on 27 August 1994 and its call for the complete cooperation of the parties, especially the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, with the United Nations investigation into their disappearance;

9. *Commends* those States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations which have already contributed to the relief efforts, and appeals to all States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations rapidly to provide further assistance to Angola to meet the growing humanitarian needs;

10. *Requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that the Council is informed of further developments in the Lusaka peace talks and of the military and humanitarian situation in Angola;

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<sup>108</sup> S/1994/1216.

11. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

After the vote, the representative of the United States stated that the international community would not expose United Nations personnel to needless risks by sending them into a war zone. Before deploying an enlarged peacekeeping force into Angola, her Government would require evidence that the parties were serious about holding to a ceasefire and implementing the peace agreement.<sup>109</sup>

Similarly, the representative of France stated that, although the Council had authorized the restoration of the Mission's previous strength, the deployment of the personnel was contingent on the Security Council receiving a report from the Secretary-General that the Lusaka Protocol had been initialled and attesting to the establishment of an effective ceasefire between the parties.<sup>110</sup>

**Decision of 4 November 1994 (3450th meeting):  
statement by the President**

At its 3450th meeting, on 4 November 1994, the Security Council resumed its consideration of the item. After the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (United States) drew the attention of the members of the Council to a letter dated 1 November 1994 from the representatives of Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States, and a letter dated 3 November 1994 from the representative of Angola, both addressed to the President of the Security Council.<sup>111</sup> The President then stated that, after consultations among the members of the Council, she had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:<sup>112</sup>

The Security Council, while welcoming the initialling of the peace protocol at Lusaka on 31 October 1994, is gravely concerned over recent reports of an intensification of military operations, in particular those towards Huambo, which put the lives of Angolan citizens at risk and jeopardize the successful completion of the peace process. It reiterates its demand to the parties to cease immediately military hostilities throughout Angola and to establish quickly an effective and firm ceasefire.

The Council notes that the leadership of both parties must have adequate opportunity to meet with their negotiating teams

to prepare for the military talks scheduled to begin on 10 November 1994. It urges the Government of Angola to allow flight clearances into Huambo to enable the negotiating team of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to consult with its leadership.

The Council stresses once again that any obstruction to the peace process would be unacceptable. It urges the Government of Angola to exercise its authority to bring an immediate end to the military activities.

At this particular juncture, the Council stresses the need for both parties to spare no effort to bring about a stable and long-lasting peace in Angola. It calls upon them to honour their commitments made at the Lusaka talks, to exercise maximum restraint and responsibility, and to refrain from any action that could jeopardize the signing of the protocol on 15 November 1994.

**Decision of 21 November 1994 (3463rd meeting):  
statement by the President**

At its 3463rd meeting, on 21 November 1994, the Security Council resumed consideration of the item. After the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (United States) drew the attention of the members of the Council to a letter dated 14 November 1994 from the representative of Angola addressed to the President of the Security Council.<sup>113</sup> She then stated that, after consultations among the members of the Council, she had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:<sup>114</sup>

The Security Council welcomes the signing of the Lusaka Protocol by representatives of the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola at Lusaka on 20 November 1994. This Protocol, together with the Bicesse Accords, should lay the foundation for lasting peace in Angola. Having signed the Protocol, Angola's parties must continue to demonstrate their commitment to peace through the full and timely implementation of this detailed peace agreement. Most importantly, the ceasefire required by the Protocol must be respected.

The Council acknowledges the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, which have been so vital in reaching this agreement. The Council also commends the role of the observer States to the Angolan peace process and the constructive interventions by leaders throughout Africa. Finally, the Council thanks President Frederick Chiluba and the Government of Zambia, which graciously hosted the negotiations.

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<sup>109</sup> S/PV.3445, p. 3.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>111</sup> S/1994/1235 and S/1994/1241.

<sup>112</sup> S/PRST/1994/63.

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<sup>113</sup> S/1994/1290.

<sup>114</sup> S/PRST/1994/70.

The Council notes with concern the reports that the fighting in Angola is continuing. The Council reminds the parties of the responsibility they bear to respect fully the ceasefire agreement which is to go into effect on 22 November 1994. The Council looks forward to a report from the Secretary-General that the ceasefire has become effective, thereby allowing the deployment of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II military and police observers to reinforce United Nations monitoring capabilities in Angola.

The Council remains seized of this matter.

**Decision of 8 December 1994 (3477th meeting):  
resolution 966 (1994)**

On 4 December 1994, pursuant to resolution 952 (1994), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on UNAVEM II.<sup>115</sup> He reported that, despite the signing of the Lusaka Protocol on 20 November 1994, there were reports of renewed clashes, with each side blaming the other for the attacks.<sup>116</sup> It was therefore imperative that both parties implement the ceasefire on the ground, otherwise the whole process could unravel again. The Secretary-General further reported that, given the wider United Nations role provided for in the Lusaka Protocol, on 24 November he had dispatched a technical survey team to Angola, to check existing contingency plans against the actual situation on the ground and to prepare proposals for an enlarged operation. He however stressed that for the United Nations to consider committing major resources to a substantial expansion of its operation, the parties must abide fully by the Protocol. In the meantime, he recommended that the Council extend the Mission's mandate until 31 January 1995. He also called on Member States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations to make available the necessary resources to carry out the humanitarian aspects of the Protocol and the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the country.

By a letter dated 7 December 1994, addressed to the President of the Security Council, the Secretary-General reported that the ceasefire had entered into force on 22 November 1994 and that, according to information available to UNAVEM, it was generally holding, despite some initial difficulties.<sup>117</sup> Both sides were reasonably satisfied with the status of the

<sup>115</sup> S/1994/1376.

<sup>116</sup> A copy of the Lusaka Protocol is contained in a letter from the representative of Angola to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/1441).

<sup>117</sup> S/1994/1395.

ceasefire and had requested the planned enlargement of UNAVEM, as soon as possible. Based on the above, and in accordance with resolution 952 (1994), the Secretary-General intended to restore the Mission to its previous level and to deploy it throughout the country. He stressed that the actual enlargement of the Mission would be dependent on the strict observance by the parties of an effective ceasefire, and on the provision by them of satisfactory guarantees regarding the safety and security of United Nations personnel. The Mission would, additionally, monitor and verify all major elements of the Lusaka Protocol and provide good offices to the parties. It would also conduct, if needed, inspections/investigations of alleged violations independently, or jointly with the parties.

At its 3477th meeting, on 8 December 1994, the Security Council included the Secretary-General's report and the above-mentioned letter in its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Rwanda) then drew the attention of the members of Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of prior consultations.<sup>118</sup> He also drew their attention to a letter from the representative of Angola, addressed to the President of the Security Council and a letter from the representative of Mali, addressed to the Secretary-General, both dated 7 December 1994.<sup>119</sup>

The representative of Angola stated that the Lusaka Protocol represented the beginning of a critical stage in the final resolution of the internal conflict. It also meant compliance with the laws of Angola and with the country's democratic institutions, on a basis of equality with all other political parties. His Government was, however, concerned by the large gap between the signing of the agreement, the entry into force of the ceasefire and the arrival of the first contingent of "Blue Helmets" which might jeopardize the timetable for the implementation of the various phases of the agreement. He therefore called for the urgent deployment of United Nations observers throughout the territory, including those areas under UNITA's control. The war being over, his Government faced many challenges in the social and humanitarian fields, including social reintegration of UNITA troops,

<sup>118</sup> S/1994/1396.

<sup>119</sup> S/1994/1391 and S/1994/1394.

support for millions of displaced persons and refugees, reconstruction of basic infrastructure and disarming, tasks which it hoped to address with the continued support of the international community.<sup>120</sup>

Prior to the vote, the representative of the Russian Federation expressed the hope that the mutual understanding achieved in Lusaka would grow into mutual trust during the implementation of the signed agreements. His delegation believed that the dispatch of United Nations personnel to Angola should take place promptly, with the immediate deployment of observer posts *in situ*.<sup>121</sup>

The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 966 (1994), which reads:

*The Security Council,*

*Reaffirming* its resolution 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991 and all subsequent relevant resolutions, including resolution 868 (1993) of 29 September 1993,

*Having considered* the report of the Secretary-General of 4 December 1994 and his letter dated 7 December 1994,

*Reaffirming its commitment* to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Angola,

*Reiterating* the importance it attaches to the full implementation of the “Acordos de Paz” and relevant Security Council resolutions,

*Encouraged* by the signing of the Lusaka Protocol on 20 November 1994, which is a significant step towards the restoration of lasting peace and national reconciliation in Angola,

*Reaffirming its readiness* to consider promptly any recommendation from the Secretary-General for an expanded United Nations presence in Angola on condition that the ceasefire is maintained,

*Commending* the efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the Force Commander and personnel of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II, the three observer States to the Angolan peace process, the Organization of African Unity and some neighbouring States, in particular Zambia, which have resulted in the signing of the Lusaka Protocol, and encouraging them to continue their efforts aimed at the full implementation of the “Acordos de Paz”, the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions,

*Declaring* that renewed obstruction to or procrastination in the implementation of those accords would be unacceptable,

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<sup>120</sup> S/PV.3477, pp. 2-5.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

*Deeply concerned* at reports of renewed clashes in Angola after the entry into force of the agreed ceasefire, which cause suffering to the civilian population and may jeopardize the successful implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and hamper the effective discharge of the mandate of the Mission,

*Reaffirming* the obligation of all States to implement fully the provisions of paragraph 19 of resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993,

*Emphasizing* that Angolans bear ultimate responsibility for the successful implementation of the “Acordos de Paz” and the Lusaka Protocol,

1. *Welcomes* the report of the Secretary-General of 4 December 1994;

2. *Decides*, in order to enable the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II to monitor the ceasefire established by the Lusaka Protocol, to extend its mandate until 8 February 1995;

3. *Commends* the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola for signing the Lusaka Protocol, and urges them to respect fully the ceasefire which entered into effect on 22 November 1994;

4. *Underlines* that it will monitor closely compliance with the ceasefire, and requests the Secretary-General to keep the Council fully informed of any relevant developments;

5. *Calls upon* the parties to honour the commitments made by them and to continue to work together to achieve national reconciliation on the basis of the “Acordos de Paz” and the Lusaka Protocol;

6. *Welcomes* the Secretary-General’s decision as conveyed in his letter dated 7 December 1994, in accordance with resolution 952 (1994) of 27 October 1994, to proceed with the restoration of the strength of the Mission to its previous level, the actual enlargement being dependent on the strict observance by the parties of an effective ceasefire and on the provision by them of satisfactory guarantees regarding the safety and security of the United Nations personnel;

7. *Encourages* the Secretary-General, in order to enhance the verification capabilities of the existing Mission and as an additional confidence-building measure, to continue to deploy personnel to the countryside, subject to the strict compliance by the parties with the conditions in paragraph 6 above;

8. *Notes* the intention of the Secretary-General to submit a report on the possible mandate for a new United Nations operation in Angola based on his assessment of the circumstances that warrant that, including the maintenance of the ceasefire, such a report to contain a detailed description of the results of his efforts to identify potential troop-contributing countries, the objectives, the concept of operations and financial aspects of such an operation, and progress in discussions with the Government of Angola regarding the conclusion of a status-of-forces agreement, and welcomes the contingency planning



being done by him in this regard, including the continuation of the consultations with potential troop contributors to assess their willingness to participate in an enlarged peacekeeping operation in Angola;

9. *Declares its intention* to review the role of the United Nations in Angola by 8 February 1995 at the latest, in the light of the above report;

10. *Welcomes* the resumption and the increased flow of humanitarian relief assistance throughout Angola, and demands that both parties grant security clearances and guarantees for relief deliveries to all locations and refrain from any action which could jeopardize the safety of relief personnel or disrupt the distribution of humanitarian assistance to the Angolan people;

11. *Emphasizes* that both parties must respect and ensure the safety and security of international personnel in Angola;

12. *Commends* those States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations which have already contributed to the relief efforts, and appeals to all States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations rapidly to provide further assistance to Angola to meet the growing humanitarian needs;

13. *Requests* the Secretary-General to inform the Security Council of the next steps to be taken by the United Nations to implement a well coordinated and comprehensive mine-clearance programme in Angola;

14. *Also requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that the Council is regularly informed of further developments in the implementation of the "Acordos de Paz" and the Lusaka Protocol and of the activities of the Mission;

15. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United Kingdom stated that despite the signing of the Lusaka Protocol, the situation on the ground remained fragile. The international community could not be expected, and would not be equipped to, enforce peace in Angola. Therefore the deployment of a new, expanded United Nations operation would be possible only if the ceasefire remained effective and the parties demonstrated their commitment to peace.<sup>122</sup>

Similarly, the representative of France stated that the Angolan parties must strive to complete the process of peace and national reconciliation. They must also abide by the ceasefire agreement, so as to enable the deployment of United Nations personnel.<sup>123</sup>

#### **Decision of 8 February 1995 (3499th meeting): resolution 976 (1995)**

On 1 February 1995, pursuant to resolution 966 (1994), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on UNAVEM II, which provided a detailed description of the objectives and concept of a new United Nations operation in Angola.<sup>124</sup> The main features of the new mandate would be (a) political: to assist in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol by providing good offices and mediation to the parties; (b) military: to supervise, control and verify the disengagement of forces, and to monitor the ceasefire, verify information received from the Government and UNITA regarding their forces, verify and monitor all troop movements, assist in the establishment of quartering areas, verify and monitor the withdrawal, quartering and demobilization of UNITA forces, supervise the collection and storage of UNITA armaments, verify the movement of FAA to barracks and monitor the completion of its formation, and verify the free circulation of persons and goods; (c) police: to verify and monitor the neutrality of the Angolan National Police, the disarming of civilians, the quartering of the rapid reaction police and the security arrangements for UNITA leaders; (d) humanitarian; to coordinate, facilitate and support humanitarian activities linked directly to the peace process, in particular these relating to the quartering and demobilization of troops and their reintegration in civilian life, as well as participating in mine-clearance activities; (e) electoral: to declare formally that all essential requirements for the holding of the second round of presidential elections had been fulfilled, and to support, verify and monitor the entire electoral process.<sup>125</sup> The Mission would be headed by his Special Representative and its political affairs component would include human rights specialists and a public information section with staff available to establish a UNAVEM radio station. In order to carry out the proposed mandate, the Mission would need, in addition to an estimated 6,771 military personnel, 350 military observers and 260 police officers. The Secretary-General noted, however, that it would be difficult to justify the deployment of the main body of United Nations infantry unless the Government and UNITA implemented, according to the agreed timetable, the following essential initial tasks set out in

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>124</sup> S/1995/97 and Corr.1 and Add.1.

<sup>125</sup> S/1995/97, sect. IV.

the Lusaka Protocol: an effective ceasefire, effective cessation of hostilities and full disengagement of Government and UNITA forces; the setting up of verification mechanisms; the establishment of reliable communication links between the Government, UNITA and UNAVEM; the provision to, and verification by, UNAVEM of all relevant military data, including troop itineraries; the designation of all quartering areas and withdrawal of troops to the nearest barracks; and the early start of demining activities. He intended to request his Special Representative to determine whether those tasks had been satisfactorily implemented before proceeding with the actual deployment of the infantry battalions and to inform the Council accordingly.<sup>126</sup>

The Secretary-General observed that the ceasefire had been generally holding. The Joint Commission, established in pursuance of the Lusaka Protocol, had held several sessions since the UNITA delegation had returned to Luanda in December 1994. In addition, a series of other high-level contacts between Government and UNITA officials since the signing of the Lusaka Protocol had contributed to improved relations between the two parties. This Special Representative was finalizing arrangements for a meeting between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi. The Secretary-General also noted that the delivery of humanitarian assistance had improved considerably. In view of those positive factors, he recommended the immediate establishment of a new United Nations operation in Angola — UNAVEM III — for an initial period of 12 months.

At its 3499th meeting, on 8 February 1995, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representatives of Algeria, Angola, Brazil, Guinea-Bissau, India, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Senegal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Tunisia, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. An invitation was also extended, under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, to the Secretary-General of OAU. The President (Botswana) then drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course

of prior consultations.<sup>127</sup> He also drew their attention to several other documents.<sup>128</sup>

The representative of Angola declared that the military situation on the ground was calm and the ceasefire was being observed without any major incidents. The Joint Commission was operating normally and the disengagement of Government and UNITA forces in the areas of direct contact had been accelerated. In addition, UNITA's leader had responded positively to an invitation from the Angolan President for a joint meeting within Angolan territory. Taking into account those positive developments, his Government considered that conditions had been created for the establishment and rapid deployment of UNAVEM III and reiterated his country's determination to make every effort to facilitate the Mission's tasks by ensuring its safety and providing the necessary facilities for the discharge of its work. Noting that the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol might cost \$1.26 billion,<sup>129</sup> he announced that the Government of Angola would make an immediate contribution in kind of approximately \$64.7 million to defray the expenses. He stressed the importance of the mobilization of financial and humanitarian aid, and appealed to the international community, and to governmental and non-governmental organizations, to lend their support to the Government. In conclusion, he expressed concern regarding paragraphs 6, 8 and 12 of the draft resolution, and added that his delegation would present specific proposals to improve the text at the appropriate time.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>127</sup> S/1995/117.

<sup>128</sup> Letter dated 9 December 1994 from the representative of Angola addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting a copy of the Lusaka Protocol (S/1994/1441); letter dated 28 December 1994 from the representative of Angola addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting a document entitled "Cost of the Implementation of the Lusaka Protocol" (S/1994/1451); letters dated 17 and 30 January 1995 from the representative of Angola addressed to the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General, respectively (S/1995/51 and S/1995/94).

<sup>129</sup> See S/1994/1451.

<sup>130</sup> S/PV.3499, pp. 2-5.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 32.

The representative of Malawi, speaking on behalf of the OAU Council of Ministers,<sup>131</sup> conveyed Africa's concern that unless urgent and appropriate measures were taken by the international community, particularly the United Nations, to sustain the momentum, the entire peace process would be seriously threatened. He contended that, notwithstanding the concerns of those who urged caution against any increased international involvement until peace had been firmly established, the Angolan people were tired of war and the situation was different. The OAU delegation therefore urged the Council to facilitate the speedy establishment and deployment of UNAVEM III. The speedy deployment of the mechanisms provided for in the Lusaka Protocol would serve as a confidence-builder and encourage the parties concerned to move forwards even further to implement the peace process.<sup>132</sup>

The representative of Portugal stated that although he understood the rationale behind a phased deployment of UNAVEM III, his delegation believed that the flexibility to deploy additional forces must be retained. The Council must be cautious before establishing conditions for its next phase. He warned that, by giving the parties the opportunity to challenge whether or not such conditions had been fulfilled, the Council was not only allowing for delays in the deployment of additional personnel, but also threatening to derail the peace process itself.<sup>133</sup>

The representative of Mozambique stressed the importance of upholding the principles of sovereignty, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of Angola, in line with the Peace Accords and the Lusaka Protocol, and in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. In that context, his Government would not agree to the deployment of any peacekeeping operation with "strings attached", and therefore supported the views expressed by the Angolan delegation that some paragraphs of the draft resolution should be revised in order to meet the full agreement of the Government of Angola.<sup>134</sup>

Prior to the vote, the representative of Nigeria expressed his delegation's support for the draft

<sup>131</sup> The OAU delegation comprised the Foreign Ministers of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, Tunisia and Zambia, as well as representatives of Guinea-Bissau and Senegal.

<sup>132</sup> S/PV.3499, pp. 5-7.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., pp. 11-12.

<sup>134</sup> S/PV.3499 (Resumption), pp. 6-8.

resolution, contending that none of its paragraphs contained any provisions that derogated from the sovereign rights of the Government of Angola and the territorial integrity of the country.<sup>135</sup>

The representative of China noted that, by sending such a large high-level delegation to New York to participate in the Council's debate on Angola, OAU had demonstrated its readiness, and that of African countries, to contribute to the settlement of conflicts in Africa. The United Nations and the Security Council should attach great importance to resolving African problems and to strengthening cooperation with OAU so as to "help Angola set out along the road towards rebuilding peace at an early date".<sup>136</sup>

The representative of France welcomed the role of OAU in resolving the Angolan conflict, and stressed that the involvement of regional organizations in solving crises was vital to the success of the United Nations. The draft resolution provided a full framework and a clear mandate for UNAVEM III over the next two years. He noted, however, that its adoption would not give *carte blanche* to the Angolan parties. The Council would review the United Nations role in Angola, should the Secretary-General report that the cooperation required from the parties fell short.<sup>137</sup>

Many other speakers who participated in the debate called for a prompt deployment of UNAVEM III<sup>138</sup> while some cautioned that the conditions set out in the draft resolution might impede the progress of the operation.<sup>139</sup>

The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 976 (1995), which reads:

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., pp. 9-10.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., pp. 10-11.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., pp. 13-14.

<sup>138</sup> S/PV.3499, pp. 7-8 (India); pp. 9-11 (Zambia); pp. 12-13 (Lesotho); pp. 13-14 (Spain); pp. 14-15 (Netherlands); pp. 15-16 (Tunisia); pp. 16-18 (Brazil); pp. 20-21 (South Africa); and pp. 21-22 (Algeria); S/PV.3499 (Resumption), p. 2 (Zimbabwe); pp. 3-4 (Senegal); pp. 4-5 (United Republic of Tanzania); pp. 5-6 (Guinea-Bissau); pp. 8-9 (Sweden); pp. 12-13 (Honduras); pp. 14-15 (Italy); pp. 15-16 (Germany); pp. 16-17 (Rwanda); pp. 21-22 (Indonesia); pp. 22-23 (Oman); pp. 23-24 (Argentina); and pp. 24-25 (Czech Republic).

<sup>139</sup> S/PV.3499, pp. 12-13 (Lesotho).

*The Security Council,*

*Reaffirming* its resolution 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991 and all subsequent relevant resolutions,

*Having considered* the report of the Secretary-General dated 1 February 1995,

*Reaffirming its commitment* to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Angola,

*Welcoming* the signing of the Lusaka Protocol on 20 November 1994 as a major step towards the establishment of peace and stability in Angola,

*Reiterating* the importance it attaches to the full implementation of the “Acordos de Paz”, the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions,

*Noting* the schedule for implementation set forth in the Lusaka Protocol, in particular the need for the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to provide all relevant military data to the United Nations, to allow freedom of movement and free circulation of goods, and to begin limited disengagement where forces are in contact,

*Welcoming* the maintenance of a ceasefire which has been generally holding,

*Welcoming also* the progress made in meetings of the Chiefs of Staff of the Angolan Armed Forces and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola on 10 January 1995 in Chipipa and on 2 and 3 February 1995 in Waco Kungo,

*Welcoming further* the deployment of observer forces of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II and the contributions of Member States to the Mission,

*Welcoming* the offer from the Government of Angola to provide substantial contributions in kind to United Nations peacekeeping operations in Angola as set out in the document entitled “Cost of the Implementation of the Lusaka Protocol”,

*Deeply concerned* that the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol has fallen behind schedule,

*Stressing* the need for the President of Angola, José Eduardo dos Santos, and the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, Jonas Savimbi, to meet without delay with a view to building the necessary political momentum for the successful implementation of the Lusaka Protocol,

*Welcoming* the ministerial delegation of the Organization of African Unity to the Security Council to participate in its consideration of the situation in Angola,

1. *Authorizes* the establishment of a peacekeeping operation, the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III, to assist the parties in restoring peace and achieving national reconciliation in Angola on the basis of the “Acordos de Paz”, the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions, as outlined in section IV of the report of the Secretary-General of 1 February 1995, with an initial mandate until 8 August 1995

and with a maximum deployment of 7,000 military personnel, in addition to the 350 military observers and 260 police observers mentioned in the report of the Secretary-General, and an appropriate number of international and local staff;

2. *Urges* the expeditious deployment of the military and police observers to monitor the ceasefire;

3. *Authorizes* the immediate deployment of such planning and support elements as are needed to prepare for the deployment of peacekeeping forces, provided that the Secretary-General remains satisfied that an effective ceasefire and effective joint ceasefire monitoring mechanisms are in place and that both parties are allowing the free and safe flow of humanitarian assistance throughout the country, and authorizes the subsequent deployment of such additional elements as are necessary to establish operational quartering areas for the forces of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola;

4. *Decides* that the deployment of infantry units will take place on the basis of a report from the Secretary-General to the Security Council that the conditions contained in paragraph 32 of the report of the Secretary-General, *inter alia*, effective cessation of hostilities, provision of all relevant military data and designation of all quartering areas, have been met, provided the Council does not decide otherwise;

5. *Stresses* the importance it attaches to the expeditious establishment of a well-coordinated and comprehensive mine clearance programme in Angola as set out in the report of the Secretary-General, and requests him to inform the Council of progress in its implementation;

6. *Endorses* the Secretary-General’s view set out in his report as to the need for the Mission to have an effective information capability, including a United Nations radio station to be established in consultation with the Government of Angola;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to inform the Council monthly of progress in the deployment of the Mission and in implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, including the maintenance of an effective ceasefire, free access by the Mission to all areas of Angola, free flow of humanitarian assistance throughout Angola and compliance by both the Government of Angola and by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola with their obligations under the Lusaka Protocol, and also requests the Secretary-General to submit to the Council a complete report by 15 July 1995;

8. *Welcomes* the Secretary-General’s intention to include human rights specialists in the political component of the Mission to observe the implementation of the provisions related to national reconciliation;

9. *Expresses its intention* to review the role of the United Nations in Angola should the Secretary-General report that the cooperation required from the parties is substantially delayed or not forthcoming;

10. *Declares its intention* to conclude the Mission when the objectives of the Lusaka Protocol have been achieved in accordance with the schedule attached to the Lusaka Protocol and with the expectation of its completion by February 1997;

11. *Welcomes* the substantial contributions of Member States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations to meet the humanitarian needs of the Angolan people, and encourages additional substantial contributions;

12. *Reaffirms* the obligation of all States to implement fully the provisions of paragraph 19 of resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993, and calls upon the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola during the presence of the Mission in Angola to cease any acquisition of arms and war materiel, as agreed upon in the "Acordos de Paz", and to devote their resources instead to priority humanitarian and social needs;

13. *Calls upon* the Government of Angola to conclude no later than 20 March 1995 an agreement with the United Nations on the status of forces;

14. *Encourages* the Secretary-General to pursue urgently the offer of direct assistance by the Government of Angola to the Mission, to reflect this as appropriate in the status-of-forces agreement referred to in paragraph 13 above, and to explore with the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola possibilities for substantial additional assistance related to peacekeeping and to report to the Council on the results of these explorations;

15. *Urges* Member States to respond positively to the request made to them by the Secretary-General to contribute personnel, equipment and other resources to the Mission in order to facilitate its early deployment;

16. *Demands* that all concerned in Angola take the necessary measures to ensure the safety and freedom of movement of United Nations and other personnel deployed under the Mission;

17. *Welcomes* the presence of the Organization of African Unity ministerial delegation, and notes, in this connection, the need for continued cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity in the promotion of peace and security in Angola and the contribution which regional organizations can make to crisis management and conflict resolution;

18. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United States stated that her Government wished to emphasize that any deployment of infantry units in UNAVEM III could not proceed without the Secretary-General report that the Lusaka Protocol was being effectively implemented. The United Nations and UNAVEM could assist the process of national reconciliation, but it was up to the parties themselves

to demonstrate by their actions the political will to fulfil the Lusaka Protocol. She noted that when the objectives of UNAVEM III were achieved, which she felt could be done within two years, the mandate of the Mission would end.<sup>140</sup>

The representative of the United Kingdom stated that the Council's decision to increase the United Nations operation in Angola underlined its commitment to support the people of that country in their long search for peace and national reconciliation. The resolution made it clear that it was not prepared to countenance further substantial delays or lack of cooperation from the parties. His Government saw the resolution as a reaffirmation by the international community of its commitment to United Nations mechanisms for resolving conflicts that were beyond the means or ability of individual nations to solve. As Council resolutions had, however, repeatedly stated, the people of Angola were ultimately responsible for the future of their country. Therefore, the Government of Angola and UNITA must demonstrate that the international community had made the right decision. An early meeting between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi would send the right signal in that regard.<sup>141</sup>

The President, speaking in his capacity as representative of Botswana, noted that the presence in the Council of the African Foreign Ministers and the OAU Secretary-General indicated the importance which Africa attached to the Angolan conflict. He contended that peacekeeping operations were, by nature, expensive and prone to breakdowns, as past experience had amply demonstrated. They could also be wasteful and divert scarce resources that could otherwise be used for economic and social development. The United Nations operation in Angola would not be an easy one; its failure or success would depend to a large extent on the patience, understanding and cooperation of all those involved. At the same time, the operation should not be impeded by too many conditions. He supported a continued United Nations presence in Angola beyond the expiration of the mandate of UNAVEM, to assist the people to adjust to a new life.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> S/PV.3499 (Resumption), pp. 18-19.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

The representative of Angola, while assuring the members of the Council of his Government's commitment to all Security Council resolutions, expressed its regret that resolution 976 (1995) included a provision which violated the Lusaka Protocol. Referring to paragraph 12 of the resolution, he said that it contained elements that might harm the legitimate Government of Angola.<sup>143</sup>

**Decision of 10 March 1995 (3508th meeting):  
statement by the President**

On 5 March 1995, pursuant to resolution 976 (1995), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council the first progress report on UNAVEM III.<sup>144</sup> He reported that his Special Representative had continued his efforts to facilitate the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and had met separately with the leader of UNITA and the President of Angola. Both parties had confirmed their readiness to participate in the proposed joint meeting. The Secretary-General expressed the hope that such a meeting would take place without delay, so as to signal to the international community that national reconciliation had effectively begun.

The Secretary-General further reported that in general the ceasefire continued to hold, and that tension had decreased in many areas. UNAVEM III deployment to the countryside had been slowed down by recent incidents of shooting at UNAVEM aircraft by UNITA, lack of security clearances to visit certain areas and restrictions on freedom of movement. He noted that under the timetable approved by the Council, the deployment of the infantry units of UNAVEM was scheduled to begin on 9 May 1995. That, however, could be achieved only if he was in a position to notify the Council, by 25 March at the latest, that the parties had substantially complied with the conditions set forth in resolution 976 (1995). He therefore urged both parties to take the concrete actions without which the deployment of infantry units could only be deferred.<sup>145</sup> In the meantime, the coming into effect of the ceasefire and the ensuing improvement of security conditions in the country had encouraged the movement of populations and economic activity, thereby decreasing the overall reliance on humanitarian aid. Displaced persons and other vulnerable

populations, however, still needed significant assistance, and landmines remained a serious impediment to the movement of people and goods, as well as to the resumption of agricultural activity. The capacity of the humanitarian agencies to contend with those problems depended on full and prompt funding by the donor community of the humanitarian programme set out in the 1995 Inter-agency Appeal for Angola.

At its 3508th meeting, on 10 March 1995, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (China) drew the attention of the members of the Council to a letter dated 9 March 1995 from the representative of Angola, addressed to the Secretary-General.<sup>146</sup>

The President then stated that, after consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement of behalf of the Council:<sup>147</sup>

The Security Council has considered the report of the Secretary-General of 5 March 1995 on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III.

The Council welcomes the assessment by the Secretary-General that the ceasefire is generally holding. It also welcomes the continued deployment of United Nations military and police observers to sites outside Luanda. It notes, however, that this deployment has been complicated by a lack of full cooperation by the parties, in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola. In the month since its adoption of resolution 976 (1995), a number of developments have taken place which give rise to serious concern. These include the lack of progress in disengagement around Uige and Negage, the escalation of tensions in the last few weeks, especially in the northern region, the lack of security clearances to visit certain areas and restrictions on movement of the Mission personnel, attacks on villages, mine-laying, unauthorized movement of troops and military air activity, and attacks on United Nations aircraft, in particular that by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola in Quibaxe on 13 February 1995. The Council calls upon the parties, particularly the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, to refrain from such activities, to end negative propaganda, to improve their cooperation with each other and the United Nations through the Joint Commission and to cooperate fully with humanitarian operations.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>144</sup> S/1995/177.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., para. 25.

<sup>146</sup> S/1995/192.

<sup>147</sup> S/PRST/1995/11.

The Council reiterates its call upon President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi to meet without delay as a sign of their joint commitment to the peace process and urges the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to finalize arrangements towards this end immediately, with a view to ensuring the necessary political momentum for the successful implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. It also encourages the observer States to the peace process, the Organization of African Unity and the neighbouring countries involved to continue their efforts aimed at the full implementation of the peace process.

The Council reaffirms the obligations of all States to implement fully the provisions of paragraph 19 of resolution 864 (1993) and reiterates its call upon the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to cease the acquisition of arms and war materiel as agreed in the “Acordos de Paz”.

The Council notes that the United Nations is currently pursuing with the Government of Angola the provision of critical services and access to key facilities such as ports and airports for the Mission. Early and positive responses from the Government of Angola to the United Nations requirements in this respect are essential to the deployment of the Mission. It calls on both parties to expedite the completion of the initial tasks in order to ensure the prompt deployment of Mission units. The Council reiterates the importance it attaches to the Government of Angola and the United Nations agreeing on a status-of-forces agreement by 20 March 1995 as called for in paragraph 13 of its resolution 976 (1995). It will continue to monitor closely developments in these areas.

The Council commends the United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations for their continuing efforts to distribute humanitarian relief throughout Angola. It reiterates the importance it attaches to a well-coordinated and comprehensive mine clearance programme which will, inter alia, improve the logistics of humanitarian operations. It calls upon both parties to cooperate with the United Nations and with the non-governmental organizations to put this in place. It deplores the killing on 2 March of three Angolans and one German, all members of the “Cap Anamur” non-governmental organization involved in demining activities, as well as attacks in the last month on aircraft and road transport of the International Committee of the Red Cross and reminds the parties of its repeated demands that they refrain from all actions which could jeopardize the safety of humanitarian personnel in Angola.

The Council endorses the Secretary-General’s conclusions that the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola must provide more concrete signs of cooperation and goodwill in the implementation of the peace process. It reminds the parties that the deployment of the Mission units will not take place unless the conditions contained in paragraph 32 of his report of 1 February 1995 have been met. It has taken careful note of the Secretary-General’s statement in paragraph 25 of his report of 5 March 1995, that, unless he can report by 25 March 1995 that the parties have complied with

those conditions, it will not be possible to ensure that deployment begins on 9 May 1995. Time is short if the opportunity created by the Lusaka Protocol and resolution 976 (1995) is not to be lost. The Council joins the Secretary-General in calling upon the parties to take the necessary steps now to ensure that deployment of these units can begin as planned on 9 May 1995. It requests the Secretary-General to keep it closely informed of developments in this regard.

**Decision of 13 April 1995 (3518th meeting):  
statement by the President**

On 7 April 1995, pursuant to resolution 976 (1995), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his second progress report on UNAVEM III.<sup>148</sup> He reported that he had dispatched his Special Adviser to Angola, from 17 to 22 March 1995, to deliver letters from him to both parties and to discuss with them the measures to bring the military situation under control and to ensure respect for the ceasefire. He also requested that his Special Adviser assess whether the situation in Angola permitted the deployment of UNAVEM III. During the discussions, President dos Santos and senior government officials had supported the early deployment of the mission’s infantry units. On the basis of his Special Adviser’s report, he had informed the Council by a letter dated 25 March that, in spite of certain risks, he intended to proceed with the preparations for such deployment.<sup>149</sup>

The Secretary-General further reported that the ceasefire had generally held and that the level of violations had remained relatively low. Moreover, the first phase of the disengagement of forces had been adequately completed. The humanitarian situation had improved, in spite of the tension that continued in parts of the country. The mine situation, however, remained critical.

The Secretary-General noted that following the visit to Angola by his Special Adviser, there had been encouraging developments in the peace process and the pace of implementation of the Lusaka Protocol had increased. Progress had also been made in the consolidation of the ceasefire, disengagement of forces, freedom of movement of UNAVEM, discussion of the modalities for the global incorporation of UNITA troops into the national army and other critical areas. Arrangements for the dispatch of UNAVEM III infantry units were also under way. In that regard, he

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<sup>148</sup> S/1995/274.

<sup>149</sup> S/1995/230.

reminded the parties that unless they complied without delay with the requirements of the Lusaka Protocol and provided logistic support to the mission, he would not hesitate to recommend postponing or stopping its deployment. He also warned against undue expectations that the arrival of United Nations troops would solve the pressing problems that the Angolans must resolve themselves. The Secretary-General renewed his appeal to President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi to meet without delay. Such a meeting should provide a strong impetus to national reconciliation.

At its 3518th meeting, on 13 April 1995, the Security Council included the second progress report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Czech Republic) drew the attention of the members of the Council to a letter dated 13 April 1995 from the representative of Angola, addressed to the President of the Security Council.<sup>150</sup>

The President then stated that, following consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:<sup>151</sup>

The Security Council has considered the progress report of the Secretary-General of 7 April 1995 on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III.

The Council welcomes the confirmation by the Secretary-General that the ceasefire is generally holding and that the level of ceasefire violations has remained relatively low. It also welcomes the continued deployment of military and police observers of the Mission to team sites and regional headquarters outside Luanda, and the progress reported by him in a number of important areas, including liaison with the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, the completion of the first phase of disengagement and discussions of the modalities for the incorporation of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola into the national army. It commends the parties for their efforts in this regard.

The Council notes that a number of developments give cause for concern. These include reports of continuing military actions and preparations, in particular the attack on the airstrip at Andulo by the Angolan air force, the failure to complete the second phase of disengagement by 10 April 1995, some restrictions on the Mission's access to government military facilities and recent attacks on the personnel of the Mission and non-governmental organizations. It welcomes the improved access by the Mission to areas controlled by the União Nacional

para a Independência Total de Angola but notes that some local commanders of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola continue to impose restrictions on the movement of Mission personnel and calls upon the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to ensure unrestricted access.

The Council calls upon the parties to cooperate fully with the United Nations, in particular through the Joint Commission, and to ensure the safety of the personnel of the Mission and non-governmental organizations. It notes with satisfaction that the members of the Joint Commission, including representatives of the Government of Angola, met Mr. Savimbi in Bailundo on 7 April and that at that meeting he publicly confirmed his commitment to the Lusaka Protocol. It reiterates its call for a meeting between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi as a matter of urgency because such a meeting may help to improve the climate of trust and give new impetus to the peace process in Angola.

The Council welcomes the Secretary-General's decision to proceed with preparations for the deployment of infantry units of the Mission. It notes that he has reminded the Angolan parties that they must implement without delay the requirements of the Lusaka Protocol, provide the Mission with the indispensable logistic support and undertake essential tasks such as mine clearance, the repair of major transport routes and the designation of quartering areas, to make it possible for United Nations infantry battalions to deploy to Angola in May 1995. The Council fully supports the Secretary-General in this regard and emphasizes the need for full implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. It welcomes his intention to deploy the infantry battalions in stages. It stresses the importance it attaches to the Government of Angola providing the logistic support envisaged for the Mission. In this context, it welcomes the agreement of the Government of Angola to allow the United Nations full operational access to the Catumbela airfield and calls upon the Government of Angola to ensure that this arrangement is extended for as long as required by the Mission. It also welcomes the intention of the Government of Angola to conclude, by 15 April 1995, a status-of-forces agreement with the United Nations.

The Council reaffirms the obligation of all States to implement fully the provisions of paragraph 19 of resolution 864 (1993) and states that the continuing flow of arms into Angola contrary to the provisions of the "Acordos de Paz" and resolution 976 (1995) contributes to the country's instability and undermines efforts at confidence-building.

The Council is encouraged that the Secretary-General has been able to report overall progress in the humanitarian situation in the month since his last report to the Council. It calls upon the parties to continue to facilitate access to all areas of the country for the delivery of humanitarian assistance. It calls once again upon the parties to respect the safety and security of all humanitarian personnel in Angola. It endorses the call upon the parties by the three observer States to the Angolan peace process to cooperate fully in releasing all war-related detainees through the International Committee of the Red Cross, as well as all

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<sup>150</sup> S/1995/296.

<sup>151</sup> S/PRST/1995/18.



captured foreign citizens or to provide information about their fate.

While the Council notes the progress made in the implementation of the comprehensive mine action programme, it also takes note of the statement in the report of the Secretary-General that the mine situation in Angola remains critical. The Council therefore urges both parties to support and facilitate mine clearance and to comply fully with the relevant provisions of the Lusaka Protocol. In this context, it welcomes the statement by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General following the 13th meeting of the Joint Commission that the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola have pledged to put 800 and 400 personnel respectively, at the disposal of the Mission for mine-clearance activities.

The Council will continue to monitor the situation in Angola closely. It looks forward to the next monthly report of the Secretary-General and requests him, in the meantime, to ensure that it is kept informed of developments in Angola and on prospects for the prompt deployment of the infantry battalions of the Mission.

**Decision of 11 May 1995 (3534th meeting):  
statement by the President**

On 3 May 1995, pursuant to resolution 976 (1995), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his third progress report on UNAVEM III.<sup>152</sup> He reported that preparations for the meeting between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi were at an advanced stage and that agreement had been reached on the agenda and on practical details. His Special Representative had travelled to Lusaka, Zambia on 21 April 1995, to discuss the final arrangements. He also said that the status-of-forces agreement for UNAVEM III had been signed on 3 May 1995.

The Secretary-General further reported that the ceasefire continued to hold generally. There had been a further reduction in the number of ceasefire violations, but the situation in several areas had remained tense, as both sides had continued to occupy forward positions, sporadically attacked the local population and conducted troop movements. Despite some problems, the second phase of disengagement had been almost completed. The deployment of UNAVEM III military observers had been completed and the civilian police component had become fully operational.

The Secretary-General noted that the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol had entered a

<sup>152</sup> S/1995/350.

new phase. There had been a marked improvement in the overall political climate in the country and in the attitude of the parties. He hoped that the meeting between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi would result in concrete agreements. He reiterated, however, that he would not hesitate to recommend that the deployment of the troops be postponed or stopped if the parties failed to fulfil their commitments under the Lusaka Protocol and the relevant Council resolutions. He also reiterated his concern about the slow progress in demining, opening up of major roads and repair of airfields and other vital infrastructure. The Secretary-General called upon both parties to make available the necessary facilities and services, in addition to the personnel they had promised to provide to begin mine clearance. The improvement in security conditions had made new areas accessible to humanitarian agencies, thereby increasing their potential to assist the civilian population. He therefore stressed the need for Member States to continue to support the ongoing humanitarian activities in Angola and to disburse expeditiously the contributions pledged during the donors' meeting in February 1995. He also called on the parties to cooperate with the United Nations and its agencies, as well as to non-governmental organizations, to promote the expansion of humanitarian activities throughout the country.

At its 3534th meeting, on 11 May 1995, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (France) stated that, after consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:<sup>153</sup>

The Security Council has considered the third progress report of the Secretary-General of 3 May 1995 on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III and the oral briefing by the Secretariat.

The Council welcomes the positive developments in Angola. It welcomes in particular the meeting in Lusaka on 6 May 1995 between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi, which took place in a positive atmosphere and gave new impetus to the consolidation of the peace process and the furthering of national reconciliation in Angola. The Council commends the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, of the observer States to the Angolan peace process, of States of the region and, in particular, of the President of Zambia, which assisted in bringing about this meeting. It expresses the hope that the meeting will mark the beginning of a regular and

<sup>153</sup> S/PRST/1995/27.

constructive dialogue between the President of Angola and the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

The Council notes with satisfaction the progress in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol concerning, inter alia, the reduction of ceasefire violations, the disengagement of forces, the cooperation among the parties and the Mission, the signing of the status-of-forces agreement and the providing of logistic facilities for the Mission. The Council welcomes the ongoing deployment of support units of the Mission and stresses the importance of a timely deployment of the infantry battalions of the Mission.

The Council is however concerned by the slow progress in other areas. It stresses the necessity for the increased cooperation of the Government and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola with the United Nations in carrying out all major provisions of the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Council resolutions. While welcoming the release of the first group of prisoners, the Council urges the parties to expedite this process. Urgent attention should be given to the quartering of soldiers of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola by the parties as well as the United Nations and the withdrawal of government troops to their barracks in order to permit the incorporation of the troops of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola within the national army and police in accordance with the Lusaka Protocol. The Council stresses also the importance of the completion of the disengagement process and the improvement of communication links with the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola in all regions. It recalls the conditions set forth in Council resolution 976 (1995) for the deployment of infantry units and calls upon the parties in Angola to take all necessary steps to ensure that these conditions are met promptly for the timely deployment of sustainable infantry units throughout Angola capable of fully discharging their mandated tasks.

The Council particularly underlines the urgency of a mine-clearance programme and calls upon the parties to provide, as promised, the funds and equipment necessary in order for the programme to become operational, and to begin mine-sweeping operations on major roads under their control. The demining, the opening of major roads and repair of air fields and other infrastructure are of crucial importance for the expeditious deployment of infantry units of the Mission, the distribution of humanitarian aid and the return of displaced persons to their places of origin. The Council invites the donors as well as the United Nations and its agencies and non-governmental organizations to support actively demining actions.

The Council notes with satisfaction the amelioration of the humanitarian situation in Angola and calls upon the parties to cooperate without restriction with the United Nations and other humanitarian international organizations to facilitate the distribution of aid in all the regions and to intensify their efforts to guarantee the security of humanitarian transports and of personnel of the Mission. It requests Member States to continue to support the ongoing humanitarian activities in Angola and to

disburse as soon as possible the contributions pledged during the donors' meeting in February 1995.

The Council will continue to monitor the situation in Angola closely and looks forward to the next monthly report of the Secretary-General.

#### **Decision of 15 June 1995: letter from the President to the Secretary-General**

On 4 June 1995, pursuant to resolution 976 (1995), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his fourth progress report on UNAVEM III.<sup>154</sup> He reported that President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi had met in Lusaka on 6 May 1995. In their discussions, both leaders had pledged their cooperation to consolidate peace in Angola and to implement the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol. They had also agreed to meet again in Luanda, at an unspecified date.

The Secretary-General further reported that the ceasefire had continued generally to hold and the number of violations had further decreased. According to the revised timetable, the first infantry battalion was expected to arrive in Angola during the first week of June, deployment of the second was planned for the first half of July, and the third in the second half of July. The further deployment of United Nations infantry would depend on the progress made by the parties in opening up major access roads and in mine clearance.

The Secretary-General noted that the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol had entered a new and promising phase, following the long-awaited meeting between the leaders of both parties. He had strongly encouraged both leaders to pursue actively the issues discussed and to convene a second meeting in Luanda, as soon as possible. He further noted that while much progress had recently been achieved in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, the peace process was behind schedule. Recent actions by the parties to initiate mine clearance and road rehabilitation must be reinforced to accelerate free circulation of people and goods throughout the country and to facilitate the deployment inland of United Nations troops. He urged the international community to support those vital efforts, in particular by providing the equipment needed. He also urged the parties to work out modalities for the formation of the new integrated armed forces and to begin preparations for

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<sup>154</sup> S/1995/458.

the demobilization of UNITA troops and the withdrawal of government forces to barracks. The Secretary-General noted that as the peace process gathered momentum, the role of humanitarian assistance in sustaining and consolidating the peace acquired additional importance. He appealed to the international community to replenish the humanitarian stocks for Angola as a matter of urgency.

By a letter dated 15 June 1995,<sup>155</sup> the President of the Security Council informed the Secretary-General of the following:

The members of the Security Council have discussed your fourth progress report on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III). They welcome the positive developments in Angola that you reported, including continued maintenance of the ceasefire, the start of the deployment of United Nations infantry battalions, the decision on the future strength of the Angolan Armed Forces and improved access to all parts of the country for humanitarian assistance. They strongly support the ongoing dialogue between the two Angolan parties and encourage a further meeting between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi.

The members of the Council note with concern that, despite considerable progress in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, the peace process is still behind schedule. The members of the Council remain concerned at the problem of mines in the country. Lack of progress in mine clearance has an impact not only on the deployment of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III but also on the ability of the population to return to their homes and resume agricultural activity. The members of the Council therefore endorse your call upon the parties to reinforce their recent actions in the fields of mine clearance and road and bridge repair. They agree that the international community should support these vital efforts. They also support your appeal to the parties to work out modalities for the formation of the new integrated armed forces and to begin preparations for the quartering of the troops of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola and the withdrawal of the rapid reaction police to barracks.

The members of the Council learned with distress that, in two tragic incidents, a United Nations police observer lost his life and a United Nations military observer was wounded. In this connection, they recall the responsibility of the parties for the safety and security of all United Nations personnel in Angola.

The members of the Council will continue to monitor the situation in Angola and look forward to your next report.

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<sup>155</sup> S/1995/487.

**Decision of 7 August 1995 (3562nd meeting):  
resolution 1008 (1995)**

On 17 July 1995, pursuant to resolution 976 (1995), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on UNAVEM III.<sup>156</sup> He reported that, since the 6 May meeting between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi, high-level contacts between the Government and UNITA had intensified. In late June, a high-level UNITA delegation had visited Luanda to review with the Government the practical modalities for accelerating the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. The review culminated in a comprehensive working document signed by the two parties. He also informed the Council that he had visited Angola from 14 to 16 July 1995 to assess the situation on the ground. During his visit, he had discussed with the parties ways and means of expediting the implementation of the peace process and had also reviewed the reconstruction needs of the country.

The Secretary-General further reported that progress continued to be slow in troop disengagement, demining and the establishment of quartering areas. There were also allegations about renewed laying of mines in some parts of the country. Moreover, the Angolan parties had been registering complaints about human rights violations. In response, UNAVEM had established a small sub-unit to deal with human rights issues and observe implementation of the relevant provision of the Lusaka Protocol. The Secretary-General intended to increase the strength of that unit, in order to station human rights monitors in almost all provinces. The humanitarian situation in Angola had continued to improve, as a direct result of the peace process and the expanded United Nations presence in the country.

The Secretary-General noted that the progressive deployment of United Nations military and police observers and troops had helped to consolidate the ceasefire. Despite occasional military tensions and incidents, both parties had been adhering to the spirit of the Lusaka Protocol. He welcomed, in that regard, the agreement reached between the parties on the adjusted and accelerated timetable for the implementation of the Protocol. At the same time, a comprehensive, fair and workable programme for the formation of the new armed forces should be adopted without delay. It was also essential to accelerate the

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<sup>156</sup> S/1995/588.

exchange of prisoners and the repatriation of mercenaries, to reinforce the freedom of movement throughout the country and to speed up demining activities. In the meantime he recommended that the mandate of UNAVEM III be extended for a period of six months, until 8 February 1996.

At its 3562nd meeting, on 7 August 1995, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representatives of Angola and Brazil, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Indonesia) then drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of prior consultations.<sup>157</sup>

Speaking before the vote, the representative of Botswana stated that, although the Secretary-General's report dealt with the economic and social aspects of the peace process in Angola, his delegation did not expect that to be part of a peacekeeping mandate, it hoped that the international community would continue to contribute substantially to the economic and social reconstruction of Angola.<sup>158</sup>

The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 1008 (1995), which reads:

*The Security Council,*

*Reaffirming* its resolution 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991 and all subsequent relevant resolutions,

*Having considered* the report of the Secretary-General of 17 July 1995,

*Welcoming* the briefing by the Secretary-General on 25 July 1995 on his recent visit to Angola,

*Reaffirming its commitment* to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Angola,

*Reiterating* the importance it attaches to the full implementation by the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola of the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions,

*Noting* the agreement reached between the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola on the adjusted and accelerated timetable for the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol,

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<sup>157</sup> S/1995/646.

<sup>158</sup> S/PV.3562, pp. 5-6.

*Commending* the continued efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, the three observer States to the Angolan peace process and the personnel of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III to facilitate the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and to consolidate the ceasefire and the peace process which has entered a new and promising phase,

*Noting* that the situation in most of the country is fairly calm, but concerned at the number of ceasefire violations,

*Welcoming* the meeting at Lusaka on 6 May 1995 between the President of Angola, José Eduardo dos Santos, and the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, Jonas Savimbi, which led to the diminishing atmosphere of mistrust and the intensification of high-level contacts between the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola,

*Recognizing* that the progressive deployment of United Nations military and police observers and troops has significantly contributed to the consolidation of the ceasefire,

*Welcoming* the commitment of the international community to assist and support the economic, social and reconstruction efforts of Angola, and recognizing the importance of such assistance in sustaining a secure and stable environment,

*Expressing concern* at reports of human rights violations, and recognizing the contribution that human rights monitors can make in building confidence in the peace process,

1. *Welcomes* the report of the Secretary-General of 17 July 1995;

2. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III until 8 February 1996;

3. *Commends* the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola for their commitment to the peace process, and notes the progress made thus far in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol;

4. *Expresses concern* at the slow pace in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, in particular troop disengagement, demining and the establishment of quartering areas, and expects the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, in cooperation with the Mission, to finalize arrangements for the establishment of quartering areas, complete troop disengagement and expedite the conduct of demining;

5. *Urges* the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to adhere strictly to the revised timetable for the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and make concerted efforts to accelerate that process;

6. *Stresses* the importance of the completion of the electoral process, as provided for in the Lusaka Protocol;

7. *Calls upon* the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to adopt without further delay a comprehensive and workable programme

for the formation of the new armed forces, and to accelerate the exchange of prisoners and the repatriation of mercenaries with a view to reinforcing the freedom of movement of people throughout the country;

8. *Takes note* of the progress noted by the Secretary-General in the establishment of triangular communications between the Angolan parties and the Mission, and requests the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to assign urgently liaison officers to the regional headquarters of the Mission;

9. *Urges* the two parties to put an immediate and definitive end to the renewed laying of mines and to reported unauthorized movement of troops;

10. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue the deployment of infantry units of the Mission and accelerate it as conditions for sustaining and employing troops improve, with the objective of reaching full strength as soon as possible;

11. *Urges* the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to provide the Mission with the necessary information and ensure its freedom of movement, including full unimpeded access to all military facilities, to enable it effectively to discharge its mandate;

12. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report on his analysis on the completion of the objectives of the Lusaka Protocol and of the mandate of the Mission, in the light of the alterations in the timetable for its deployment;

13. *Stresses* the need for the dissemination of objective information through Radio UNAVEM and for the Government of Angola to provide all facilities for the prompt functioning of the Radio;

14. *Stresses* the importance it attaches to the disarmament of the civilian population, and urges that it begin without further delay;

15. *Notes with concern* increasing levels of violence perpetrated by unaffiliated groups, and calls upon all parties to seek to control and disarm these threats to the peace process;

16. *Authorizes* the Secretary-General to increase as appropriate the strength of the human rights unit of the Mission;

17. *Commends* Member States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations for their substantial contributions to meet the humanitarian needs of the Angolan people;

18. *Demands* that the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola take necessary measures to ensure the safe passage of humanitarian supplies throughout the country;

19. *Requests* the Government of Angola to continue providing substantial contributions to the United Nations peacekeeping operations, and calls upon the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to make every effort to

contribute proportionally in order to assist with the United Nations peacekeeping operation in Angola;

20. *Endorses* the Secretary-General's appeal, and encourages donors to respond with generous and timely financial contributions to the humanitarian effort and provision of mine clearance, bridging and road repair equipment and materials and other supplies necessary for setting up the quartering areas;

21. *Endorses also* the Secretary-General's intention to submit a comprehensive report to the Council every two months;

22. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United States stated that his country had been a firm supporter of the Lusaka accord. Over the past two years, his Government had provided more than \$200 million in humanitarian and emergency assistance in the form of food aid and medical supplies. The United States also wished to help Angola develop its long-term economic potential and reduce its reliance upon emergency assistance. He expressed concern, however, that road conditions, destroyed bridges and mined areas were hampering the deployment of United Nations peacekeepers and were slowing down the peace process. In order to help surmount those obstacles, his country had offered bridging material to UNAVEM III, in addition to the assistance in mine clearance already pledged. In the longer term, United States assistance would also help to clear crop lands to reduce the need for food aid, and would give Angolans the ability to conduct demining operations themselves.<sup>159</sup>

The representative of the United Kingdom noted that his Government had played a major part in humanitarian relief in Angola. He stressed that UNITA and the Angolan Government must cooperate fully with international relief efforts. He welcomed the proposal to expand the human rights component of UNAVEM III. The presence of additional human rights observers would help to ensure that basic rights were respected and to underline the common goals of achieving a stable and democratic Angola.<sup>160</sup>

The representative of Angola stated that the prospects for peace and for political and economic stability increasingly appeared to be within reach. The steps taken by the international community, following the signing of the Lusaka Protocol, had given a major

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<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

boost to the peace process and helped curtail the initial pessimism. The presence and activities of United Nations “Blue Helmets” had contributed to the climate of détente and the observance in practice of the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol. However, the full discharge of the Mission’s mandate would be effective only if it continued to be provided with adequate means and if its activities were extended throughout the country. Despite the important progress that had already been made, some dangerous factors still persisted. The implementation of the Protocol was five months behind schedule, because UNITA’s troops had so far not been confined to quarters, and the consequent delay in the final formation of the country’s single national army. Other issues that were hindering the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol included isolated military actions, the renewed mining by UNITA of areas which had earlier been cleared, the kidnapping of civilians, and the slow pace of the release of prisoners of war. All those issues had to be resolved urgently to avoid the risk of military confrontation and the relapse into war. In order to help shape the new reality created by the peace prospects and to cement national reconciliation, the Angolan Parliament had recently given its permission for the revision of the Angolan Constitution, in order to accommodate the leader of UNITA in one of the two offices of Vice-President that would be part of the Angolan political system. Moreover, to bring to a conclusion the process of the presidential elections, it had also decided that the party that had received the largest number of votes, the Movimento Popular para a Libertação de Angola (MPLA), would designate a Vice-President, while the other Vice-President would be designated by UNITA, which had received the second highest number of votes. In conclusion, the speaker said that the settlement of the Angolan conflict would make an important contribution to stability and security in southern Africa, and to the exploitation of the region’s vast economic potential. Moreover, it would also allow the resources currently devoted to humanitarian assistance to be reallocated for development.<sup>161</sup>

**Decision of 12 October 1995 (3586th meeting):  
statement by the President**

On 4 October 1995, pursuant to resolution 1008 (1995), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., pp. 15-18.

a report on UNAVEM III.<sup>162</sup> He reported that President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi had met in Franceville, Gabon, on 10 August, and in Brussels on 25 September 1995 respectively. During the first meeting, the two leaders had agreed on modalities to continue bilateral discussions on the completion of the formation of the Angolan Armed Forces, including the global incorporation of UNITA troops. In Brussels, they had agreed on consolidating the peace process and the progress achieved thus far.

The Secretary-General further stated that reports of ceasefire violations had shown a steady decline. The situation remained relatively calm, except in the northern region with reports of reinforcement and sporadic shelling by both parties. With regard to the establishment of the quartering areas for UNITA troops, significant progress had been made, although much remained to be done. Demining activities by the Angolan Armed Forces and UNITA had continued. However, UNAVEM continued to investigate allegations of renewed laying of mines. There had been also continuing complaints of human rights violations, particularly by elements of the armed forces and police of both sides. The Joint Commission had decided to inscribe human rights on the agenda of its sessions and to request UNAVEM to report periodically on the human rights situation.

The Secretary-General expressed concern at the slow progress in the quartering process, which was essential for the early implementation of the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol. He called on both parties to finalize promptly the arrangements for the return of the Angolan Armed Forces barracks, the quartering of the rapid reaction police and the disarmament of civilians, and to conclude without delay their discussions on the formation of the new armed forces. Although the meetings, and the continuing dialogue between the Government and UNITA in the framework of the Joint Commission, were gradually generating mutual trust and confidence, the parties should continue to demonstrate their political will by backing up their declarations with concrete actions on the ground. They should refrain, in particular, from troop movements or military activities that might create tension or lead to renewed hostilities. Their follow-up on their declaration on free circulation of persons and goods, as well as the repatriation of mercenaries, would also be

<sup>162</sup> S/1995/842.

specifically important in that context. He also called for increased financial, technical and material assistance from the donor community to help rebuild the Angolan economic infrastructure.

At its 3586th meeting, on 12 October 1995, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Nigeria) then stated that, following consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:<sup>163</sup>

The Security Council welcomes the report of the Secretary-General of 4 October 1995 on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III pursuant to paragraph 21 of Council resolution 1008 (1995) of 7 August 1995.

The Council has noted the positive developments in Angola since the report of the Secretary-General of 17 July 1995. The Council is encouraged by the meetings in Franceville, Gabon, and Brussels between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi which provided the opportunity to discuss the critical issues and reach agreement on consolidation of the peace process. These meetings, particularly the round table in Brussels, provided important reassurance to the international community. The Council welcomes the continued commitment of both parties to the process of dialogue. The Council commends the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, of the observer States to the Angolan peace process and of States in the region to help in carrying forward the process.

The Council notes with satisfaction the progress in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, including the reduction of ceasefire violations, the disengagement of forces, the enhanced cooperation between the parties and the Mission, the signing of the status-of-forces agreement, the provision of logistic facilities for the Mission and the conclusion of the joint declaration on the free circulation of persons and goods. The Council also welcomes the ongoing deployment of Mission support units and stresses the importance of a timely deployment of the infantry battalions of the Mission. The Council stresses the importance of an independent Mission radio and urges the Government of Angola to provide, without delay, the facilities to allow it to operate.

The Council nonetheless remains concerned at delays in the peace process, in particular in respect of quartering of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola and the rapid reaction police, demining, disarmament, the return of the Angolan Armed Forces to barracks and the formation of the new

armed forces as well as the repatriation of mercenaries. The Council underscores the peril that may result from further delays. The Council is also deeply concerned at allegations of renewed laying of mines and demands that all parties refrain from such actions.

The Council emphasizes that continuing cooperation between the parties is essential if a sustained cessation of hostilities is to take hold. In this regard, the Council calls upon the parties to refrain from troop movements or military activities that might create tension or lead to renewed hostilities.

The Council is concerned about the continuing complaints of human rights violations and endorses the decision of the Joint Commission to inscribe human rights in the agenda of all its regular sessions.

The Council wishes to emphasize that post-peacekeeping elements can make an important contribution to a viable long-term peace. The Council notes the linkage between political and economic well-being and the need to ensure that displaced people and refugees are able to return to their places of origin. The Council reaffirms the Secretary-General's call for a comprehensive coordinated and integrated effort on the part of all relevant international organizations to help to rebuild the Angolan economic infrastructure. The Council requests Member States to continue to support the ongoing humanitarian activities in Angola. It welcomes the commitments made at the Round Table Conference, held at Brussels in September 1995, and urges those that have made pledges to fulfil their commitments as soon as possible.

The Council will continue to monitor closely the situation in Angola and looks forward to future reports of the Secretary-General.

**Decision of 28 November 1995 (3598th  
meeting): statement by the President**

At its 3598th meeting, on 28 November 1995, the Security Council resumed consideration of the item on the agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Oman) drew the attention of the members of the Council to a letter dated 28 November 1995 from the representative of Angola, addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the text of the Joint Communiqué issued by the Government and UNITA on 13 November 1995 reaffirming their commitment to the peace process.<sup>164</sup> The President then stated that, following consultations among the members of the Council, he had been

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<sup>164</sup> S/1995/991.

<sup>163</sup> S/PRST/1995/51.

authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:<sup>165</sup>

The Security Council welcomes the joint communiqué issued by the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola on 13 November 1995 in which they reaffirmed their commitment to the peace process. The Council is pleased to note that some of the steps necessary to carry out the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol have been taken recently, including the resumption of the military talks in Luanda and the movement of the first combatants of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to quartering areas on 20 November 1995, the first anniversary of the signing of the Lusaka Protocol. The Council underlines the need for the quartering process to be completed as soon as possible.

The Council, however, notes that despite these positive steps there continue to be ceasefire violations, importation of weapons, restrictions on freedom of movement and the presence of mercenaries. The Council stresses that much remains to be done urgently to implement fully the Lusaka Protocol, including strict observance of the ceasefire, the continuation of the quartering process, the quartering of the rapid reaction police, the return of the Angolan Armed Forces to defensive positions and the resolution of questions regarding the modalities of military integration. The Council calls upon the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to continue to cooperate with the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III and to respect fully the status and security of international personnel.

The Council will follow developments in Angola closely and looks forward to receiving the comprehensive report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Angola by 8 December 1995.

**Decision of 21 December 1995 (3614th meeting):  
statement by the President**

On 7 December 1995, pursuant to resolution 1008 (1995), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on UNAVEM III.<sup>166</sup> He reported that military talks between the Government and UNITA on the global incorporation of UNITA troops into the Angolan Armed Forces and the completion of the formation of the joint army had been suspended as a result of a shooting incident on 14 October at the residence of the UNITA Chief of staff. On 13 November, however, both parties had issued a joint communiqué in which they had reaffirmed their commitment to the Lusaka Protocol and their willingness to cooperate in furthering the peace process. On 17 November, negotiations on the completion of the formation of the

Angolan Armed Forces had resumed. Those positive developments had been followed by the first movements of UNITA troops into the quartering areas on 20 November.

The Secretary-General noted with satisfaction that quartering had at last begun, but deplored that several important tasks such as the release of prisoners and the resolution of the issue of mercenaries, had hardly yet commenced. It was also unacceptable that violations of the ceasefire and military preparations, including mine-laying, still persisted a full year after the signing of the Lusaka Protocol, and that human rights abuses and restrictions on the free circulation of the population also continued. The unsatisfactory state of affairs was aggravated by recent propaganda attacks and threats against the United Nations. He further noted that, although much had been achieved since the signing of the Lusaka Protocol, many of the factors that had prevented implementation of the earlier peace accords were still much in evidence, such as distrust, continuing military activities, “foot-dragging” over quartering and related activities, obstruction of free movement and the restoration of government administration, as well as lack of respect for United Nations and other international personnel. He therefore urgently appealed to the Government and UNITA to demonstrate through concrete action that they were indeed committed to peace and were ready to correct those negative factors.

At its 3614th meeting, on 21 December 1995, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Russian Federation) drew the attention of the members of the Council to a letter dated 21 December 1995 from the representative of Angola, addressed to the President of the Security Council.<sup>167</sup> He then stated that, following consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:<sup>168</sup>

The Security Council has considered the report of the Secretary-General of 7 December 1995 on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III, submitted pursuant to paragraph 21 of Council resolution 1008 (1995) of 7 August 1995.

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<sup>165</sup> S/PRST/1995/58.

<sup>166</sup> S/1995/1012.

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<sup>167</sup> S/1995/1052.

<sup>168</sup> S/PRST/1995/62.



The Council reiterates its concern at the slow progress in implementation of the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol. The Council stresses the importance of full implementation of the political and all other aspects of the peace process. It underlines that several important tasks that were to have been resolved in the early stages of the peace process remain incomplete, including the exchange of detailed military information, the release of all prisoners, the redeployment of those government troops near quartering areas of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, and the final resolution of the issue of mercenaries. In this respect, the Council welcomes the recent announcement by the Government of Angola that it will terminate the contract and repatriate the personnel of the firm involved and will release all remaining prisoners.

The Council notes that the deployment of Mission troops is nearly complete and that four quartering areas are prepared to receive troops. The Council expresses its disappointment at the slow pace at which the quartering process has proceeded. It calls upon the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola and the Government of Angola to fulfil their commitments regarding the expeditious quartering and demobilization of former combatants, the quartering of the rapid reaction police and the return of the Angolan Armed Forces to the nearest barracks.

The Council expresses deep concern at the delays in establishing modalities for the integration of the armed forces, which is vital for the process of national reconciliation. The Council notes with dismay the series of disruptions in the military talks between the parties. It urges the parties to continue the military talks without interruption and to conclude an equitable and practicable agreement without further delay. The Council underlines that such an agreement should give particular attention to the expeditious completion of the demobilization and integration of former combatants. It recognizes that the prompt and complete exchange of military information is vital to the success of these talks and urges the parties to provide the information required by the Lusaka Protocol without further delay.

The Council is gravely concerned by continued violations of the ceasefire and military offensives, in particular events in the north-west. The Council calls upon both parties to refrain from military activities or troop movements which lead to increased tensions and resumed hostilities and to implement without delay the disengagement plan being prepared by the Mission.

The Council deplores the recent threat to the safety of Mission personnel. The Council reminds the parties, in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, that they must take the steps necessary to ensure the safety and security of all Mission and other international personnel.

The Council expresses regret that the Mission radio is not yet operational. The Council calls upon the Government of Angola to facilitate its immediate establishment. It also calls upon both parties to cease the dissemination of hostile propaganda.

The Council is concerned at delays in implementing mine-clearance programmes planned by the United Nations and by Member States, and calls upon the Government of Angola to facilitate issuance of necessary authorizations to relevant personnel. The Council calls upon the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to intensify their individual and joint demining efforts. It underlines the fact that the opening of roads within Angola, including the clearance of mines and the restoration of bridges, is vital not only to the peace process and the complete deployment of the Mission, but also to the effective delivery of humanitarian assistance and future peacebuilding efforts. The Council is gravely concerned at the reports of remining in violation of the Lusaka Protocol.

The Council emphasizes that Angolans themselves bear ultimate responsibility for restoring peace and stability in their country. The Council stresses that concrete actions are urgently needed from the parties to put the peace process on an irreversible course. It notes that continued support for the Mission will depend on the extent to which the parties demonstrate their political will to achieve a lasting peace.

The Council notes the important role played by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and by the three observer States in the promotion of the peace process in Angola and calls upon them to further contribute appropriately to the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol within the agreed time framework and to assist the Mission in the successful fulfilment of its tasks.

The Council requests the Secretary-General to update it on the progress of the Angolan peace process and the deployment and activities of the Mission at least on a monthly basis.

## **2. The question of South Africa**

### **Decision of 19 February 1993: letter from the President to the Secretary-General**

On 22 December 1992, pursuant to resolution 772 (1992) of 17 August 1992, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a report on the

question of South Africa in which he reported on the findings of his Special Envoys to South Africa, on his good offices and on the activities of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA).<sup>1</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> S/25004.