

## PEACE ACCORDS FOR ANGOLA

The Government of the People's Republic of Angola and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA),

With mediation by the Government of Portugal and the participation of observers from the Government of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

Accept as binding the following documents, which constitute the Peace Accords for Angola:

- (1) The cease-fire agreement (including annexes I and II thereto) lsee attachment II;
- (2) Fundamental principles for the establishment of peace in Angola (including the annex thereto regarding the Joint Political-Military Commission) lsee attachment III;
- (3) Concepts for resolving the issues still pending between the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA lsee attachment IIII;
- (4) The Protocol of Estoril lsee attachment IVI.

These peace accords were intialled on 1 May 1991 by the respective heads of delegation and subsequently approved by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA (as evidenced in the communication addressed to the Prime Minister of Portugal not later than 12 midnight on 15 May 1991, which entailed the de facto suspension of hostilities in Angola beginning on that date), and will enter into force immediately following their signature.

*José Eduardo dos Santos*

PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA

*Jonas Malheiro Savimbi*

PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL  
UNION FOR THE TOTAL  
INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA

Lisbon, 31 May 1991

## CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT

### I – DEFINITION AND GENERAL PRINCIPLES

1 – The cease-fire consists of the cessation of hostilities between the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA with a view to attaining peace throughout the national territory.

2 – The cease-fire must be total and definitive throughout the national territory.

3 – The cease-fire must guarantee the free circulation of persons and goods throughout the national territory.

4 – Overall supervision of the cease-fire will be the responsibility of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA acting within the framework of the Joint Political-Military Commission (CCPM) created pursuant to the annex to the document entitled "Fundamental Principles for the Establishment of Peace in Angola". The United Nations will be invited to send monitors to support the Angolan parties, at the request of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola.

5 – The cease-fire includes the cessation of all hostile propaganda between the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA at both the domestic and international levels.

6 – After its entry into force, the cease-fire will obligate the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA to refrain from acquiring lethal material. The United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic informed the Government of the People's Republic of Angola that they will support implementation of the cease-fire by ceasing to supply lethal material to any Angolan party and encouraging other countries to act in a similar fashion.

## II – ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE CEASE-FIRE

1 – Full entry into force of the cease-fire entails strict observance of the commitments assumed by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA as well as of the decisions made by bodies having the authority to verify and monitor the cease-fire.

2 – Observance of the cease-fire shall not endanger logistical supplies of non-lethal material for the military forces present (in the areas).

3 – The cease-fire entails the release of all civilian and military prisoners who were detained as a consequence of the conflict between the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA. Verification of such release will be performed by the International Committee of the Red Cross.

4 – The cease-fire applies to all foreign forces present in Angolan territory.

5 – Entry into force of the cease-fire shall not endanger the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola.

6 – The cease-fire will, beginning on the date and time agreed upon for its entry into force, entail the cessation of:

- a) All armed air, land or sea attacks, as well as all actions of sabotage;
- b) All offensive movement of troops or armed groups;
- c) Attempts to occupy new ground positions and the movement of military forces and resources from one area to another without prior agreement between the parties;
- d) All military manoeuvres aimed at installing weapons with the capability to endanger the safety of settlements and the economic, administrative and military infrastructures;
- e) Patrol activities outside the areas to be demarcated around the areas of assembly for the troops of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA;
- f) All acts of violence against the civilian population;
- g) The planting of mines and actions aimed at impeding activities to deactivate mines;
- h) Unjustified restrictions or impediments on the free circulation of persons and goods;
- i) Any other actions that may impede the normal evolution of the cease-fire process;
- j) Receipt of lethal material, regardless of its origin.

7 – Failure to observe any of the provisions set forth above constitutes a violation of the cease-fire, without prejudice to decisions made by the verification and monitoring groups in the performance of their duties.

## III – VERIFICATION AND MONITORING

1 – Prior to entry into force of the cease-fire, a Joint Verification and Monitoring Commission (CMVF) will be formed. It will be composed of representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA, as members, and of representatives of Portugal, the United States of America, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as observers. In addition, a United Nations representative will be invited to the CMVF meetings.

2 – CMVF will report to the Joint Political-Military Commission (CCPM).

3 – CMVF will have the authority to create any structure it considers appropriate for the performance of its duties, namely the monitoring groups necessary for full observance of the cease-fire throughout Angolan territory. Such groups shall be subordinate to CMVF.

4 – The monitoring groups, which will be established before entry into force of the cease-fire, will be composed of an equal number of representatives from the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA.

5 – The United Nations personnel, who will have their own command structure, will verify whether the monitoring groups are assuming their responsibilities. This will include United Nations support in the investigation and resolution of alleged cease-fire violations. The Government that will be sending United Nations monitors will be selected with the participation of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA, working within the framework of CCPM.

6 – The bodies and mechanisms created to verify and monitor the cease-fire will be temporary in nature and will cease to exist at the end of the cease-fire (period).

7 – Other provisions with respect to verification and monitoring of the cease-fire are set forth in annex I to this agreement.

#### IV – REGULATING THE VERIFICATION AND MONITORING MEASURES

1 – CMVF will have the authority necessary to ensure the effective observance of the cease-fire. Particularly, it shall familiarize itself with the areas of troop assembly, monitor compliance with the rules of conduct previously agreed on for the troops in the areas of assembly, coordinate the activity of the monitoring groups, and rule on the complaints and claims presented in relation to possible violations of the cease-fire.

2 – CMVF will decide on its own regulations, and also has the authority to define the functions and approve the regulations of such monitoring groups as it may establish.

3 – The monitoring groups will make “on site” verifications of observance of the cease-fire. Specifically, they are to prevent, verify and investigate possible violations.

#### V – TIMETABLE OF THE CEASE-FIRE

**1 May** – Initialling of the Accord

**By midnight on 15 May** – Notification to be sent to the Portuguese Government of acceptance by the parties.

**Midnight 15 May** – “de facto” suspension of hostilities.

**29-31 May**

- a) Signature and entry into force of the cease-fire agreement;
- b) CCPM and CMVF take office;
- c) The monitoring groups begin to travel to the pre-determined sites;
- d) Beginning of the United Nations verification operations.

**15 June**

- (a) Completion of the establishment of the monitoring groups at the predetermined sites, and notification to CMVF that they are operational;
- (b) The monitoring system begins to function.

**By 30 June** – Completion of installation of the United Nations verification system.

**1 July** – Forces begin to move to the areas of assembly. The verification and monitoring groups must be notified in advance of each movement of forces.

**1 August** – Completion of the movement of forces to the areas of assembly.

**On the date of the elections** – Completion of the cease-fire process and abolition of the verification and monitoring bodies.

#### FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE IN ANGOLA

##### *Point 1*

Recognition by UNITA of the Angolan State, of President José Eduardo dos Santos and of the Angolan Government until the general elections are held.

##### *Point 2*

At the moment the cease-fire enters into force, UNITA will acquire the right to conduct and freely participate in political activities in accordance with the revised Constitution and pertinent laws for the creation of a multi-party democracy.

##### *Point 3*

The Angolan Government will hold discussions with all political forces in order to survey their opinions concerning the proposed changes in the Constitution. The Angolan Government will then work with all the parties to draft the laws that will regulate the electoral process.

##### *Point 4*

Free and fair elections for a new Government will take place following voter registration conducted under the supervision of international elections observers, who will remain in Angolan until they certify that the elections were free and fair and that the results have been officially announced. At the time of the signature of the cease-fire, the parties will determine the period within which free and fair elections must be held. The exact date of the said elections will be established through consultation with all political forces in Angola.

##### *Point 5*

Respect for human rights and basic freedoms, including the right of free association.

*Point 6*

The process of creating the National Army will begin with the entry into force of the cease-fire and will be concluded on the date of the elections, under terms to be agreed on between the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA. The neutrality of the National Army in the electoral process will be guaranteed by the Angolan parties, acting within the framework of CCPM, with the support of the international monitoring group.

*Point 7*

Declaration and entry into force of the cease-fire throughout Angolan territory, in accordance with the agreement to be concluded on this subject between the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA.

**ANNEX 1**

1 – The Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA agree to the formation of a Joint Political-Military Commission (CCPM), to be established at Luanda at the time of the signature of the "Fundamental Principles for the Establishment of Peace in Angola"

2 – CCPM shall be composed of representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and of UNITA as members, and by the representatives of Portugal, the United States, and the Soviet Union as observers. In addition, a representative of the United Nations may be invited to participate in the meetings of CCPM.

3 – It shall be the task of CCPM to see that the peace accords are applied, thereby guaranteeing strict compliance with all political and military understandings, and to make the final decision on possible violations of those accords.

4 – CCPM shall have the authority necessary to approve all the rules relating to its functioning, particularly its own internal regulations. Its decisions will be made by consensus between the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA.

**CONCEPTS FOR RESOLVING THE ISSUES STILL  
PENDING BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA AND UNITA**

1 – At the moment the cease-fire enters into force, UNITA will acquire the right to conduct and freely participate in political activities

in accordance with the revised Constitution and the pertinent laws for the creation of a multi-party democracy. At the time of the signature of the cease-fire, the parties will determine the period within which they must hold free and fair elections. The exact date of the said elections will be established through consultation with all political forces in Angola.

2 – The Angolan Government will hold discussions with all political forces in order to survey their opinions concerning proposed changes in the Constitution. The Angolan Government will then work with all the parties to draft the laws that will regulate the electoral process.

3 – The cease-fire agreement will oblige the parties to cease receiving lethal material. The United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and all other countries will support the implementation of the cease-fire and will refrain from furnishing lethal material to any of the Angolan parties.

4 – Overall political supervision of the cease-fire process will be the responsibility of the Angolan parties, acting within the framework of CCPM. Verification of the cease-fire will be the responsibility of the international monitoring group. The United Nations will be invited to send monitors to support the Angolan parties, at the request of the Government of Angola. The Governments that are to send monitors will be chosen by the Angolan parties, acting within the framework of CCPM.

5 – The process of creating the National Army will begin with the entry into force of the cease-fire and will be concluded on the date of the elections. The neutrality of the National Army in the electoral process will be guaranteed by the Angolan parties, acting within the framework of CCPM, with the support of the international monitoring group. The Angolan parties reserve for later negotiations the discussions on the foreign assistance that may be necessary in order to form the National Army.

6 – Free and fair elections for the new Government will take place under the supervision of international elections observers, who will remain in Angola until they certify that the elections were free and fair and that the results have been officially announced.

**PROTOCOL OF ESTORIL**

The Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA, meeting at Estoril, Portugal, with the Portuguese Government as mediator and in the presence of observers from the United States of

America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, have reached the following agreements and understandings regarding political and military matters:

- I. Elections
- II. The Joint Political-Military Commission (CCPM)
- III. Principles relating to the issue of internal security during the period between the entry into force of the cease-fire and the holding of elections
- IV. Political rights to be exercised by UNITA following the cease-fire
- V. Administrative structures
- VI. Formation of the Angolan armed forces

## 1. ELECTIONS

1. – Elections will take place in Angola to choose the President of the Republic and the National Assembly. The question of whether or not these elections will be held simultaneously will be decided through consultations among all Angolan political forces.

2. – The President will be elected by direct and secret suffrage, through a majority system, with recourse to a second round, if necessary.

3. – The National Assembly will be elected by direct and secret suffrage, through a system of proportional representation at the national level.

4. – The elections will be preceded by an official election campaign period, the duration of which will be determined following a process of consultations involving all Angolan political forces. A technical opinion from a specialized international body such as the United Nations, for example, will be obtained on the question of the desirable duration of the election campaign in Angola. That opinion, however, will not be considered binding by any of the parties.

5. – All Angolan citizens of adult age may vote, participate in the election campaign, and stand for election without any discrimination or intimidation. The definition of what is to be understood as “adult age” will be dealt with in the election law, to be drafted following the cease-fire, after a process of consultations between the Government of the People’s Republic of Angola and all Angolan political forces.

6. – The voting will be secret, and special provisions will be made for those who cannot read or write. These provisions will be included in the election law, to be drafted following the cease-fire,

after a process of consultations between the Government of the People’s Republic of Angola and all Angolan political forces.

7. – All political parties and interested persons will have the opportunity to organize and to participate in the elections process on an equal footing, regardless of their political positions.

8. – Total freedom of expression, association, and access to the media will be guaranteed.

9. – The parties have accepted the tripartite proposal by the delegations of Portugal in its capacity of mediator, and the United States and the Soviet Union as observers, to the effect that 1 September to 30 November 1992 will be the period within which free and fair elections should be held in Angola, the cease-fire being signed in May 1991. The parties have reached an understanding that the following tripartite declaration is to be taken into consideration in the discussion of the precise date for the holding of elections:

“Taking into consideration the logistical difficulties in organizing the elections process, specifically the desirability that the elections be held during the dry season, and the need to reduce the high costs that the international community will have to bear in monitoring the cease-fire, the delegations of Portugal, the United States and the Soviet Union heartily recommend that the elections be held during the first part of the suggested period, preferably between 1 September and 1 October 1992.”

## II. JOINT POLITICAL-MILITARY COMMISSION (CCPM)

1. According to the document entitled “Concepts for resolving the issues still pending between the Government of the People’s Republic of Angola and UNITA”, and the annex to the “Fundamental principles for the establishment of peace in Angola”, the Joint Political-Military Commission (CCPM) has as its mission the overall political supervision of the cease-fire process. It will have the duty to see that the Peace Accords are applied, thereby guaranteeing strict compliance with all political and military understandings, and to make the final decision on possible violations of those Accords.

2. – CCPM will have the authority necessary to approve all rules relating to its own functioning, particularly its own internal regulations. Its decisions will be made by consensus between the Government of the People’s Republic of Angola and UNITA, after hearing the opinion of the observers.

Sole paragraph. - CCPM does not seek to replace the Government of the People's Republic of Angola.

3. - In the light of the foregoing, CCPM, with headquarters in Luanda, should structure itself so as to:

3.1 - Guarantee the conditions of peace for the holding of free, fair, multi-party, and internationally verifiable elections;

3.2 - Ensure the fulfilment of all the political understandings resulting from the Peace Accords relating to the electoral process;

3.3 - Supervise the implementation of the Cease-Fire Agreement within the framework of the Joint Verification and Monitoring Commission (CMVF) and cooperate with the representatives of the United Nations;

3.4 - Inform itself about possible threats to the territorial integrity of the country;

3.5 - Discuss, within the sphere of its authority, questions relating to Angolan exiles.

4. - CCPM is to be constituted at the time of the signature of the Cease-Fire Agreement.

5.- CCPM shall be composed of representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA as members, and by representatives of Portugal, the United States and the Soviet Union as observers. The United Nations may be represented, in the capacity of invited guest.

5.1 - Members and observers shall be supported by assistants and technical advisers for the areas assigned to them, namely:

a) Joint Cease-Fire Verification and Monitoring Commission (CMVF);

b) Joint Commission for the Formation of the Angolan Armed Forces (CCFA);

c) The Political Commission.

Sole paragraph. - In the case of the members of CCPM, the assistants and technical advisers will have to be Angolans.

6. - The meetings of CCPM shall be presided over, alternately in accordance with the principle of rotation, by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and by UNITA, without prejudice to the principle of consensus in the decision-making process.

7. - It shall be the responsibility of CCPM to draft its internal regulations, as well as to determine its budget.

8. - The mandate of CCPM ends on the date the elected Government takes office.

### III. PRINCIPLES RELATING TO THE ISSUE OF INTERNAL SECURITY DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE CEASE-FIRE AND THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS

1 - All Angolans shall have the right to conduct and participate in political activities without intimidation, in accordance with the revised Constitution and pertinent laws for the creation of a multi-party democracy, and the provisions of the Peace Accords.

2.1 - The neutrality of the police, whose functions and activities are the responsibility of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, shall be the object of verification and monitoring by teams of monitors composed of two members designated by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, two members designated by UNITA and one expert in police affairs to be designated by and subordinate to the United Nations command structure.

2.2 - Within the sphere of their authority, the monitoring teams shall have as their specific mandate the duty to visit police facilities, examine their activities, and investigate possible violations of political rights committed by the police. These teams may move freely throughout the entire territory of Angola.

2.3 - The monitoring teams are subordinate to CCPM, and must submit reports of their activities to that body.

2.4 - In principle, there will be three monitoring teams for each Angolan province. CCPM may modify the number of monitoring teams in accordance with the needs of each province.

3.1 - Consonant with the invitation from the Government, UNITA will participate in the police force that is responsible for maintaining public order.

3.2 - To that end, shortly after entry into force of the cease-fire, and as a means of strengthening trust between the parties, the availability of vacancies in the ranks of the police force to be filled by personnel designated by UNITA will be guaranteed, and those personnel will be given appropriate training.

4 - UNITA will be responsible for the personal safety of its highest-ranking leaders. The Government of the People's Republic of Angola will grant police status to the members of UNITA in charge of guaranteeing that safety.



#### **IV. POLITICAL RIGHTS TO BE EXERCISED BY UNITA FOLLOWING THE CEASE-FIRE**

1 – According to the provisions contained in the document entitled “Concepts for resolving the issues still pending between the Government of the People’s Republic of Angola and UNITA”, and in the document on “Fundamental principles for the establishment of peace in Angola”, at the time of entry into force of the cease-fire, UNITA will acquire the right to conduct and freely participate in political activities, according to the revised Constitution and the pertinent laws for the creation of a multi-party democracy, particularly including the following rights:

- a) Freedom of expression;
- b) The right to present, publish and freely debate in political programmes;
- c) The right to recruit and enrol members;
- d) The right to hold meetings and demonstrations;
- e) The right of access to the government media;
- f) The right to free movement and personal safety of its members;
- g) The right to present candidates in the elections;
- h) The right to open headquarters and representative offices anywhere in Angola.

2 – Without prejudice to the stipulations of the previous paragraphs, which permit UNITA to exercise those rights immediately, UNITA must, after entry into force of the cease-fire, satisfy the formal requirements for its registration as a political party pursuant to the “Political Parties Law” of the People’s Republic of Angola.

#### **V. ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES**

1 – Both parties accept the principle of the extension of the Central Administration to those areas of Angola that are presently beyond the range of its authority.

2 – Both parties recognize that such extension must not be made abruptly or endanger the free circulation of persons and goods, the activities of the political forces, and the execution of the task related to the electoral process.

3 – Both parties agree to leave for a later date the study of the actual implementation of such extension, which will be carried out within the framework of CCPM by competent teams composed of representatives of the Government of the People’s Republic of Angola and UNITA. Those teams may have recourse to international technical advisers.

#### **VI. FORMATION OF THE ANGOLAN ARMED FORCES**

##### **A – Identification and general principles**

Whereas the peace process between the Government of the People’s Republic of Angola and UNITA presupposes the need to form armed forces, The Government of the People’s Republic of Angola and UNITA agree to the following:

- 1 – An Angolan Armed Forces shall be formed.
- 2 – The Angolan Armed Forces:
  - a) Shall have as their overall mission the defence and safeguarding of independence and territorial integrity;
  - b) May, in compliance with provisions of law, perform other missions of general interest that are the responsibility of the State, or collaborate in tasks related to satisfying the basic needs and improving the quality of life of the populations, without prejudice to the aforesaid overall mission;
  - c) Shall be composed exclusively of Angolan citizens; furthermore, its organizational structure is unitary for the entire territory;
  - d) Shall have such composition, high command structure, troops, mechanisms, and equipment as determined in accordance with foreseeable external threats and the country’s socio-economic conditions;
  - e) Are non-partisan and obey the competent organs of sovereignty, within the principle of subordination to political authority;
  - f) Swear publicly to respect the Constitution and other laws of the Republic.

3 – Members of the military on active duty shall enjoy active voting status, but may not use their duties or the structural units of the Angolan Armed Forces to interfere in any other partisan political or union activities.

4 – The process of formation of the Armed Forces shall begin with the entry into force of the cease-fire and end on the date of the elections.

5 – The process of formation of the Armed Forces shall evolve simultaneously with the assembly, disarmament, and integration into civilian life of the troops that are gradually being demobilized as a consequence of the cease-fire.

6 – Recruitment into the Angolan Armed Forces during the period prior to the elections shall proceed in accordance with the principle of free will, drawing from the ranks of troops that are not part of FAPLA and FALA.



7 – It is mandatory that all military personnel incorporated into the Angolan Armed Forces during the period prior to the date of the elections, attend professional training courses with a view to achieving unification in terms of doctrine and procedure that is conducive to the development of an essential “esprit de corps”.

8 – The neutrality of the Armed Forces during the period prior to the holding of the elections shall be guaranteed by the Angolan parties acting within the framework of CCPM and the Joint Commission for the Formation of the Armed Forces (CCFA).

9 – By the time the elections are held, only the Angolan Armed Forces shall exist; there may be no other troops whatsoever. All members of the present armed forces of each party who do not become members of the Angolan Armed Forces shall be demobilized prior to the holding of elections.

10 – Both parties agree that individual rights acquired by military personnel of the Angolan Armed Forces during the period prior to the elections shall continue to be assured, and that the structural units created up to that point to consolidate those same Armed Forces shall be safeguarded.

11 – The units of the Angolan Armed Forces shall be formed beginning at the platoon level.

## **B – Troop Strength**

1 – The parties agree that the troop strength of the Angolan Armed Forces by the time of the elections shall be as follows:

Army – 40.000

Air Force – 6.000

Navy – 4.000

2 – Army personnel shall be distributed in accordance with the following plan:

– 15.000 operations soldiers, 7.200 of whom shall belong to the Military Regions, 4.800 to the Army General Reserve and 3.000 to the Special Forces;

– 15.000 soldiers for support services and administration;

– 6.000 non-commissioned officers;

– 4.000 officers.

3 – Each of the parties shall provide the Army with a total of 20.000 men, distributed as follows:

– 15.000 soldiers, of whom 7.500 are to be operations personnel;

– 3.000 non-commissioned officers;

– 2.000 officers.

4 – The first troops assigned to the Air Force and Navy shall be furnished from the respective branches of the FAPLA, inasmuch as FALA does not have such units. As soon as the process of training the Angolan Armed Forces begins, UNITA will be able to participate in the Air Force and Navy under terms to be defined within the framework of CCFA.

5 – The Navy and Air Force shall be subject to verification and monitoring without prejudice to their being permitted to carry out controlled missions as a means of assuring their operationality and the defence of economic interests. As soon as the Navy and Air Force units become part of the Angolan Armed Forces, they shall be subordinate to the High Command of the Angolan Armed Forces.

## **C – Command structures of the Angolan Armed Forces**

### **1 – General principles**

- a) A Joint Commission for the formation of the Armed Forces (CCFA) shall exist specifically to direct the process of formation of the Angolan Armed Forces and subordinate to the CCPM;
- b) The Angolan Armed Forces Command Structure, including the High Command of the Angolan Armed Forces and the commands of the three branches (Army, Air Force and Navy) is shown on the diagram in the annex;
- c) The entire command structure of the Angolan Armed Forces, although derived during the period of its formation from FAPLA and FALA, is to become strictly non-partisan and will receive directives and orders from only CCPM, CCFA and the Angolan Armed Forces chain of command;
- d) Appointment to the Angolan Armed Forces High Command and the command of the three branches of the Angolan Armed Forces are to be proposed by CCFA and approved by CCPM;
- e) The logistics of the Angolan Armed Forces shall be joint, and a Logistical and Infrastructure Command, subordinate to the High Command of the Angolan Armed Forces, shall be created for this purpose.

### **2 – Joint Commission for the Formation of the Armed Forces**

- a) CCFA, which is directly subordinate to CCPM, constitutes the transitional body, until the date of the elections, between the political-military echelon and the Angolan Armed Forces echelon;
- b) CCFA is to be composed of representatives of FAPLA and FALA as members, assisted by representatives of the country(ies) selected to advise them during the formation process of the Angolan Armed Forces;

- c) The duties of CCFA shall be as follows; however, other duties may be assigned to it by CCPM:
- Proposes to CCPM the rules applicable to the Angolan Armed Forces;
  - Propose to CCPM the budget to be allocated to the Angolan Armed Forces (for the period) prior to the elections;
  - Undertake strategic planning for the Angolan Armed Forces (during the period) prior to the elections;
  - Propose to CCPM criteria for selecting personnel from FAPLA and FALA for purposes of forming the Angolan Armed Forces;
  - Propose to CCPM the names of the principal commanding officers of FAA, down to and including the brigade echelon;
  - Draft directives concerning the phasing of the process of staffing the structural units of FAA.

### 3 - Angolan Armed Forces High Command

- a) The overall mission of the High Command of the Angolan Armed Forces is to detail the generic directives received from CCFA, with a view to staffing the structural units and supporting the forces;
- b) The High Command is composed (during the period) prior to the elections, of two general officers having equal rank, designated by each of the parties. Its decisions shall be valid only when signed by those two general officers;
- c) The High Command is assisted by the Angolan Armed Forces General Staff (EMGFAA), which shall have at least the following staff units, headed by general officers or by field officers:
- Office staff;
  - Planning and organization staff;
  - Military doctrine and instruction staff;
  - Legislation staff;
  - Information staff;
  - Public relations staff;
  - Justice and discipline staff;
  - Operations staff;

### 4 - Army Command

- a) The Army Command shall be structured in due course by the High Command of the Angolan Armed Forces, within the framework of CCFA, and subject to approval by CCPM;

- b) The structure of the Army Command shall accommodate the military regions and military zone(s) in a position directly subordinate to the General Army Chief of Staff (CEME), whose duties are yet to be defined, but which may include: organizing and preparing the forces, training, justice and discipline and logistical support to the assigned forces;
- c) Each military region shall be commanded by a Commanding General assisted by a Deputy General and by a Headquarters General. The Military zones shall be commanded by general officers;
- d) The headquarters of the military regions and zone(s) are as follows:
- Northern Military Region, with headquarters in Uige;
  - Central Military Region, in Huambo;
  - Eastern Military Region, in Luena;
  - Southern Military Region, in Lubango;
  - The Cabinda Military Zone;
- e) The system of forces shall be constituted on the basis of units at the brigade level and other forces that may be assigned to the military regions/zone(s) or maintained in the Army Reserve or the Angolan Armed Forces Reserve.

### 5 - Air Force

The Air Force shall be formed on the basis of the FAPLA Air Force, in accordance with the provision in section B, items 4 and 5 above. The details will be contained in directives issued by CCFA.

### 6 - Navy

The Navy shall be formed on the basis of the FAPLA navy, in accordance with the provision in section B, items 4 and 5 above. The details will be contained in directives to be issued by CCFA:

### 7 - Logistical and Infrastructure Command

- a) The Logistical and Infrastructure Command (CLI) is to be created, and is to be directly subordinate to the High Command of the Angolan Armed Forces;
- b) The Logistical and Infrastructure Command (CLI) shall have as its overall function to plan and propose administrative and logistical support for the Angolan Armed Forces and guarantee that it is provided to the Angolan Armed Forces via common services. In particular, it will be responsible for the logistics of production and procurement;

c) The CLI is to be commanded by a General, assisted by a Second Commander (a general officer) and by a General Staff that, initially, will include the following:

- Infrastructure Staff;
- Common Services Staff;
- Re-equipment Staff;
- Finance Staff;

d) The CLI (Logistical and Infrastructure Command) has command over those support units that may be assigned to it.

#### 8 - Phasing and establishing Timetable for the Process

a) The process of forming the Angolan Armed Forces shall proceed in phases, as follows:

- First phase: appointment of CCFA - prior to the entry into force of the cease-fire;
- Second phase: appointment of the Angolan Armed Forces High Command;
- Third phase: appointment of the commands of the subunits;
- Fourth phase: appointment of the commanders of the Military Regions and the brigade commanders;
- Fifth phase: appointment of the commands of the three branches;

b) Immediately following the appointment of each command, the respective General Staffs are to be organized;

c) The administrative and logistical support system is organized within the principle of transformation, without loss or rupture of existing structures, in accordance with EMGFAA plans approved by CCFA.

#### D - Technical Assistance from Foreign Countries

The parties will inform the Portuguese Government, not later than the date of notification of their acceptance of the Accords, as to which country or countries will be invited to render assistance in the Angolan Armed Forces formation process.

#### E - Demobilization

The accommodation of the demobilized forces constitutes a national problem that must be studied jointly by the two parties and submitted to CCPM for review and a decision. The same treatment should be given to the problem of people who have been physically disabled by the war.

## INTERNAL LEGISLATION

### PRINCIPAL LEGISLATION PASSED IN ANGOLA IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE PROCESS FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRATIZATION

**Law no.º 12/91**, dd 6 May, Constitutional Law (D.R. no.19, 1.ª Serie 1991).

**Law no.º 13/91**, dd 11 May, Law on Nationality (D.R: no.20, 1.ª Serie, 1991).

**Law no.º 14/91**, dd 11 May, Law on Associations (D.R. no. 20, 1.ª Serie, 1991).

**Law no.º 16/91**, dd 11 May 1991, Law on Freedom of Assembly and Demonstration (D.R. no.20, 1.ª Serie, 1991).

**Law no.º 17/91**, dd 11 May 1991, Law on State of Siege and State of Emergency (D.R. no. .20, 1.ª Serie, 1991).

**Law no.º 20/91**, dd 11 May, Law on Political Parties (D.R. no. 20, 1.ª Serie, 1991),

**Law no.º 22/91**, dd 15 June, Press Law (D.R. no. 25, 1.ª Serie, 1991).

**Law no.º 23/91**, dd 15 June, Law on Workers' Strike (D.R. no. 25, 1.ª Serie, 1991).

**Resolution no.º 19/91**, People's Assembly, dd 15 June, Ratification of the Peace Accords (D.R. no.25, 1.ª Serie, 1991).

**Law no.º 24/91**, dd 12 July, Law on Amnesty (D.R. no. 29, 1.ª Serie, 1991).

**Resolution no.º 1/92**, People's Assembly dd 28 February, On the Establishment of the National Electoral Council (D.R. no. 2, 1.ª Serie, 1992).

**Law no.º 4/92**, dd 27 March, Amendment to Law on Political Parties(D.R. no. 13, 1.ª Serie, 1992).

**Law no.º 5/92**, dd 16 April, Electoral Law (D.R. no. 16, 1.ª Serie, 1992).

**Law no.º 6/92**, dd 16 April, Law on International Observation (D.R. no. 16, 1.ª Serie, 1992).

**Law no.º 7/92**, dd 16 April, Law on the National Council for the Media (D.R. no. 16, 1.ª Serie, 1992).

**Law no.º 8/92**, dd 16 April, Law on Broadcast Right (D.R. no. 16, 1.ª Serie, 1992).

**Law no.º 9/92**, dd 16 April, Law on Radio Broadcast Activity (D.R. no. 16, 1.ª Serie, 1992).

**Resolution no.º 3-A/92**, Council of Ministers dd 19 June, on the Electoral Process (D.R. no.24, 1.ª Serie, 1992).

**Presidential Decree no.º 67/92**, dd 17 July, convoking the holding of Presidential and Legislative Elections on 29 and 30 September 1992 (D.R. no.28, 1.ª Serie, 1992).

**Law no.º 23/92**, dd 16 September, Law on Amendment to the Constitutional Law (D.R. no.28, 1.ª Serie, 1992).

**Law no.º 24/92**, dd 20 November, Amendment to Articles 159 and 256 of Electoral Law, with regard to 2nd Round of Presidential Elections and Investiture of Deputies to Parliament (D.R. no. 54, 1.ª Serie, 1992).

LAW NO.5/92, dated 16 April

## ELECTORAL LAW (extracts)

### ARTICLE 1 (Object)

1 – The present law establishes the rules relating to the electoral registration of citizens, the election of the President of the Republic and the election of the Deputies to Parliament.

2 – A separate law regulates the election of office-holders of the local organs.

### ARTICLE 3 (Type of Election)

1 – The President of the Republic and the Deputies to the Parliament shall be designated through an election based on the universal, equal, direct, secret and periodical suffrage of the citizens under the terms of the present law.

### ARTICLE 5 (Right and Duty to Vote)

1 – The exercise of the right to vote is personal and inalienable.

2 – The exercise of the right to vote constitutes a civic duty.

3 – The electoral registration of citizens is an indispensable condition for the exercise of the right to vote.

### ARTICLE 7 (Jurisdiction)

1 – The determination of the regularity and validity of the acts of electoral registration is incumbent on the Chamber of Common and Administrative Pleas of the Provincial Court of the area where the irregularity has occurred.

2 – The determination of the regularity and validity of the acts of the electoral process is incumbent on the Supreme Court.

ARTICLE 8  
(International Observations)

1 – The registration and the other acts relating to the electoral process, during the first multiparty general elections, shall be subject to verification and monitoring by international observers, under the terms of a separate law.

ARTICLE 9  
(State Administration)

The electoral registration and the other activities of the electoral process relating to the 1992 general multiparty elections shall take place throughout the extend of the national territory under the effective jurisdiction of the State Administration.

**ACTIVE ELECTORAL CAPACITY**

ARTICLE 10  
(Active Electoral Capacity)

1 – Are considered electors all Angolan citizens aged 18 or older, regularly registered as electors and not affected by any of the incapacities mentioned in the present law.

2 – Angolan citizens residing habitually abroad shall have the active electoral capacity for the legislative elections.

**NATIONAL ELECTORAL COUNCIL**

ARTICLE 12  
(Definition)

The National Electoral Council shall be the organ responsible for the coordination, execution, conduct and carrying out of the electoral registration and of all activities relating to the electoral process.

ARTICLE 14  
(Membership)

1 – The National Electoral Council shall be composed of:

- a) one Judge of the Supreme People's Court who acts as chairman and is elected by the Court in a plenary meeting;
  - b) one Magistrate designated by the President of the Supreme People's court;
  - c) five citizens chosen among specialists of recognised merit and moral and professional aptitude, designated by the Head of State;
  - d) the Minister of Territorial Administration;
  - e) the General Director of the Elections, designated by the Head of State after consultation with political parties;
  - f) one representative of the National Council of the Media;
  - g) one representative of the Ministry of External Relations;
  - h) one representative of each political party or coalition of parties, in so far as they have been formed under the terms of the Law on political parties.
- 2 – Each candidate to the office of President of the Republic may designate a representative to the National Electoral Council.

ARTICLE 15  
(Organs)

1 – The National Electoral Council shall have the following organs:

- a) the General Directorate of Elections;
- b) the Provincial Electoral Councils.

ARTICLE 16  
(Provincial Electoral Councils)

1 – The Provincial Electoral Councils shall be composed of:

- a) one Judge of the Provincial People's Court designated by the President of the Supreme People's Court;
- b) one representative of the local government designated by the Governor of the Province;
- c) five citizens chosen among specialists of recognised merit and moral and professional aptitude, designated by the Governor of the Province, who shall consult within seven days the provincial representatives of the legally constituted political parties, who may appeal to the National Electoral Council if the majority of the parties disagree;

- d) the Provincial Director of Elections, designated by the Minister of Territorial Administration;
- e) one representative of each political party or coalition of parties competing in the elections, in so far as they were formed under the terms of the Law on political parties.

2 – Each candidate to the office of President of the Republic may designate one representative to the Provincial Electoral Councils.

**ARTICLE 22**  
**(Universality)**

The electoral registration shall apply to all citizens of Angolan nationality, duly confirmed, residing in the country or abroad and older than eighteen years of age or aged eighteen on the date when elections were held.

**ARTICLE 23**  
**(Right of Civic Duty)**

All citizens referred to in the preceding article shall have the right and the civic duty to be registered for electoral purposes, to verify that they have been duly registered and to request that any error or omission be corrected.

**ARTICLE 24**  
**(Promotion of Electoral Registration)**

The National Electoral Council and its organs shall create, under the terms of the present Law, the necessary conditions and take all necessary action to obtain the support of citizens for the electoral registration, independently of initiatives taken by the citizens.

**ARTICLE 30**  
**(Registering Entities)**

1 – The registration shall be organised and directed, at the central level, by the National Electoral Council, through the General Directorate of Elections.

2 – In the provinces, the Provincial Electoral Councils shall be responsible for the organisation and direction of the electoral process.

3 – In the municipalities, the organisation and direction of the electoral process shall bear the responsibility of the Municipal Electoral Offices.

4 – In the communes, neighbourhoods and villages, all the activities linked to electoral registration shall be carried out by registration brigades, which are executive organs of the Municipal Electoral Offices or of the Communal Electoral Offices, if any.

**ARTICLE 34**  
**(Monitoring of Political Parties)**

1 – Legally constituted political parties shall have the right to monitor registration activities in order to determine their conformity with the law.

2 – The monitoring activities of the parties shall be carried out through controllers designated by them, whose names shall be notified to the Provincial Electoral Councils.

**ARTICLE 43**  
**(Elector's Card)**

At the time of registration, the citizen shall receive an elector's card confirming his registration, which shall be duly authenticated by the electoral registration brigade and which shall contain the registration number, the name, the place of birth, a photograph, a fingerprint, the type and number of the document or other proof used as the basis for registration, as well as the place where the elector intends to vote.

**ARTICLE 54**  
**(Period of Unalterableness)**

The electoral registration rolls shall be unalterable during the thirty days preceding each election.

**ARTICLE 55**  
**(Publication of Definitive Lists)**

The definitive lists of registered citizens shall be prepared and published by the date of the beginning of the electoral campaign.

ARTICLE 61  
(Verification of Candidatures)

1 – After the expiration of the deadline for the presentation of the lists of candidates and before they are examined by a Plenary Session of the Supreme People's Court, the President of the Supreme People's Court shall have copies of the received lists affixed to the Court doors.

2 – The regularity of the process, the authenticity of the documents relating to it and the eligibility of the candidates shall be verified by the Plenary Session of the Supreme People's Court within eight days after the expiration of the deadline for the presentation of candidatures.

ARTICLE 69  
(Opening and Closing of the Campaign)

The electoral campaign shall open thirty days before the date preceding the date of the vote and shall end at 00.00 hours on the day before the date fixed for the elections, without prejudice to the provisions of article 159.

ARTICLE 70  
(Promotion and Extent of the Campaign)

1 – The electoral campaign shall be carried out by the candidates and their sponsors, without prejudice to the participation of the citizens.

2 – The electoral campaign shall be carried out throughout the territory of the People's Republic of Angola, the conditions being equal for all contestants.

ARTICLE 71  
(Equality of Treatment)

Public entities and private corporations shall give equal treatment to the candidates to allow them to carry out their electoral campaign freely and in the best conditions.

ARTICLE 72  
(Freedom of Expressions and Information)

1 – The candidates and their representatives shall enjoy freedom of expression and information, without prejudice to any civil or criminal liability under the terms of the law.

2 – During the electoral campaign period, no penalty shall be applied to the media or their agents for actions which are part of the campaign, without prejudice to the liability they can incur, which can only become effective after the end of the campaign.

ARTICLE 73  
(Freedom of Assembly and Demonstration)

1 – During the electoral campaign period, the freedom of assembly and demonstration for electoral purposes shall be regulated by the provisions of Law No. 16/91 dated 11 May and by the specific provisions contained in the following paragraphs of the present article.

ARTICLE 75  
(Ethical Norms of the Campaign)

During the electoral campaign period, it shall be prohibited to use expressions which constitute an offence or defamation, slander or insult, or incitement to public disorder, insurrection, hate, violence or war.

ARTICLE 79  
(Broadcast Right)

1 – The candidates to the office of President of the Republic, and the political parties and coalitions of parties competing in the elections shall have the right to use the public radio and television broadcasting system during the official period of the electoral campaign, under the following conditions:

- a) Radio: 20 minutes daily between 12.00 and 22.00 hours;
- b) Television: 10 minutes daily between 18.00 and 22.00 hours.

5 – The regional radio and television stations shall be hooked up to the national programme during the periods dedicated to the broadcast times referred to in the present article.

6 – The order in which the broadcast times are used shall be drawn by lot by the National Electoral Council.

8 – The use of broadcast times shall be free of charge, but the expenses relating to the recording on magnetic tapes of the broadcast material shall be borne by the candidates.



ARTICLE 80  
(Duties of General Information Publications)

1 – Public general information periodical publications shall ensure equality of treatment for the various candidatures.

2 – The provisions of the preceding paragraph shall not apply to party publications.

ARTICLE 88  
(Financing of the Electoral Process)

1 – The electoral campaign of candidates may be financed by:

- a) a contribution from the State;
- b) contributions from the candidates themselves and from political parties;
- c) voluntary contributions from electors;
- d) proceeds from the electoral campaign activities;
- e) contributions from national or foreign non-governmental organisations;
- f) contributions from similar parties.

2 – The financing of electoral campaigns by foreign governments and foreign governmental organisations shall be prohibited.

ARTICLE 93  
(Polling Stations)

1 – The polling stations shall be established according to an approximate ratio of one thousand electors to each station.

2 – The National Electoral Council shall make all necessary arrangements to divulge through the media and affix at the entrances to the Provincial Government buildings and the Municipal and Communal Commissioners' offices, or in any other public place or premises easily accessible to the public, the definitive list of polling stations thirty days before the days of the elections.

ARTICLE 97  
(Polling Station Officers)

1 – In each polling station, there shall be polling officers who shall promote and direct the voting operations and the determination of the results of the scrutiny.

2 – The polling stations officers shall consist of five persons, i.e. one presiding officer, one secretary and three scrutineers.

4 – The Provincial Electoral Councils or, by delegation of power, the Municipal Electoral Offices shall designate the polling station officers and train them for the exercise of their functions.

ARTICLE 102  
(Candidate Agents)

1 – In each polling station, there may be one agent and his alternate designated by each one of the candidates, political parties, coalitions of parties and groups of electors.

ARTICLE 108  
(Freedom and Confidentiality of the Vote)

1 – The vote shall be free.

2 – No one may reveal or force someone else to reveal, inside or outside the polling station, for which list he will vote or has voted.

ARTICLE 109  
(Requirements for Exercising the Right to Vote)

For the elector to be allowed to vote, it shall be necessary:

- a) that he is carrying the elector's card issued under the terms of article 43;
- b) that he has not yet exercised his right to vote.

ARTICLE 115  
(Police of the Polling Stations)

1 – The presiding officers and the scrutineers shall be responsible for ensuring the freedom and security of electors exercising their right to vote and, to this end, they shall have at their disposal, on the days of the elections, an electoral police consisting of citizens of recognised aptitude, who are entrusted with the maintenance of order in the polling stations.

ARTICLE 116  
(Ban on Propaganda)

Any kind of propaganda shall be prohibited inside the polling stations and outside up to a distance of five hundred metres.

ARTICLE 118  
(Ban on the Presence of Armed Forces)

1 – The presence of armed forces shall be prohibited in the polling stations and within a radius of five hundred metres.

ARTICLE 124  
(Doubts, Complaints, Protests and Responses to Protests)

1 – In addition to candidate agents, any elector present in the polling station may raise doubts and present in writing complaints, protests and responses to protests relating to the electoral operations of the polling station and obtain information from the relevant documents.

ARTICLE 125  
(Preliminary Operations)

The presiding officers of the polling stations shall proceed with the separation of ballots which have not been used or are unused, place them in separate, duly initialled and sealed envelopes and close the list of electors, which shall be signed by all the officers of the polling station and candidate agents who are present.

ARTICLE 144  
(Appointment of the President of the Republic)

The President of the Republic shall be appointed for a five-year term of office by means of an election based on the universal, direct, equal, secret and periodical suffrage of the citizens, under the provisions of the Constitutional Law and the present Law.

ARTICLE 145  
(Passive Electoral Capacity)

1 – Are eligible to the office of President of the Republic native Angolan citizens over thirty-five years of age who enjoy full civil and political rights.

ARTICLE 147  
(Election Modalities)

1 – The President of the Republic shall be elected from a uninominal list, presented under the provisions of article 151, according to a majority system of two rounds.

2 – The candidate who obtains more than half of the valid votes shall be elected.

3 – If none of the candidates obtains the number of votes referred to in the preceding paragraph, a second round of voting shall take place.

4 – Only the two candidates who have obtained the highest number of votes in the first round and who have not withdrawn their candidature shall contest in the second round.

ARTICLE 161  
(Composition of the Parliament)

1 – The Parliament shall be composed of 223 Deputies, elected for a term of four years.

2 – For the election of Deputies to the Parliament, the following criterion shall be adopted;

a) each Province, in its own right, shall be represented in the Parliament by five Deputies and shall be considered to this end as one electoral constituency;

b) the remaining 130 Deputies shall be elected at the national level and, to this end, the country shall be considered as a single constituency;

c) one constituency shall be established for Angolan communities abroad, which shall be represented by a fixed number of three Deputies, namely two for the African region and one for the rest of the world.

LAW NO.6/92  
dated 16 April

**LAW ON INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATION  
(Extracts)**

**ARTICLE 1  
(Object)**

The object of the present law is to regulate the various matters relating to international observation of the electoral process.

**ARTICLE 2  
(International Observation)**

For the purposes of the present Law, international observation means the verification of the various stages of the electoral process, including the registration of electors, carried out by international organisations, non-government organisations, foreign governments or personalities of recognised international experience and prestige, provided they are duly recognised as such by the National Electoral Council under the terms of the present Law.

**ARTICLE 3  
(Scope of the Observation)**

1 – The international observation of the electoral process shall consist essentially of the following activities:

- a) to verify and monitor the impartiality of the National Electoral Council;
- b) to verify and monitor the presence and functioning of the National Electoral Council and its organs throughout the national territory, in conformity with the provisions of the Electoral Law;
- c) to follow and assess the activity of the National Electoral Council and its organs, in conformity with the legislation in force;
- d) to verify and monitor the impartiality and legality of the decisions taken by the organs competent for the settlement of electoral disputes;

- e) to verify and monitor the electoral registration operations;
- f) to observe the process of presentation and acceptance of candidates for the elections;
- g) to observe the course of the electoral campaign;
- h) to verify and monitor the voting process, including the observation of the procedures stipulated in the Law;
- i) to verify and monitor the operations of the determination of results;
- j) to observe the access to and the use of the media.

2 – The irregularities noted during the electoral process by international observers shall be notified to the competent organs of the National Electoral Council, which shall confirm them and adopt the necessary measures for the readjustments which are indispensable to the normal course of the electoral process.

**ARTICLE 4  
(Beginning and End of the International Observation)**

1 – The international observation of the electoral process shall begin with the constitution of the National Electoral Council.

2 – The international observation shall end with the investiture of the Deputies to the Parliament and the inauguration of the elected President of the Republic.

**ARTICLE 7  
(Competent Entities for the Invitations)**

1 – The President of the Republic and the National Electoral Council may, on their own initiative or following a request made by organs of the State, political parties, coalitions of parties or candidates to the office of President of the Republic, send invitations for the internal observation of the electoral process.

2 – The invitations of the National Electoral Council shall be approved by this organ and transmitted by its Chairman.

**ARTICLE 9  
(Request to Observe the Electoral Process)**

1 – If any uninvited international organisation, non-governmental organisation or foreign government intends to observe the electoral

process, it shall send a written request to the Chairman of the National Electoral Council specifying the reasons on the basis of which the request is made and the type of observation it intends to carry out, as well as the names of its representatives.

2 – The Chairman of the National Electoral Council shall take a decision within fifteen days on the request referred to in the preceding paragraph.

ARTICLE 11  
(Categories)

For the purposes of the present Law, the following categories of international observers shall be established:

- a) observers from the UN, the OAU and international organisations;
- b) observers from non-governmental organisations constituted under the national law of a foreign country;
- c) observers from foreign governments;
- d) individual observers.

ARTICLE 21  
(Rights)

The international observers shall enjoy in the national territory the following rights:

- a) to obtain a multiple entry visa to enter the country;
- b) to enjoy freedom of circulation throughout the national territory;
- c) to ask clarifications to all the structures involved in the electoral process about matters connected with the activities of international observation of the elections, and to obtain from such structures the corresponding explanation in a useful and timely manner;
- d) to communicate freely with all the political parties, coalitions of parties and other social political forces of the country;
- e) to observe the electoral registration, the activities of the electoral campaign, the vote, and the operations of determination of the electoral results;
- f) to examine the documentation relating to the electoral registration, whether computerized or not;

- g) to have access to the denunciations and complaints submitted about any occurrence relating to the electoral process;
- i) to verify the participation, as authorised by the Law, of the political parties or coalitions of parties in the organs of structures connected with the electoral process;
- j) to open up offices within the country, in the case of international organisations or non-governmental organisations, in order to guarantee the successful accomplishment of their missions;
- k) to communicate any specific concerns they may have to the members of the various structures of the electoral process.

LAW NO. 8/92  
dated 16 April

**LAW ON THE RIGHT TO BROADCAST  
AND THE RIGHT TO POLITICAL RESPONSE  
AND OBJECTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES**

**ARTICLE 1  
(Object)**

The present Law regulates the exercise of the right to broadcast and the right to political response and objection of the political parties, enshrined in Constitutional Law No. 15/91 of 11 March and in Article 59 of Law No. 22/92 dated 15 June.

**ARTICLE 2  
(Broadcast Right)**

1 – The political parties shall be guaranteed the right to broadcast time on the public services of the radio and television systems.

2 – Broadcast time means private programme time for those entitled to the the respective right and are clearly and expressly identified as such at the beginning and end of each programme.

**ARTICLE 3  
(Broadcast Time)**

1 – Legally constituted political parties shall have the right, free of charge and on a monthly basis until the holding of the first multi-party elections, to the following broadcast time:

- a) 30 minutes on the National Radio;
- b) 15 minutes on the National Televisions.

2 – Broadcast time may be used up in one period or in separate periods.

**ARTICLE 4  
(Limitations on Broadcast Right)**

1 – During the electoral campaign period, the use of the right to broadcast shall be regulated by the Electoral Law.

2 – Campaigning for votes during broadcast time shall be prohibited after the official electoral campaign period.

**ARTICLE 5  
(Exercise of Broadcast Right)**

1 – The right to broadcast shall be exercised on the radio between 10.00 and 23.00 hours.

2 – On television, broadcast time shall be exercised between 18.00 and 23.00 hours.

**ARTICLE 9  
(Responsibility)**

1 – The responsibility for the contents transmitted during broadcast time referred to under the present Law shall be exclusively borne by the holders of this right or their representatives who have been the authors of the transmission, as defined in the Press Law.

2 – The violation of provision no.3 of Article 7 shall be considered as a serious transgression and the transmitting agent of the respective communication organ shall be held responsible.

(...)

**ARTICLE 11  
(Right to Political Response)**

1 – Political parties who consider themselves as having been offended or jeopardized by Government political statements transmitted on radio or television, or by statements made by other parties during the use of their broadcast time, have the right to political response.

2 – The holders of the right mentioned in the preceding paragraph shall be the parties affected by the aforementioned statements.

3 – The right to response to political statements shall be applicable, in conjunction with the required adaptations, to the general rule of the right to response established under the Press Law.

4 – When more than one holder requests the exercise of the right, the right shall be prorated by the various holders.

5 – For the purpose of this article, consideration shall be given only to general or sectorial political statements made by the Govern-

ment on its behalf, and duly identified as such, and not to statements made by Government members regarding the administration of the respective Ministries or State Secretariats.

ARTICLE 12  
(Broadcast of Request to Response)

1 – Political response shall be preceded by a request for additional time to the National Media Council, made not later than seventy-two hours following the transmission of the political statement giving rise to the response.

2 – The transmission of the parties' responses requested shall be made with equal focus and duration as the statement in question, not later than a maximum of forty-eight hours following the end of the period referred to in the preceding paragraph.

3 – No party shall be permitted to prolong its time of broadcast when exercising the right to political response.

4 – Where political statements are made at provincial level by local governments, the request for additional time shall be made directly to the Administration of the local radio or television stations, under the terms referred to in the preceding paragraph.

(...)

LAW NO.23/92  
dated 16 September

LAW ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

The amendments to the Constitutional Law introduced in March 1991 through Law no. 12/91 are aimed principally at the creation of constitutional premisses needed to install multiparty democracy, the extension of the recognition and guarantee of the fundamental rights and freedom of citizens and the constitutional ratification of the basic principles for a market economy.

As this is only a partial amendment of the Constitutional Law, as necessary as it is urgent, some notable and important constitutional issues concerning the organization of a democratic and just state will be duly and appropriately dealt with in the Constitutional Law through a second constitutional amendment.

As a result of the constitutional inviolability of the installation of multiparty democracy and the signing on 31 May 1991 of the Peace Accords for Angola, general multiparty elections will be held for the first time in the history of the country in September 1992 and they will be based on direct and secret universal suffrage to elect the President of the Republic and the Deputies to the future Parliament.

Without disregarding the competency of the National Assembly to amend the current Constitutional Law and ratify the Constitution of the Republic of Angola, it has become, as was predicted, indispensable and urgent to revise the Constitutional Law in order to, primarily, clarify the political system, separate the functions and interdependency of the sovereign bodies, as well as clearly define the status and guarantees of the Constitution in conformity with already established principles aimed at instituting a democratic and just state in Angola.

It is indispensable for the stability of the country and the consolidation of peace and democracy that the sovereign bodies of the Nation, especially those originating from the general elections of September 1992, have a fundamental law that is clear in its basic outline of the political system, the competency of the sovereign national bodies and the organization and functioning of the State until a future legislative body is able to decide on and actually exercise its competency to revise the constitution and ratify the Constitution of the Republic of Angola.

The present Law introduces generically the following principal alterations:

- it changes the designation of the State to "The Republic of Angola", the legislative body to "National Assembly" and removes the word "People's" from the names of the Courts;
- Chapter II concerning fundamental rights and duties, introduces new articles to strengthen the recognition and guarantees of fundamental rights and freedom based on the principal international treaties on human rights, to which Angola is a signatory.
- Chapter III concerning the state organs, has undergone profound changes in order to reformulate all preceding provisions. The purpose of the amendment is to clearly define Angola as a democratic and just state established on a model of state organization based on the separation of functions and interdependency of the sovereign bodies and on a semi-presidential political system which gives the President of the Republic an active and effective role. In similar manner and purpose, important changes have been made to that part concerning the administering of justice, jurisdiction and the definition of fundamental outlines for the constitutional status of magistrates and the Minister of Justice.
- Matters regarding the supervision of the Constitution by a Constitutional Court, as well as the procedure, competency and limitations of constitutional amendment will now be specifically dealt with in a chapter separate from the Constitutional Law, after the chapter on National Defence.

In these terms and in accordance with the provisions of paragraph a) of Article 51 of the Constitutional Law and using the powers conferred upon me under paragraph q) of Article 47 of the same Law, the People's Assembly ratifies and I endorse and proclaim the following:

#### ARTICLE 1

The amendments to the Constitutional Law contained in the attached document, which forms an integral part of the present Law, have been ratified.

#### ARTICLE 2

The present Law enters into force on the date of its proclamation without prejudice to the provisions of the following articles.

#### ARTICLE 3

1 - The People's Assembly shall continue to function until the investiture of the Deputies to the National Assembly, elected in the framework of the legislative elections of 29 and 30 September 1992.

2 - In the temporary absence or incapacity of the Chairman of the People's Assembly, the sessions will be presided by a member of the Permanent Commission appointed by the Chairman of the People's Assembly.

#### ARTICLE 4

1 - During the transition period referred to in the preceding article, the President of the Republic shall be the Chairman of the People's Assembly and the Head of Government.

2 - In the temporary absence or incapacity of the Chairman of the People's Assembly, the sessions shall be presided by a member of the Permanent Commission appointed by the Chairman of the People's Assembly.

#### ARTICLE 5

1 - The mandate of the President of the Republic effective at the date of proclamation of the present Law, shall be considered valid and extended until the investiture of the President of the Republic elected in the presidential elections of 29 and 30 September 1992.

2 - In the event of death or permanent incapacity of the current President of the Republic, the Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly shall appoint from among its members and for a period not exceeding 30 days someone to provisionally exercise the office and it shall be the duty of the People's Assembly, on the proposal of the Permanent Commission, to elect an interim President of the Republic until the taking up of office of the President of the Republic elected by direct and secret universal suffrage in the forthcoming presidential election.

#### ARTICLE 6

Until the Constitutional Court is instituted, it shall be incumbent upon the Supreme Court to exercise the powers stipulated in Articles 134 and 135 of the Constitutional Law.



ARTICLE 7

Until the High Council of Judges is instituted, it shall be incumbent upon the Plenary Session of the Supreme Court to exercise the powers provided for under Article 132.

ARTICLE 8

Until the High Council of Judges of the Ministry of Justice is instituted, it shall be incumbent upon the directorate of the Attorney-General of the Republic to exercise the powers conferred upon that body.

ARTICLE 9

Until the Ombudsman is nominated, the overall functions assigned to this office by the Constitution shall be carried out by the Attorney-General of the Republic.

ARTICLE 10

1 – Officers of the Angolan Armed Forces shall not be dismissed or retired from office for political reasons.

2 – Officer members of the High Command of the Armed Forces and of their Chief of Staff shall not be dismissed or retired from office during a period of five years starting from the proclamation of the present Law except for disciplinary reasons and incapacity, under the terms of the law relating to the rules for military service.

ARTICLE 11

Members of the Council of the Republic in office on the date of proclamation of the present Law shall cease their mandate after the multiparty general elections of 29 and 30 September 1992 with the taking up of office of the new members of the Council of the Republic, under the provisions of Article 77 of the Constitutional Law.

ARTICLE 12

The first legislative session of the National Assembly elected in the multiparty general elections of 29 and 30 September 1992 shall be

held by the 30th day following the proclamation of the final results of the counting or, in case of a second round of presidential elections, within fifteen days following the investiture of the President of the Republic.

ARTICLE 13

The organs of sovereignty originating from the presidential and legislative elections of 29 and 30 September 1992, shall regulate the manner, organization and terms of the respective investitures after hearings by the Supreme Court in the case of investiture of the President of the Republic.

ARTICLE 14

The Constitutional Law of the Republic of Angola shall remain in force until the entry into force of the Constitution of Angola, ratified by the National ASsembly under the provisions of Article 150 and in conformity with the Constitutional Law.

Verified and ratified by the People's Assembly.

For publication.

Luanda, 25 August 1992

JOSÉ EDUARDO DOS SANTOS  
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

## LAW NO. 24/92 dated 20 November

In view of the need to amend the Electoral Law in that part relating to the date of holding the second round of Presidential elections, resulting from the lack of adequate and appropriate conditions created by the prevailing political situation throughout the Country;

In these terms and under the provisions of paragraph 1 of Article 3 of Law no. 23/92 dated 16 September, the Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly has resolved and I sign and proclaim the following Law:

### ARTICLE 1

Article 159 of the Electoral Law shall hereafter read as follows:

"The second round of elections shall be held upon convocation by the President of the Republic after deliberation by the National Assembly and the National Electoral Council".

### ARTICLE 2

Article 256 of the same Law shall hereafter read as follows:

"The Deputies to Parliament elected in the first general elections held after the proclamation of the present Law shall take up office as soon as conditions are created following the publication of the final results of the counting and it shall be incumbent upon the National Electoral Council to set the exact date".

### ARTICLE 3

The present Law shall enter into force immediately.

Verified and ratified by the Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly.

For publication.

Luanda, 17 November 1992

JOSÉ EDUARDO DOS SANTOS, President of the Republic

## LEGALIZATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

ACRONYM	NAME	PRESIDENT	DATE OF INSCRIPTION
MPLA	Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola	José Eduardo dos Santos	25 July de 1991
UNITA	União Nacional para a Independência de Angola	Jonas Malheiro Savimbi	14 April de 1992
FDA	Forum Democrático Angolano	Jorge Rebelo Pinto Chicoti	14 Abril de 1992
PAJOCA	Partido da Aliança Juventude Operários e Camponeses de Angola	Miguel Sebastião (Tetembwa)	14 April de 1992
PSD	Partido Social Democrata	Bengui Pedro João	14 April de 1992
PRD	Partido Renovador Democrático	Luis dos Passos da Silva Cardoso	16 April de 1992
PRS	Partido de Renovação Social	Eduardo Cuangana	23 April de 1992
CNDA	Convenção Nacional Democrática de Angola	Paulino Pinto João	30 April de 1992
PNDA	Partido Nacional Democrático de Angola	Geraldo Pereira João da Silva	8 May de 1992
FNLA	Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola	Álvaro Holden Roberto	20 May de 1992
PDA	Partido Democrático Angolano	António Alberto Neto	20 May de 1992
PDPA	Partido Democrático Pacífico de Angola	António Kunzoloako	20 May de 1992
PDP-ANA	Partido Democrático para o Progresso da Aliança Nacional Angolana	Mfulupinga N'landu Victor	22 July de 1992
PAL	Partido Angolano Liberal	Ipanga Pio Samus Kapenda	27 July de 1992

FPD	Frente para a Democracia	Francisco Filomeno Vieira Lopes	27 de Julho de 1992
PLD	Partido Liberal Democrático Angolano	Anália Victória Pereira Simeão	27 de Julho de 1992
MDIA-PCN	Movimento de Defesa dos Interesses dos Angolanos - Partido de Consciência Nacional	Isidoro Kiala	27 de Julho de 1992
PSDA	Partido Social Democrático Angolano	André Milton Kilandamoko	28 de Julho de 1992
PDLA	Partido Democrático Liberal de Angola	Honorato Landu	29 de Julho de 1992
PRA	Partido Reformador Angolano	Rui Caldeira	29 de Julho de 1992
UDA	Unificação Democrática Angolana	Eduardo Milton Sivi	29 de Julho de 1992
PAI	Partido Angolano Independente	Adriano Parreira	29 de Julho de 1992
UND	União Nacional para Democracia	Sebastião Rogério Suzama	25 de Agosto de 1992
PACIA	Partido Angolano Conservador da Identidade Africana	Álvaro Afonso Moneza	25 de Agosto de 1992
UNLDDA	União Nacional para Luz da Democracia e Desenvolvimento de Angola	Miguel Muendo	25 de Agosto de 1992
UNDP	União Nacional Patriótica para Democracia	José Ferreira Sopas Júnior	18 de Novembro de 1992
UNPD	União Nacional Para Democracia e Progresso	Pedro da Conceição	7 de Janeiro de 1993
PPDA	Partido Progressista Democrático de Angola	Francisco Lelé	1 de Abril de 1993

## MULTIPARTY MEETING

14-25 January 1992  
(Summary of Final Document)

In the framework of the fundamental principles for the establishment of peace in Angola contained in the Bicesse Accords, the Angolan Government will hold discussions with all political forces with a view to hearing their opinions on the amendments to the Constitution, as well as work with all political parties to draw up the laws which will regulate the Electoral Process.

In these terms, on 14 to 25 January, the first Multiparty Meeting was held in Luanda in order to hear and deliberate, with the various political parties existing in Angola, matters relating to the Multiparty system and to analyse the constitutional drafts and other legislation on the Electoral Process and the Process of Democratization.

The Meeting was presided by His Excellency the Head of Government of the People's Republic of Angola accompanied by a Government delegation led by the Honourable Prime Minister, Fernando FranÁa Van-Dunem and attended by the following twenty-six political parties: PRS, FDA, PSDA, FNLA, PLD, PAJOCA, PSD, PDA, PAI, PDP-ANA, PDPA, FDC, PNDA, PDLA, PRD, CNDA, MDIA-PCN, UNLDA, PSCA, UDA, PNEA, MUDAR, PAL, MPLA, UNPD, FPD.

As can be seen from the list of political parties invited by His Excellency the Head of Government, UNITA was absent in spite of

its being a signatory to the Bicesse Accords. This fact caused consternation among the various parties attending the meeting and some even vigorously appealed for that Organization to reconsider its position and participate likewise in the extended and democratic discussion of the drafts submitted.

Ecclesiastical bodies and International Observers were similarly invited to the CCPM.

Following the approval of the Internal Regulations of the Meeting, the Agenda and Programme of Proceedings, the Meeting adopted the following order of topics: a) Information on the Peace Process, Programme of Tasks and Schedule for the Electoral Registration of citizens; b) Hearing and Analysis of difficulties encountered in the application of the Law on Political Parties; c) Presentation and analysis of the following draft legal instruments: The Electoral Law, Law on International Observation of the Elections, Law on the Media Council, Law on Right to Broadcast; d) Presentation and Analysis of the Draft on the Amendment to the Constitutional Law; e) Date and order of precedence for the holding of the Elections.

Four Committees were created to speed up proceedings and they subsequently submitted their reports to the Plenary session after deliberating on the respective matters.

With regard to the different items on the Agenda, the Plenary Session deliberated on the resolutions that the Government would have to obligatorily submit to the People's Assembly and on the proposals put forward by the Government.

## COMPOSITION OF THE NATIONAL ELECTORAL COUNCIL — MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ELECTORAL COUNCIL

- 1 – Dr C.P. CAETANO DE SOUSA – President of the National Electoral Council
- 2 – Dr. ONOFRE DOS SANTOS – Director General of the Elections
- 3 – Eng.<sup>o</sup> PAULO KASSOMA – Minister of Territorial Administration
- 4 – Dr. DOMINGOS CULOLO – Appointed by the Head of State
- 5 – Dr. LUIS GONZAGA WAWUTI – Appointed by the Head of State
- 6 – Eng.<sup>l</sup>. JOS... SEVERINO – Appointed by the Head of State
- 7 – Rev. AUGUSTO CHIPESSE – Appointed by the Head of State
- 8 – Dr. MANUEL FRANCISCO DE ASSIS – Magistrate.
- 9 – Ambassador LUIZ DE ALMEIDA – Representative of the Ministry of External Relations
- 10 – GREEN EMANUEL BRUNO JOVELINO – Representative of the National Media Council
- 11 – JOÃO DE ALMEIDA MARTINS – Representative of MPLA
- 12 – JUSTINO VICTORINO SAIZUMBO -Representative of PRS
- 13 – Dr. DAVID MENDES – Representative of PAJOCA
- 14 – MATEUS FRANCISCO – Representative of PNDA
- 15 – Dr. MATEUS JOÃO PEDRO – Representative of PDA
- 16 – Dr. VICTORINO DOMINGO HOSSI – Representative of UNITA
- 17 – Dr. PEDRO BERRY – Representative of FNLA
- 18 – FRANCISCO DOMINGOS – Representative of FDA
- 19 – ANTONIO F. PEREIRA – Representative of PSDA
- 20 – ALEXANDRE AGOSTINHO SOUSA E SANTOS – Representative of PLD
- 21 – SIMÃO MACAZO – Representaive of PDP-ANA
- 22 – Dr. MANUEL CAFRANCA ANTONIO – Representative of PRD
- 23 – VICTORINO NZINGO – Representative of CNDA
- 24 – GARCIA SUMBO – Representative of PDPA
- 25 – Dr<sup>a</sup>. MARIA DE VASCONCELOS – Representative of AD-COLIGAÇÃO
- 26 – MARTINHO DOS SANTOS PEDRO – Representative of PSD
- 27 – ANTONIO ALBINO MANZAMBA – Representative of PRA
- 28 – AGOSTINO BENGUELA JUNIOR – Representative of Candidate Jonas Savimbi
- 29 – SILVA SIMÃO MATEUS – Representative of Candidate Luis dos Passos

- 30 – BENJAMIN DA SILVA – Representative of Candidate Holden Roberto  
 31 – EMANUEL DA CONCEIÇÃO – Representative of Candidate Simão Cacete  
 32 – Dr. JUSTINO PINTO DE ANDRADE – Representative of Candidate Daniel Chipenda  
 33 – Dr. REIS JUNIOR – Representative of Candidate José Eduardo dos Santos  
 34 – ANTONIO ZOLA – Representative of Candidate Alberto Neto

FINAL RESULT OF ELECTORAL REGISTRATION  
 (4 September 1992)

PROVINCES	ELECTORAL POPULATION			Polling Stations forecast, and n.° of kits distributed
	FORECAST	REGISTERED	% (R/P)	
Bengo	86 000	91 921	107	120
Benguela	330 000	567 825	172	640
Bié	577 000	354 559	61	400
Cabinda	84 000	16 079	19	30
Cunene*	118 000	148 528	126	175
Huambo*	781 000	467 566	60	550
Huíla	444 000	509 167	115	600
K. Kubango	67 000	133 161	199	200
K. Norte	193 000	137 962	71	165
K. Sul	330 000	369 150	112	425
Luanda	859 000	854 981	100	1 000
Luanda Norte*	149 000	157 564	106	190
Luanda Sul	78 000	87 451	112	100
Malanje*	456 000	330 454	72	400
Moxico	163 000	135 294	83	160
Namibe	60 000	84 918	142	120
Uíge	432 000	336 002	78	430
Zaire	102 000	80 166	79	100
TOTAL	5 309 000	4 862 748	92	5 805

Source: General Directorate of Elections

## HUMAN, MATERIAL AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES EMPLOYED IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

The amplitude of human, material and financial resources made available to the National Electoral Council by the Government, the international organizations, non-government organizations and donor countries is in itself evidence of the size and complexity of the Angolan electoral process, perhaps the largest ever administrative operation ever carried out throughout the national territory.

According to the report of the National Electoral Council dated 5 April 1993, 8,701 Brigadists, 4,200 Civic Education Officers, 5,198 Office Workers and 103 International Advisers participated in the Electoral Registration. The same source reports further that during the electoral act itself, 30,310 Polling Station Officers, 24,248 Electoral Policemen and 4,200 Civic Education Officers and 505 computer and telecommunications specialists were involved.

With regard to the most important equipment used, the NEC report points out that 621 light and heavy duty vehicles, 40 helicopters, 9 cargo and freight air carriers, 18 radio stations, 18 VHF repeaters, 38 Fax terminals, 20 telephone terminals and 100 micro-computers were made available, apart from the innumerable logistics support items such as generators, gas and paraffin lamps, tents, blankets, food supplies, etc.

According to a press release by the NEC on 25 September 1992, there had been distributed throughout the Country in the 4 weeks preceding the date of commencement of the elections, 560,000 posters, 1,600,000 strip cartoons, 400,000 Elector's Guides, 400,000 Elector's Manuals, 1,000,000 brochures, all financed by the European Economic Community and by IFES (International Fund for Electoral Systems).

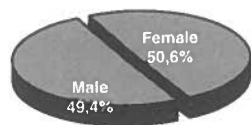
"Jornal de Angola" published a news item on 22 September 1992 in which it reported that the financial contributions made by the international cooperation agencies to support the Angolan electoral process amounted to the following (in US dollars): USA 5,100,000, the European Economic Community (EEC) 1,700,000, France 500,000, Italy 1,300,000, Norway 500,000, Sweden 1,000,000.

According to the same source, the total costs of UNAVEM II, covering military, police and electoral operations, were estimated at 118 million US dollars. An additional 12 million dollars were granted through voluntary contributions from Member states financing the Technical Assistance Programme of UNDP.

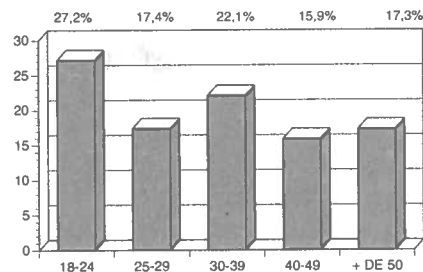
## PROFILE OF ANGOLAN ELECTORATE

(Sex, Age, Education, Mother Tongue)

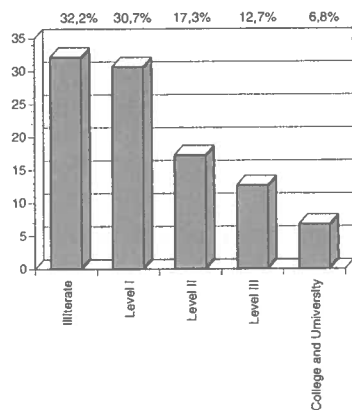
### Sex



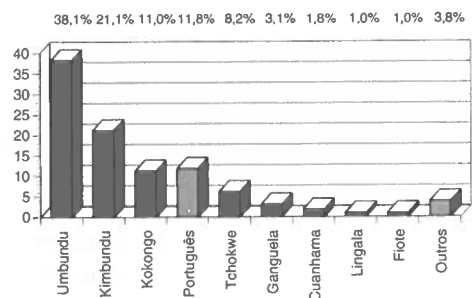
### Age



### Education



### Ethno-Linguistic (Mother Tongue)



(Source: Survey carried out between 1 and 15 August by the "Consensus", using the proportional representation sample method, based on 4.000 interviews throughout the country.)

## LIST OF PRESIDENTIAL AND LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATES (Supreme Court – 5 August 1992)

### PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

- |                                   |                |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Alvaro Holden Robert           | F.N.L.A.       |
| 2. Analia Victoria Pereira Simão  | P.L.D.         |
| 3. Andre Milton Kilandamoko       | P.S.D.A.*      |
| 4. Antonio Alberto Neto           | P.D.A.         |
| 5. Daniel Julio Chipenda          | P.N.D.A        |
| 6. Honorato Landu                 | P.D.L.A.       |
| 7. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi         | U.N.I.T.A.     |
| 8. José Eduardo dos Santos        | M.P.L.A.       |
| 9. José Manuel Miguel             | P.S.D.**       |
| 10. Luis dos Passos Cardoso       | P.R.D.         |
| 11. Mfulupinga Lando Victor       | P.D.P.-A.N.A.* |
| 12. Rui Caldeira Victoria Pereira | P.R.A.         |
| 13. Simão Cacete                  | A.D.-Coligação |

\*Withdrew later

\*\*Later substituted by Bengui Pedro João

### CANDIDATES FOR DEPUTY TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

- Coalition-AD (Democratic Angola)  
FpD (Front for Democracy)



MDIA-PCN (Movement for the Defence of Angolan Interests  
 (Party of National Consciousness)  
 PAL (Angolan Liberal Party)  
 PDPA (Pacific Democratic Party of Angola)  
 UDA (Angolan Democratic Union)

2. CNDA (National Democratic Convention of Angola)
3. FDA (Angolan Democratic Forum)
4. FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola)
5. MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola)
6. PAI (Angolan Independent Party)
7. PAJOCA (Alliance of Young Workers and Peasants of Angola)
8. PDA (Angolan Democratic Party)
9. PDLA (Liberal Democratic Party of Angola)
10. PDP-ANA (Democratic Party for Progress of the Angolan National Alliance)
11. PLD (Angolan Liberal Democratic Party)
12. PNDA (National Democratic Party of Angola)
13. PRA (Angolan Reformist Party)
14. PRD (Democratic Reformist Party)
15. PRS (Social Reform Party)
16. PSD (Social Democratic Party)
17. PSDA (Angolan Social Democratic Party)
18. UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola)

NACIONAL ELECTORAL COUNCIL  
 GENERAL DIRECTORATE OF ELECTIONS

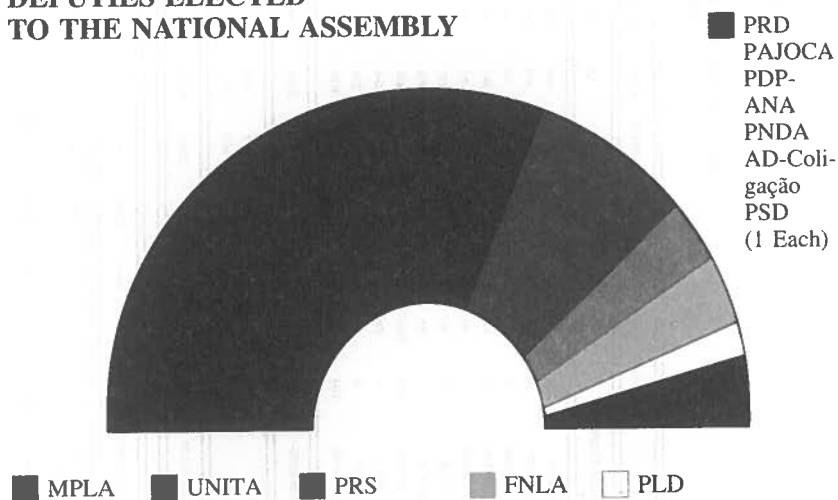
FINAL SCRUTINY - SITUATION AS AT 16H00 OF 14/10/92  
 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

	CABINDA	ZAIRE	OGIVE	LIANDA	K. NUNTE	K. SUL	KALANGE	LIANDA N.	BENGUELA	HUAMBULO	BIE	MUIMBO	K. KUBANGO	NAMIBE	HULLA	CUNENE	LUNDAS	BENGUI	T. SAC.	
POLLING STATION	19	92	436	915	165	425	386	180	632	521	479	151	179	110	550	301	98	100	579	
L. PASSOS	59	1178	6746	5183	1333	4849	5762	2680	7355	2820	1972	2944	1081	1344	8695	1918	1305	827	5021	1479
H. ROBERTO	116	2329	13435	25977	3219	1677	1834	1275	2841	736	417	1271	442	551	3032	680	686	6487	83135	2114
A. V. FERREIRA	10	282	1500	864	390	181	1201	485	1083	354	217	662	251	188	1982	495	396	214	11425	0294
D. J. CHEBENDA	17	470	2484	2387	794	1914	1693	1322	1873	489	292	974	297	423	3091	1030	663	324	20646	0239
R. V. FERREIRA	6	243	1206	819	271	761	789	621	974	248	185	569	159	159	1485	374	277	162	928	0234
S. COCHETE	38	300	3403	3769	735	2687	2113	1790	2358	649	469	1446	510	622	3329	766	997	456	2833	0674
ALB. NETO	54	696	10380	4942	2461	9739	6533	5143	9253	1828	1505	5743	1742	1543	14574	5454	2919	230	85149	21464
J. E. SANTOS	762	19260	116477	532568	92671	188089	163383	86203	158259	57380	32907	60359	22117	36340	190089	76374	53133	51004	193333	49374
H. LANDO	34	978	7731	4033	2270	7844	7443	3419	8380	5418	3750	2617	1484	1388	12492	1817	2571	4140	25789	13924
R. P. JOAO	23	476	3895	2267	585	2746	2993	1390	6804	4666	2343	1801	984	715	5221	687	815	402	38443	0974
J. M. SAVIMBI	1594	18226	100414	171743	9690	74381	41650	12879	294972	336531	230480	34209	93078	18197	121656	8731	4617	10230	157928	40174
VALID VOTES	903	65488	267169	751623	113709	255338	225994	117207	493362	401119	274577	113595	123205	61689	374656	98296	68699	71555	248382	101024
NUL	171	3914	6333	19015	4975	6638	9489	101	8201	10179	12544	7350	3791	3385	15907	4430	3000	3400	112911	2794
BLANK	145	3235	43137	22746	6456	43712	28094	16862	27410	22862	18367	3834	3891	7467	62423	12607	4435	7181	319244	7674
TOTAL VOTES	9919	71837	316339	794933	125120	346308	273677	134149	533772	433880	306488	124779	129707	72241	452986	115333	79454	88657	440139	
TOTAL REGISTERED	10079	80146	318131	849881	137962	369150	373137	141545	567835	467811	306337	137796	131361	84918	509167	148328	87451	9321	482468	
TOTAL ABSENTISM	6160	7529	1592	6688	12842	23942	54661	7396	39633	33831	49409	13019	3454	12377	50181	33195	7997	5284	42719	
% OF ABSENTISM	38.31%	9.29%	0.50%	7.09%	9.31%	6.31%	16.70%	5.23%	6.89%	7.23%	13.83%	9.45%	2.59%	14.89%	11.03%	22.39%	9.14%	5.14%	8.85%	

## ELECTORAL RESULTS – NACIONAL ASSEMBLY

PARTY	NACIONAL CONSTITUENCY n.º de Deputies	PROVINCIAL CONSTITUENCY n.º de Deputies	TOTAL
PRD	1	0	1
PAJOCA	1	0	1
PAI	0	0	0
PDLA	0	0	0
PSDA	0	0	0
FNLA	3	2	5
PDP-ANA	1	0	1
PRA	0	0	0
CNDA	0	0	0
PNDA	1	0	1
PDA	0	0	0
FDA	1	0	1
AD-COLIGAÇÃO	1	0	1
MPLA	70	59	129
PRS	3	3	6
UNITA	44	26	70
PSD	1	0	1
PLD	3	0	3

### DEPUTIES ELECTED TO THE NACIONAL ASSEMBLY



### LIST OF ELECTED DEPUTIES NACIONAL CONSTITUENCY

1	RUI AUGUSTO DA COSTA	PRD
2	ALEXANDRE SEBASTIÃO ANDRÉ	PAJOCA
3	JOÃO PEDRO FRANCISCO	FNLA
4	ALVÁRO HOLDEN ROBERTO	FNLA
5	BENJAMIM DA SILVA	FNLA
6	MFLUPINGA N'LANDO VICTOR	PDP-ANA
7	ANTÓNIO DOMINGOS ANTÓNIO	PNDA
8	PAULO TCHIPILICÁ	FDA
9	JOÃO BAPTISTA C. VIEIRA LOPES	AD-COLIGAÇÃO
10	KUNDI PAIHAMA	MPLA
11	MARCOLINO JOSÉ CARLOS MOCO	MPLA
12	LOPO FORTUNATO FERRERA DO NASCIMENTO	MPLA
13	JOÃO MANUEL GONÇALVES LOURENÇO	MPLA
14	PEDRO MARIA TONHA "PEDALÉ"	MPLA
15	MARIA ANGELA T. A. SEQUEIRA BRAGANÇA	MPLA
16	CARLOS ALBERT MAC-MAHON V. PEREIRA	MPLA
17	JULIÃO MATEUS PAULO "DINO MATROSS"	MPLA
18	FERNANDO DA P. D. SANTOS "NANDO"	MPLA
19	MÓISES GASPAR CAMABAIA	MPLA
20	PAULO TUBA	MPLA
21	FERNANDO J. FRANÇA D. VAN-DUNEM	MPLA
22	LAZARO MANUEL DIAS "INDEPENDENTE"	MPLA
23	LÚCIO R. LEITE BARRETO LARA	MPLA
24	JOANA LINA R. B. CRISTIANO	MPLA

25	CONCEIÇÃO LUÍS CRISTOVÃO	MPLA
26	BORNITO DE SOUSA BALTAZAR DIOGO	MPLA
27	ISAAC FRANCISCO MARIA DOS ANJOS	MPLA
28	MATEUS MORAIS DE BRITO JUNIOR	MPLA
29	JOSÉ KIPUNGO	MPLA
30	MARIA RUTH NETO DE MORAIS	MPLA
31	MANUEL DIOGO DA SILVA NETO	MPLA
32	JONHY EDUARDO PINOCK	MPLA
33	ANA MARIA OLIVEIRA	MPLA
34	ANTÓNIO DA COSTA PITRA NETO	MPLA
35	FERNANDO FAUSTINO MUTEKA	MPLA
36	JOÃO MAIMONA	MPLA
37	JORGE INOCENCIO DOMBOLO	MPLA
38	MÁRIO DE ALCÂNTARA DA F. MONTEIRO	MPLA
39	PASCOAL PEDRO DA GAMA	MPLA
40	ANÍBAL JOÃO DA SILVA MELO	MPLA
41	GILBERTO BUTA LUTUCUTA	MPLA
42	ROBERTO A. V. F. ALMEIDA	MPLA
43	MARIA DE ASSUNÇÃO VAIKENE DO ROSÁRIO	MPLA
44	DIóGENES ANTÓNIO DE ASSÍS BOAVIDA	MPLA
45	FERNANDO COSTA ANDRÁDE "NUNDUMA"	MPLA
46	ABEL SATULA	MPLA
47	JOSÉ AMARO TATI	MPLA
48	ARMANDO AUGUSTO MACHADO	MPLA
49	LANVO EMANUEL NORMAN "NKANGU-ANGOLA"	MPLA
50	JOSÉ LEITÃO DA COSTA E SILVA	MPLA
51	BERNARDA MARTINS ANAPAZ	MPLA
52	ANDRÉ DOMINGOS "PASSY"	MPLA
53	BALTAZAR DE ALMEIDA JUNIOR	MPLA
54	DOMINGOS COELHO DA CRUZ	MPLA
55	HENDRIK VAAL NETO	MPLA
56	SALOMÃO JOSÉ LOHETO SIRIMBIMBI	MPLA
57	MARIA MAMBO CAFÉ	MPLA
58	ALEXANDRE N. AMARAL GOURGEL	MPLA
59	PAULO TEIXEIRA JORGE	MPLA
60	MARIA JOSÉ PEREIRA DA GAMA SOARES	MPLA
61	JOÃO BAPTISTA KOSUMWA	MPLA
62	JOSÉ CARLOS GOMES	MPLA
63	EDUARDA M. P. A. G. SILVA SANTANA	MPLA
64	EMÍLIO JOSÉ HOMEM GOMES	MPLA
65	MANUEL MIGUEL DA COSTA ARAGÃO	MPLA

66	BERNARDO ANTÓNIO JANUÁRIO	MPLA
67	JOÃO BERNARDO MIRANDA	MPLA
68	MARIA F. D. MONTEIRO JARDIM	MPLA
69	JÚLIO EDUARDO DE ALMEIDA "JUJU"	MPLA
70	ANGELO ALFREDO	MPLA
71	CÂNDIDA MARIA GUILHERME NARCISO	MPLA
72	VENÂNCIO DA SILVA MOURA	MPLA
73	MARIA DE L. S. ABRANTES VEIGA	MPLA
74	AUGUSTO DA SILVA TOMÁS	MPLA
75	TERESA DE JESUS COHEN DOS SANTOS	MPLA
76	JULIÃO ANTÓNIO	MPLA
77	JOSÉ ANTUNES NAWAIA	MPLA
78	EXALGINA RENÉE VICENTE OLAVO GAMBOA	MPLA
79	SILVIO PAULO DE ALMEIDA	MPLA
80	EDUARDO CUANGANA	PRS
81	ANTÓNIO JOÃO MUACHICUNGO	PRS
82	JAIME ANTÓNIO CHINGUIMBO	PRS
83	JEREMIAS KALANDULA CHITUNDA	UNITA
84	ADOLOSI PAULO MANGO ALICERCES	UNITA
85	ABEL EPALANGA CHIVUKUVUKU	UNITA
86	ELIAS SALUPETO PENA	UNITA
87	EUGÉNIO ANTÓNIO NGOLO	UNITA
88	LUCAMBA PAULO GATO	UNITA
89	VICTORINO DOMINGOS HOSSI	UNITA
90	CARLOS VEIGA MORGADO	UNITA
91	ISAÍAS HENRIQUES NGOLO SAMAKUVA	UNITA
92	ALDA JULIANA SACHIOMBO	UNITA
93	ALMERINDO JAKA JAMBA	UNITA
94	FÁTIMA DE MOURA ROQUE	UNITA
95	JOAQUIM ERNESTO MULATO	UNITA
96	FERNANDO NORBERTO DE CASTRO	UNITA
97	TEODORO EDUARDO TORRE KAPINHALA	UNITA
98	ANASTÁCIO RUBEM SIKATO	UNITA
99	ARMÍNDO MÓISES KASSESSA	UNITA
100	JUDIT BANDUA DEMBO	UNITA
101	ARLETE CHIMBINDA	UNITA
102	KALIAS PEDRO	UNITA
103	ANICETO AMUKUAYA	UNITA
104	ESTEVÃO JOSÉ PEDRO KACHIUNGO	UNITA
105	ODETE LUDOVINA B. J. CHILADA	UNITA
106	PIEDOSO CHIPINDO BONGA	UNITA

107	GEORGINA CLARA SAPALALO	UNITA
108	SAMUEL MARTINHO EPALALO	UNITA
109	ALBERTO MÁRIO VASCO MIGUEL	UNITA
110	TIAGO CARLOS CANDANDA	UNITA
111	ELISEU SAPITANGO CHIMBILI	UNITA
112	JOSÉ ANTERO KAFUNDA YEMBE	UNITA
113	JOHN MARQUES G. KAKUMBA	UNITA
114	JOSÉ SAMUEL CHIWALE	UNITA
115	ALCIDES SAKALA SIMRES	UNITA
116	VALDEMAR CORREIA	UNITA
117	ANTÓNIO DE OLIVEIRA	UNITA
118	ISAÍAS CELESTINO CHITOMBI	UNITA
119	CELESTINO KAPAPELO	UNITA
120	FRANCISCO XAVIER CHICAMBE	UNITA
121	JOSÉ ANTÓNIO G. F. ABILHIEIRA	UNITA
122	AZEVEDO DE OLIVEIRA KAMGANJE	UNITA
123	BLANCHE VILONGO GOMES	UNITA
124	ADALBERTO CHAUNGUA SANTOS	UNITA
125	VITORINO NHANY	UNITA
126	FRANCO MENEZES MARCOLINO	UNITA
127	BENGUI PEDRO JOÃO	PSD
128	ANALIA M. C. V. PEREIRA SIMEÃO	PLD
129	ESPERANÇA GONÇALVES DE R. SOUSA	PLD
130	ANGELO DE CASTRO FARIA	PLD

### PROVINCIAL CONSTITUENCY

#### CABINDA

1	VICENTE TELICA	MPLA
2	VICTOR NGUMA	MPLA
3	GERMANO EMÍLIO ZAU	MPLA
4	JORGE FRANCISCO FILIPE	UNITA

#### ZAIRE

1	ZEFERINO ESTEVÃO JULIANA	MPLA
2	LUCÍA MARIA TOMÁS	MPLA
3	SILVESTRE GABRIEL SAMY	UNITA
4	ANDRÉ PAULO	FNLA
5	DIANVUTU DIENO M. BENTO	FNLA

#### UIGE

1	JOSÉ ANÍBAL LOPES ROCHA	
2	DOMINGOS MOISÉS "VICTORIA E CERTA"	MPLA
3	SERAFIM CANANITO ALEXANDRE	MPLA
4	ANTÓNIO SEBASTIÃO DEMBO	MPLA
5	ANDRÉ PINDY	UNITA

#### LUANDA

1	AGOSTINHO ANDRÉ MENDES DE CARVALHO	MPLA
2	OSVALDO FERNANDO SATURNINO DE OLIVEIRA	MPLA
3	ALBINA FÁRIA ASSÍS P. AFRICANO	MPLA
4	MILTON MALHEIRO DIAS DA SILVA	MPLA
5	HONÓRIO VAN - DUNEN	UNITA

#### KUANZA NORTE

1	MANUEL PEDRO PACAVIRA	
2	VITORIANO FERREIRA NICOLAU	MPLA
3	MÁRIO JORGE HENRIQUES S. MELO XAVIER	MPLA
4	MARCELINA JOÃO ZANQUE	MPLA
5	LUISE ANTÓNIO J. ALEXANDRE	MPLA

#### KUANZA SUL

1	TEODORO RICARDO	
2	CARLOS MAGALHÃES	MPLA
3	MAURICIO AFONSO MIRANDA	MPLA
4	FRANCISCO JOSÉ RAMOS DA CRUZ	MPLA
5	AMARO SEBASTIÃO KAIMANA	UNITA

#### MALANJE

1	MANUEL LOURENÇO ROCHA DA SILVA	
2	AGOSTINHO PEDRO RAMOS	MPLA
3	DOMINGOS MANUEL GINGA	MPLA
4	SAMUEL DANIEL	MPLA
5	MARIQUINHAS EFIGÉNIA DOS SANTOS LIMA	MPLA

#### LUANDA NORTE

1	FRANCISCO MOISÉS NELO	
2	JOSÉ MANUEL SALUCOMBO	MPLA

MPLA

3	DOMINGOS MUTALENO	MPLA
4	JOSÉ DA COSTA WAMUHAMA	MPLA
5	DOMINGOS TUNGA	PRS

#### BENGUELA

1	PAULO FEIJO DAS CHAGAS MOREIRA RANGEL	MPLA
2	SEBASTIÃO ANTÓNIO	MPLA
3	JORGE ALICERCES VALENTIM	UNITA
4	BERNARDO JOSÉ PRATA	UNITA
5	FERNANDO SEBASTIÃO	UNITA

#### HUAMBO

1	ANASTÁCIO DAVOCA	MPLA
2	MARCIAL ADRIANO DACHALA	UNITA
3	ADELINO ANTÓNIO	UNITA
4	ANTÓNIO MANUEL URBANO	UNITA
5	CARDOSO MARTINHO	UNITA

#### BIE

1	JERÓNIMO MARCOLINO NGONGO	UNITA
2	JERÓNIMO WUANGA	UNITA
3	MARCELINO MANICO SANGUENDE	UNITA
4	DANIEL SAVIHEMBA	UNITA
5	INÉS BAKA KAMELA	UNITA

#### MOXICO

1	JOÃO ERNESTO DOS SANTOS "LIBERDADE"	
2	AMARO CACOMA DA SILVA	MPLA
3	MENDONÇA CANGUEDE	MPLA
4	JOSÉ DOMINGOS F. TUTA "OURO DE ANGOLA"	MPLA
5	SIMART GASTON CHATA	UNITA

#### KUANDO KUBANGO

1	AVELINO CASSANGA	MPLA
2	JOÃO BAPTISTA CHINDANDI	UNITA
3	JOSÉ BERNARDO KAMBUNDI	UNITA
4	AUGUSTA MALITI VALENTIM	UNITA
5	JOSÉ PAULO FULAI	UNITA

#### NAMIBE

1	DAVID DINIS MAJOR DANIEL HACH	
2	HERMINIA SEBASTIÃO M. MAC-MAHON	MPLA
3	ADRIANO PAULO	MPLA
4	HELDER CLAUDIO F. ALBUQUERQUE	MPLA
5	CARLOS ALBERTO KALITAS	MPLA
		UNITA

#### LUNDA SUL

1	GONÇALVES MANUEL MUANDUMBA	
2	FRANCISCO S. CHIHUISSA	MPLA
3	JOSÉ SATAMBI MUAXISSEQUE	MPLA
4	LINDO BERNARDO TITO	MPLA
5	ANTÓNIO UANGUIVA	PRS
		PRS

#### BENGO

1	ANTÓNIO DANIEL VENTURA DE AZEVEDO	
2	LUISA MATEUS PEREIRA INGLÊS FERREIRA	MPLA
3	ARMANDO CAMPOS MAJOR	MPLA
4	GASPAR DOMINGOS	MPLA
5	JOÃO ALBERTO G. SILVA E SOUSA	MPLA
		UNITA

#### HUILA

1	JOÃO MARCELINO CHIPINGUE	
2	MARIA IDALINA O. VALENTE	MPLA
3	JACQUES MATOS GALA	MPLA
4	ISABEL HELENA DA COSTA	MPLA
5	DANIEL GASPAR CHIPEM	MPLA
		UNITA

#### CUNENE

1	PEDRO MUTINDA	
2	MÁRIO SANBWAKO	MPLA
3	ALBERTINA TERESA JOSÉ	MPLA
4	DIÓNISIO HIFEWA	MPLA
5	ANTÓNIO CAMBINDA	MPLA

**INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS**  
**A/ DISTRIBUTION OF OBSERVERS**  
**INVITED BY THE NATIONAL PARTIES**  
**AND INSTITUTIONS**

<b>Country/Continent</b>	<b>Members</b>
USA	51
Canada	8
America -Others	6
Sub-total	65
Portugal	47
Others – EEC	82
Others -Europe	18
Sub-total	47
Nigeria	10
South Africa	6
Others – Africa	51
Sub-total	61
Japan	5
Indonesia	1
Sub-total	6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>285</b>

(Source: CNE, Luanda, October 1992)

## B/ REPORT OF THE OBSERVERS

### STATEMENT BY THE INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS (IFES)

"This statement expresses the conclusions of the international delegation comprising thirty-nine (39) members sponsored by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) to observe the first legislative and presidential elections held on 29 and 30 September 1992 in Angola. The delegation was formed in response to an invitation from the National Electoral Council. The members of the IFES delegation are citizens of Brazil, Costa Rica, the Benelux, Nigeria, Suriname and the United States of America. The International Development Agency of the United States of America supplied the financial resources for the IFES delegation which is an independent and non-partisan organization with headquarters in the United States of America.

The majority of members of the delegation arrived in Angola between 23 and 25 September and they participated in an intensive two-day preparatory seminar. (...) In order to give maximum coverage on the elections, the IFES delegation divided itself up into eight groups of four to five persons distributed throughout 8 of the 18 provinces of Angola: Bengo, Benguela, Bie, Cuanza Norte, Cuanza Sul, Huambo, Huila and Luanda.

#### Counting of Votes

It was verified that the counting at the Polling Stations and Provincial Electoral Councils was carried out in conformity with the directives given. Some unforeseen delays and complications arose with regard to the collection and transportation of ballot boxes to the provincial capitals. The transmission of result of the Polling Stations and the counting at the National Electoral Council in Luanda was slow and this created a climate of generalized public consternation and anxiety. The statement issued by the delegation, however, cannot take into full consideration this final phase of the process.

#### Conclusions

The IFES delegation is convinced that the holding of these elections is remarkable, considering the relatively short period between the commencement of preparations for the elections and their materializa-

tion. The delegation is aware that this success occurred in an extremely tense atmosphere resulting from the recent civil war in Angola, namely, the highly competitive relationship between the two main Angolan parties, many of whose militants had previously been armed and organized combatants. Under these particular circumstances, the holding of the generally peaceful and effective Angolan elections represents a significant step forward in the history of Angola.

In conclusion, the IFES delegation wishes to underline the strict limitations of its statement which does not take into consideration the electoral campaign process preceding the elections nor the reception of the results by the various sectors of the Angolan people. (...)

Conscious of the limitations in the above-mentioned terms and also of the limitations in opportunities for observation, the consensus of the international delegation of the IFES, based on its observations carried out, is that the Angolan elections of 29 and 30 September 1992 were an effective and coherent application of the principles of electoral choice of political representatives and the delegation conveys its congratulations to the whole country. This statement does not try to speak in the name of the Angolan people".

### REPORT OF PEAA (EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARIANS FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA)/AWEPAA (PROGRAMME ANGOLA-CANADA) Preliminary report on the Angolan elections 29-30 September 1992

5 October 1992

We consider the election in Angola 29-30 September to be a free and secret ballot which expresses the will of the Angolan people. We were impressed by the desire of the people to participate and by the ability of Angolans – both voters and officials – to overcome considerable difficulties. Although we saw a number of infractions of elections regulations, we consider them to be generally minor and to not affect the outcome of the election.

We wish to congratulate the people of Angola for exercising their right to vote in such huge numbers. And we wish to give special praise to the two main parties for their willingness to resolve their differences in this peaceful way. There were no losers in this election; democracy and the people of Angola were all winners.



We consider it particularly remarkable that after 16 years of war, the Angolan people were able to organise such a well run election, and that the opposing parties were able to cooperate in this process.

A joint team of 38 observers was recruited by two organisations, AWEPA (European Parliamentarians for southern Africa) and PROGRAMME ANGOLA-CANADA. It consisted of 16 members of parliament from Europe and Africa, representatives of non-government organisations and people with special expertise in elections or southern Africa.

The team was divided into groups of two or three people, and at least one member of each spoke Portuguese. Groups visited more than 250 polling stations in both urban and rural areas in eight provinces. The observer team worked under the auspices of the National Electoral Commission and internal air transport was provided by UNDP, but the team paid all of its own other expenses. It was independent of all parties and observers selected which polling stations to visit.

(...)

We consider the voting process to have been impressive and successful. In this section, we highlight some of the successes. In section 4, 5 and 6 we discuss some of the problems, we again wish to stress that these are small compared to the overwhelmingly good conduct of this election.

All team members were most strongly impressed by the high turnout and especially by the way in which most voters arrived at polling stations before they opened on the first day, knowing they would have to wait many hours to vote. The enthusiasm for voting and the hope that it would bring permanent peace were palpable in all areas.

(...)

We found polling stations consistently well run and disciplined, with staff normally following all election regulations.

(...)

The number of blank and spoiled ballot papers was quite high – more than 10 per cent of votes cast. Our observations in the polling stations led us to conclude that this was not a protest, but rather people not fully understanding the voting process. It was clear to us that many older rural people simply folded the blank ballot paper, or put fingerprints anywhere on the ballot paper.

(...)

We saw and had reported to us a number of irregularities and infraction of election regulations, by both of the main parties. Compared to the widespread good conduct of this poll, we do not consider that

these affect the outcome. Indeed, observers noted that well run polls in their own countries still had some irregularities. But we feel they must be reported.

(...)

We saw no evidence of overt intimidation and were impressed by how well the 500 metre space around polling stations was respected. Nevertheless, many members of the observation team expressed some concern that the dominant party in an area (either UNITA or MPLA in the areas we visited) were able to exert some influence.

(...)

We consider the voting to have been free and secret. Although we observed a number of infractions of election regulations, we do not consider that they significantly affected the outcome of the vote. Thus we feel that the final results will reflect the will of the Angolan people.

AWEPA  
Prins Hendreikkade 48  
1012 AC Amsterdam  
Netherlands.

**STATEMENT BY GENERAL OLUSEGUN OBASANJO  
ON THE MULTIPARTY DEMOCRATIC  
ELECTION OF 29 AND 30 SEPTEMBER 1992**

“On the invitation of the National Electoral Council of Angola and President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, I arrived in Angola on 29 September 1992 to observe the multiparty democratic elections of 29 and 30 September 1992 with a delegation of five members under the auspices of the Africa Leadership Forum.

With what we observed in urban and rural Angola, the briefing we received from UNAVEM II, the exchanges we had with officials of the National Electoral Council and some party officials, and the liaison with other international observers from other countries, we concluded that despite minor administrative, organizational and logistical lapses, which resulted in the arrival and consequent long lines at several polling stations, the elections were conducted in an orderly, disciplined and peaceful manner.

We were impressed by the extra-ordinary efforts and arrangements deployed by the national electoral authorities for the smooth

conduct of this historic democratic electoral process in this great African country.

We commend and congratulate the leaders and people of Angola, particularly President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Dr. Jonas Savimbi, the parties to the Peace Accord which laid the foundations for the elections, for choosing the path of peace, democracy accommodation and reconciliation.

The international community who have acted as facilitator, starting from the Joint Political and Military Committee through the UNAVEM II, to International Observers and the world press must be commended for their interest in Angola and for their support, understanding and co-operation in the effort to rebuild a more peaceful and prosperous Angola.

It is hoped that the peace process they have brokered will be advanced to post-election reconciliation, accommodation, mutual tolerance and respect.

The results of the elections must be accepted by all contesting parties as an expression of the people's will. The winner must be magnanimous in victory and the other parties accommodating in the spirit of "no victor - no vanquished". The victory should be for peace, democracy, tolerance, good sense and progress for all the people of Angola.

While the international community must move to help Angola to consolidate its democracy by encouraging the spirit of democracy it should also provide the assistance to alleviate poverty and illiteracy, which are antithetical to democracy.

Angola must remember that the eyes of the world are focused on her to see how she will succeed in exchanging the bullet for the ballot box.

We call on the winners to embrace a programme of peace-making, development and nation-building on the basis of co-operation and consultation. The others must not embark on confrontation, violence, non-cooperation and inter-party rivalry. Government and other parties have a vital role to play jointly in the process of building the new Angola.

The task of rehabilitation and reconstruction cannot begin without a foundation of peace and harmony emanating from the process of the reconciliation.

While we return to Nigeria after the elections, we wish our brothers and sisters in Angola well, as they embark upon exercising their newly acquired democracy which, hopefully, will lead to improved welfare and well-being of all Angolan people."

**TESTIMONY OF MICHAEL LEM. KENNEDY  
TO THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA HOUSE  
OF REPRESENTATIVES**

8 October 1992

"(...) I recently returned from Angola where I was part of a large and diverse group of election observers monitoring last week's first-ever democratic elections. I was designated for this task by his Eminence Cardinal Dom Alexandre do Nascimento of the Angolan Catholic Church. My designation was approved by the National Electoral Council of Angola (NEC), an organization established by the Bicesse Accords of 1991 ending Angola's 16-year-long civil war.

(...)

In the weeks preceding the vote, the NEC and UNAVEM II, the two organizations sponsoring observer teams, conducted extensive seminars for the visiting observer groups about the balloting procedures. Both organizations should be congratulated for their professionalism, integrity and comprehensive approach. Every imaginable contingency seemed to have been adequately addressed

The registration of more than 4.8 million Angolans in a period of less than three months was remarkable. In Angola, where the simplest of tasks seem never to be accomplished, that success is truly laudatory. Praise is due to the NEC, the Catholic Church, the Angolan people, the candidates, the United Nations, the National Democratic Institute, the International Republican Institute, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, and all who made the elections possible within the process established under the Bicesse Accords.

(...)

My experience in evaluating the balloting, counting and collection of the votes is limited to 35 polling stations in Benguela province, the city of Lobito, and Luanda and its environs. Each party and presidential candidate was allowed to have a representative in the polling station to observe the balloting and the counting. That meant that as many as 29 party and presidential monitors could be in any polling station monitoring the group of five individuals in charge of the balloting. Ballot boxes were sealed over night and in some cases voting assembly personnel would sleep in the same room with the ballot boxes.

UNAVEM II, the official United Nations team charged with monitoring and verifying the results, had 400 observers from around the world. The additional monitors paired off and were assigned diffe-

rent areas, with many being flown to outer reaches of the country in the United Nation-sponsored helicopters. This task was especially courageous given that several helicopters had crashed in the weeks preceding the elections.

The logistics involved in preparing for the September 29 voting day were impressive. They included transportation and distribution of thousands of ballot boxes, uniforms (caps and T-Shirts to identify official personnel), ballots, voting booths and, of course, observer teams to the 5,800 polling stations. An additional group of 400 international observers, of which I was one, were also on hand to observe the observers. We had access to the entire countryside and polling stations and complete liberty to question any and all personnel regarding procedures.

(...)

The vote count took place at the polling station in the presence of the observers and the opposing parties. A final tally sheet could not be sent to provincial headquarters until all participants had signed off. Returns were particularly slow in coming in because four countings were required of each tally sheet prior to being sent in. Illegible signatures and unsigned tally sheets slowed things down further as the sheets had to be resigned by the appropriate persons.

(...)

#### Conclusions

500,000 angolans have been killed in fighting in the last 16 years. The fact that elections have taken place in Angola is a significant accomplishment in and of itself. The official verdict on whether they were free and fair will be delivered by UNAVEM II. From this observer's standpoint, the balloting procedures could not have been more comprehensive. The entire process was undertaken by the Angolans with great solemnity, professionalism, and dignity of purpose. Of course, all challenges to the elections should be addressed in a timely fashion. I am certain, however, that, given the extensive record kept by election officials, any questions can be adequately resolved. It is my understanding that there is an exhaustive process underway to reconcile the official tally sheets of the NEC and the UNITA monitors.

### REPORT OF THE MEDICAL COMMITTEE (AMSTERDAM)

9 October 1992

Via the National Electoral Council (Conselho Nacional Eleitoral, CNE), Mr. JosÉ Eduardo dos Santos, the president of the Republic of

Angola, invited the Medisch Komitee Angola to appoint independent observers in order to verify the proper conduct of the presidential and parliamentary elections which were held on the 29th and 30th of September this year on the basis of the new electoral laws (05/92). Appointed in this role were Mr. Heuvelmans and Mrs. Langen, both representing the Medisch Komitee Angola, and referred to below as the observers, who were in Angola from September 28th to October 2nd inclusive.

(...)

The counting of the votes and collection of the results from all of the polling stations and districts took a relatively long time. When the observers left Angola on Friday evening the votes of approximately 47% of the registered voters had been counted. The day after the polling places were closed, we ascertained a state of increased preparedness in Luanda, but the situation remained calm, as it did on the following day. In summary it can be stated that with the exception of a single incident and to the extent that they were in a position to observe it, the observers encountered a calm situation. They were struck by the dedication and scrupulousness with which the officials in the polling places carried out their tasks, during both the voting and the counting of the votes. There was also a high degree of uniformity in these procedures. During the checks which were done on a sampling basis, the observers did not see any indication of fraud or intimidation.

Amsterdam, October 9, 1992.

The observers

(J:H: Heuvelmans) (M.Langens).

### STATEMENT BY EURO-DEPUTY JOÃO CRAVINHO

1 October 1992

"I arrived in Angola about ten days ago in my capacity as representative of the European Parliament to the process of observation of the electoral act now in progress.

After taking into consideration all that I had directly observed together with the evidence received from the most varied national and foreign entities who accompanied the process, I must congratulate the Angolan people for the manner in which the electoral act has been proceeding until now.

Considering the already well-known difficulties which would still continue to exist in the first Angolan general elections after thirty years of successive battles, I express my greatest admiration for the civility and efficiency manifested during the preparatory operations and the voting itself.

The success of the electoral registration is due to the immense efforts made by the Angolan entities under the guidance of the National Electoral Commission, as well as the dedication shown by the Angolan people to definitely seal the peace through democratic ballot. The manner in which the voting was carried out confirms admirably this willingness. I personally observed the voting in numerous polling stations in Benguela, Lobito, Baia Farta, Catete, Maria Teresa and Dondo. I took the trouble to observe the voting in as many different zones as possible. In every case, I confirmed with the polling station officers and the candidate's representative that there had been no illegalities and disturbances.

In all cases, I witnessed the firmest commitment of the voters to the democratic principles which should guide any free elections.

I am fully confident that these elections will also be fair in that they will express correctly the democratic will of the Angolan people.

Should there continue to be no mention of disturbances, as I hope the case will be, I will be very pleased to confirm before the European Parliament that the Angolan people have been historically successful in their struggle for democracy and peace."

**CONCLUSIONS OF THE NATIONAL  
ELECTORAL COUNCIL ON THE VERIFICATION  
BY EIGHTEEN VERIFICATION  
COMMISSIONS CREATED BY AND COMPOSED  
OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NEC, UNITA  
AND UNAVEM II**

After analysing the report signed by the Commissions comprising representatives of the Provincial Council, representatives of UNITA and representatives of UNAVEM II as observers, the National Electoral Council unanimously concludes the following:

1. In the electoral process undertaken by the National Electoral Council of the Republic of Angola, no fraud or situation indicative of fraud has been recorded.
2. Admittedly, there were some deficiencies and irregularities. Deficiencies and irregularities which were pointed out particularly in the provinces in which they occurred. It is also acknowledged that the inefficiencies and irregularities are so insignificant and inexpressive of the overall Angolan electoral process, that they ultimately represent an affirmation of the maturity and transparency of the process.
3. Situations pointed out as being irregular are not so. The reserve voting kits were opened so that the ballots or indelible ink could be used. The opening of these kits and the subsequent authorization to use the materials contained in them was previously authorized by the National Electoral Council in the presence of the Party which is now alleging the existence of a fraud.

4. It should be recalled that to overcome certain difficulties, the National Electoral Council issued various directives containing instructions for the normal functioning of the Provincial Electoral Council and these were carried out.
5. The deficiencies, errors and any irregularities will be dealt with in the final report of the Results of the National Electoral Council. As the body responsible for the coordination, execution, the direction and materialization of the electoral process, the NEC has an interest in detecting all these situations in order to identify and deal with them immediately or at a later stage.
6. It has been noted that the commissions have reported some of the situations to the Polling Stations as a general rule, but that they were not substantiated by the claimants and were not investigated by their members and as such they remain dubious and do not reflect a negative and pejorative conclusion of the Process. Besides, the almost total lack of objections at the polling stations by the representatives of the parties' candidates verify the impartiality and transparency of the National Electoral Council.

*Luanda, 15 October 1992*

**TESTIMONY OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL  
ELECTORAL COUNCIL, DR. CAETANO DE SOUSA**

Interview in the "Correio da Semana" on 23 October 1992.

**Q – There's talk of fraud. Was or wasn't there fraud?**

A – In electoral terms, there was no fraud whatsoever.

**Q – Why are you so peremptory?**

A – For two reasons. The first is that the system drawn up and used in the elections was so open that it did not permit this. It must be expressly stated that this openness was created to allow all parties to have double representation in the NEC, in the Provincial Electoral Councils and finally in the Municipal Election Offices where these representatives were more active in the electoral registration, but they continued to have their due representation during the phase of the actual electoral act. Secondly, and turning back to the Electoral Act itself, inclusively, it permitted a verification of the electoral process to

be carried out throughout the country. From that verification, we held a meeting between the NEC, CCPM and UNAVEM II, which resulted in a meeting with UNITA to enable this organisation to also carry out a recheck and 18 committees were created, integrating representatives from the previously mentioned organizations. From these verifications, and according to reports submitted and signed mainly by the three parties, it was concluded that there had been nor fraud or indication of fraud. This recheck was not legally foreseen but it was permitted to show the transparency and impartiality of the work of the NEC.

**Q – But the truth of the matter is that no one denies the existence of irregularities, which in the end gives pretext to the fraud syndrome...**

A – Yes, indeed. In fact there were irregularities and deficiencies which were foreseen and were perfectly identified. Suffice it to say that in a process in which 50 thousand people were moved around and the majority of these had undergone training in a relatively short period and then immediately and directly went into the electoral mechanisms, the errors were not of a type to jeopardize the elections.

**Q – Are you saying then that when UNITA announces alleged fraud it is chasing ghosts?**

A – It almost comes to that. If we start from the principle that UNITA had representatives throughout the country to verify the system, they could have promptly supplied information to their party. Why didn't they do that?

**TESTIMONY OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ELECTIONS,  
DR. ONOFRE DOS SANTOS**

Interview in "Jornal de Angola", 4 December 1992

**J.A. – Did the stand taken by UNITA surprise you?**

O.S. – UNITA's stand has to be seen in a certain manner.

**J.A. – Which?**

O.S. – It would have surprised me if it had been with the full knowledge of the facts. And this should have been so because there

were UNITA elements included in the National Electoral Council and candidates' representative in all the polling station teams. But the truth is that the conviction with which they manifested their opposition to the results left me with the need to give them the benefit of the doubt: discuss without anyone, shall we say, losing face. That is to calmly say: let's recheck the whole process, let's see what is wrong. Let's see if there's been a failure in the electoral process.

And the commissions met. These commissions were not envisaged in the Law. But we allowed the commissions to be formed and immediately the electoral personnel in my general directorate agreed to set to work. The results of the working commissions are written down. The United Nations were present in all the commissions of inquiry. All the working committees created included United Nations representatives. The United Nations later recognized the electoral results at the international level.

We carried out this task with absolute impartiality. This was my motto.

**J.A. – Some observers invited by Dr. Jonas Savimbi supported his opinion that there had been fraud. What's your opinion about these statements?**

O.S.- In the first place, I think when one speaks of fraud one is using a serious and difficult term. And I have already noticed that during this process many people speak of fraud when referring to questions which are not fraud, but sometimes just minor irregularities. I have many international observers' reports which mention amongst the irregularities the fact that there wasn't enough food even for the people at the polling stations. Indeed, it is a gross error which was evidenced in several places, but this only emphasizes further the sacrifices that people made. But the truth is that these incidents cannot and should not be considered as fraud.

I must say that many things which have been invoked here were done hastily without a deep knowledge of all alleged facts. Even UNITA itself, many of the things it alleged as fraud could have been said with some sincerity, but the fact is that they lack some explanation of certain aspects (lists and documents leaving the polling stations, etc).

The biggest basis, in my opinion, of the whole electoral verification was the vote counting which appears on the summary lists.

What should have been done was to count all the MPLA votes, all the UNITA votes and then see if there were any discrepancies in

the number of votes counted and the number of votes published. This would have been acknowledged. If there had been difference between these totals then we would have to verify where the embezzlement had occurred. Now, we cannot invalidate the total results just because there were sometimes discrepancies between the summary lists and the list which had been accepted for electoral scrutiny, because these incidents could have happened on account of various errors or irregularities. But these facts do not constitute, in my opinion, that which was considered as being a generalized and massive fraud. Generalized and massive fraud could have been looked for if perhaps the results of the summary lists did not correspond in their totality to the results given by the National Electoral Council. Up to date, no party, not even UNITA, or any of the other parties who invoked irregularities or fraud, have presented their own counts of the electoral results. And this was fundamental for them to be able to allege that the electoral results did not correspond to the truth.

#### **ANALYSIS OF THE REPORTS ON THE ANGOLAN ELECTIONS**

Portuguese newspaper "PUBLICO" dated 6 November 1992

*Savimbi rejected the electoral results of 29 and 30 September, alleging the existence of a "generalised fraud". UNITA accused the MPLA Government of having organised and the UN Representative of having given cover by declaring the elections as "free and fair". The PUBLICO asked a group of experts to study between the 11th and 13th of last October the 15 reports submitted by the Verification Commission of the Electoral Process. The following are the conclusions reached.*

Two of the 15 reports now submitted have given a clearly unfavourable opinion on the electoral process in the respective provinces. In Bengo, the Commission, on comparing the lists and other documents submitted by the polling station officers, concluded that these "indicated and showed substantial irregularities" (...) which subsequently jeopardize the final results obtained in the counting". In Kuanza Norte, there are "counting errors in all the lists"; there is mention of "abysmal differences between the working lists and the summary lists" which should correspond; there is also mention of "diffe-

rences between the number of voters and number of ballots”, among other similar issues.

To these reports from which other similar affirmations could be quoted, there are another thirteen to the contrary, oscillating between a clearly favourable opinion (in Benguela, for example: “There were no irregularities”) and the absence of a global analysis, which can be considered as a neutral enumeration of irregularities which in itself seems to have little or no effect on the electoral result.

This is the first possible and legitimate reading of reports submitted: it is the summary of opinions given – consensually in the majority of cases – by members of the commission of inquiry signing the documents on behalf of UNITA, MPLA (through the electoral structures) and the United Nations. But this reading would be serious because such opinions on these two provinces (which represent about 5% of the electorate) would jeopardize the “fairness” of the process. So much so that there would have to be added the real avalanche of minor irregularities which here and there throughout the country have been reported by the different commissions.

The picture becomes even darker when one considers that the inquiry was carried out under precarious conditions and in insufficient time. And the irregularities detected would increase as the recounting of votes continued, expressed or not.

However, if we leave behind the opinions of the reporters and concentrate on the facts, the conclusions arrived at are much more complex. To place this second type of questions raised by the reports, it should be remembered that normally the election result is not known by the electorate, that is, we are calling election results those results (preliminary) counted on the night of or the day following the elections and we are not even concerned with the final results which will be countered later (or very much later as happens in Portugal).

On the other hand, contrary to what is now happening in Angola, there is never a list submitted of (gross) errors, deviations or irregularities submitted on the night of the elections. We do have examples of the most serious irregularities – Vizela or D. Maria could be examples of irregularities of this type. But, as for the rest, we behave as if we believe that on the night of elections there should be no errors in the dozens of thousands of additions done by hand, changes in the millions of numbers which under great tension are processed in a few hours as if the computer systems which fail every day do not err. And our attitude is justified because the political meaning of the electors’

vote is not affected by this avalanche of minor errors which, besides, will be annulled in good measure.

Considering the rate of illiteracy in Angola and the fact that these are the first elections, it was to be expected that the inquiries would reveal abundant examples of these deficiencies: arithmetic errors, problems in using the polling station codes, filling in of the lists, problems in the distribution of documents. Numerically – and the number in these questions is a very limited indicator-, more than 90 per cent of the extensive documents now submitted is dedicated to questions which come under this category. They are irregularities which do not politically affect the result. Gross errors in the totals, gross errors in the treatment (that is not in the counting) of the blank and null votes, who do they benefit or jeopardize?

If, for example, we analyse in detail one of the most unfavourable reports – that of the province of Bengo which, as previously mentioned, contains opinions clearly unfavourable to the process, we found that:

- A serious case in which two transmissions containing similar data are sent to Luanda and are signed by the same person, making it seem as if there were two polling stations; in the report and throughout the country another half a dozen similar cases were encountered.
- Two municipalities in which, in the final count and contrary to the provisions of the Law, the Polling Officers did not allow UNITA to take the respective summary lists (in Angola, each party had the right to get from the officers a signed sheet containing a summary of results). What are the practical implications of this impediment? The work of the latter check is made difficult even though the control mechanisms continue: UNITA had access to the counting and there are official records of the results signed by its representative. In the report, we found several dozens of similar affirmations.
- Three lists signed only by the electoral authorities. The report does not give any indication on the correction or not of the polling officers. Cases such as these are also frequently reported in the reports.
- An error in the duplicate copy of the results. The error is not specified.
- A list in which only the results of the three most important candidates appear.



The same report mentions further that when analysing a set of 54 lists, "these contained substantial irregularities", the same tone being maintained in some sentences without presenting any concrete indications. With the exception of the opinion mentioned in the preceding paragraph, this is the general tone of the reports now published.

The Bengo report goes on to say and in the part which follows it becomes increasingly similar to the other reports. It reports some cases of a completely different nature from those mentioned until now and that by occupying a tiny space in the overall documents, it seems much more serious.

There are multiple accusations of incorrect and illegal behaviour at the polling stations or in their vicinity on the part of the police, of the anti-riot forces and of members of the polling stations (generally belonging to MPLA). Of the 15 provinces in which we have members, three have registered cases of this type.

There are accusations against electoral structures for not having duly informed the parties of the functioning of the polling tables set up at the last minute. Everything indicates that in Angola the choice of location of the polling station tables was very vexing and that dangerously this went up to almost the last minute. If on the one hand, and here again it is understood, that the elections were prepared in such a short period in a country which three months previously only had a vague idea of the scale of its voting population and without any valid administrative divisions, it would inevitably have to place itself in such situations, it is also true that this disorganisation prevented UNITA from monitoring these polling tables, to which it had an obligation and a right to do. In the documents published, 98 polling tables are indicated as having been set up under these conditions (in a total of about 5900 polling tables throughout the Angolan territory).

In conclusion, there were abundant irregularities and disorganisation. The total of facts now revealed do not permit, however, to speak in terms of generalised fraud."

**STATEMENT BY MISS MARGARET J. ANSTEE  
SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY  
GENERAL FOR ANGOLA AND HEAD OF UNAVEM II  
ON THE ANGOLAN ELECTIONS**

Luanda, 17 October 1992

The "Acordos de Paz para Angola" (Peace Accords for Angola), signed at Bicesse on 31 May by President José Eduardo dos Santos and by Dr. Jonas Savimbo, President of UNITA, provide that:

"Free and fair elections for a new Government will take place following voter registration conducted under the supervision of international elections observers, who will remain in Angola until they certify that the elections were free and fair and that the results have been officially announced. At the time of the signature of the cease-fire the parties will determine the period within which free and fair elections must be held. The exact date of said elections will be established through consultation with all political forces in Angola." (S/22609, page 42).

The United Nations Security Council, responding to a formal request by the Government of Angola, decided on 24 March 1992 (S/RES/747) to enlarge the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Missions (UNAVEM II) to include the observation and verification of all stages of the Angolan electoral process.

The electoral process, organized and directed by the National Electoral Council (NEC), on which all legalized parties were represented and supported by technical assistance provided by the United Nations through the United Nations Development Programme



(UNDP), comprised four phases: the registration of voters from 20 May to 10 August 1992; the electoral campaign from 29 August to 28 September; the voting on 29 and 30 September; and finally, the counting of the votes, investigation of complaints, and announcement of the final results by the President of the National Electoral Council on 17 October.

In this report to the Security Council dated 9 September 1992 (S/24556), the Secretary-General stated that the results of the registration exercise had surpassed expectations despite major logistical and other constraints. The National Electoral Council reported that 4.86 million eligible voters, i.e. about 92 per cent of an estimated voting population of 5.3 million, were registered. Nevertheless, concerns were raised that not every eligible voter might have had the opportunity to register, particularly in areas of difficult access such as the provinces of Moxico, Cuando Cubango and Uige. I made several appeals for the registration period to be further extended beyond 10 August to cover the affected areas, as well as to register returning refugees. However, the National Electoral Council decided by majority vote against such an extension. While it would have been ideal to ensure that every eligible voter was registered, we nevertheless recognize that this process succeeded against many odds.

The electoral campaign was conducted without major violent incidents, although there were reports of intimidation by agents of some political parties, as well as difficulties of access to certain areas, particularly those controlled by UNITA. It is not an insignificant achievement that, in a short time, 18 political parties were legalized and campaigned actively. There were complaints, however, about the continued existence of the Government and UNITA armies; the slow progress in demobilization and in forming the new Angolan Armed Forces; as well as about lack of access to the Government-controlled national radio and television, whose impartiality was questioned.

As for the voting on 29/30 September, I issued a statement on 1 October observing that the great majority of Angola's 4.86 million registered voters had cast their votes in conditions which could generally be described as peaceful and orderly, despite a number of organizational and logistical difficulties, the majority of which were overcome with goodwill and ingenuity. As they had done during registration, Angolans once again showed extraordinary determination, patience and discipline, often waiting hours to cast their vote. I also pay tribute to the dedication and hard work of all the Angolan electoral officials:

the President and members of the National Electoral Council, the Director-General and his staff, the members and staff of the provincial electorals and directorates, and most especially, to the selfless efforts of the electoral registration brigades, and the thousands of people who worked to make the voting possible: polling officers, electoral police and designated party representatives.

Counting and compiling the votes on a provincial and then nationwide basis, as well as investigating and ruling on complaints about mistakes, irregularities and alleged fraud was a massive task which began on 1 October and which eventually took longer to complete than the eight days provided by the Electoral Law. This was understandable, given the vast size of Angola, its ravaged communications infrastructure, and the fact that these were the first Angolan elections ever held. The People's Assembly successively extended the deadline for announcing the final results until 17 October.

As a result of complaints by UNITA, FNLA, AD ColigaÁao, PDP-ANA, CNDA, PSDA AND PDA, that there had been widespread, massive and systematic irregularities and fraud during the entire electoral process, the National Electoral Council established four commissions to investigate the complaints and allegations; UNAVEM II observers assisted the work of these commissions. The National Electoral Council also set up investigative commissions in all of the 8 provinces to examine complaints on the spot; here again, UNAVEM assisted by transporting members of the commissions. These dealt with such matters as the consistency of polling records, the security of ballot boxes, the control of surplus electoral kits and supplementary polling stations.

In the light of the above-mentioned facts and observations, and after considering very carefully the concerns and views expressed by all the Angolan parties, as well as by other international observers, the United Nations considers that while there certainly some irregularities in the electoral process, these appear to have been mainly due to human error and inexperience. There was no evidence of major, systematic or widespread fraud, or that the irregularities were of a magnitude to have a significant effect on the results officially announced on 17 October. Nor, in view of their random nature, could it be determined that such irregularities had penalized or benefitted only one party or set of parties.

I therefore have the honour, in my capacity as Special Representative of the Secretary-General, to certify that, with all defici-

encies taken into account, the elections held on 29/30 September can be considered to have been generally free and fair. The United Nations urges all Angolans and all Angolan political leaders, as well as the international community, to respect and support the results of this stage of the electoral process. A further certification will be made after the second round of the Presidential election.

### ARMED FORCES

#### A/ EXTINCTION OF FAPLA AND FALA AND CONSTITUTION OF FAA

PEACE ACCORDS		
Existing Troop Strength		
FAPLA -	150,491	
FALA -	50,000	
FAA Troop Strength at Elections		
Army -	40,000 (20,000 FAPLA + 20,000 FALA)	
Air Force -	6,000 (FAPLA)	
Navy -	4,000 (FAPLA)	
VERIFICATION OF OPERATION AT 15 JULY 1992 (*)		
	FAPLA	FALA
Already demobilized	28,645	3,561
Not subject to assembly	13,733	4,845
Integrated into FAA	1,927	2,265
Air Force	5,298	
Navy	1,903	
Held in assembly areas	40,863	28,973

\* Count taken by CMVF and submitted to 50th Meeting of CCPM held on 23 July 1992, based on control carried out in 19 of the 26 localization areas of Government forces and in 21 of the 22 localization areas of UNITA forces.

VERIFICATION OF OPERATION ON 23 SEPTEMBER 1992 (*)		
	FAPLA	FALA
Already demobilized	77,908	7,579
Not subject to assembly	13,099	4,990
Integrated into FAA	12,244	4,397
Air Force		
Navy		
Held in assembly areas	6,776	17,654

**B/ COMMUNIQUE BY THE GOVERNMENT AND UNITA  
ON THE EXTINCTION OF FAPLA AND FALA**

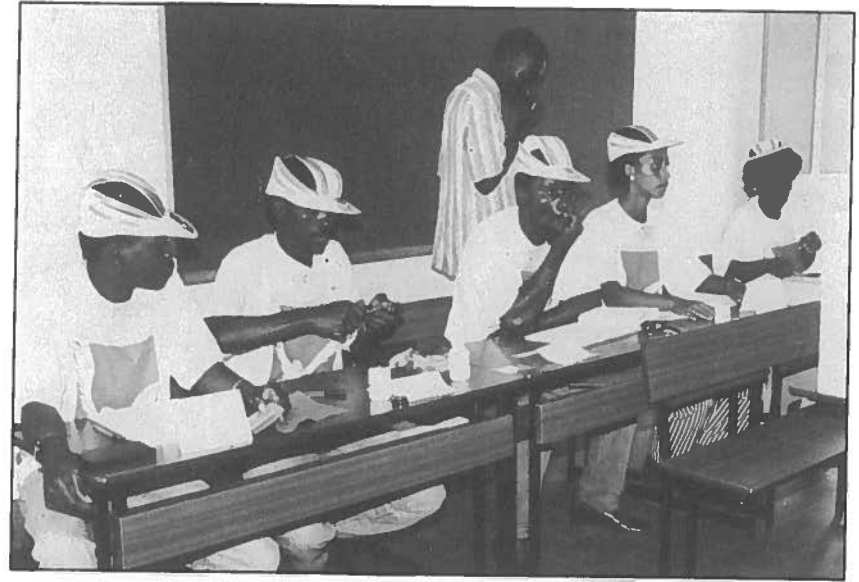
(27 September 1992)

“Under the terms of the Peace Accords for Angola (...), the Government of the Republic of Angola and the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), co-signatories to the above-mentioned Accords, hereby agree as follows;

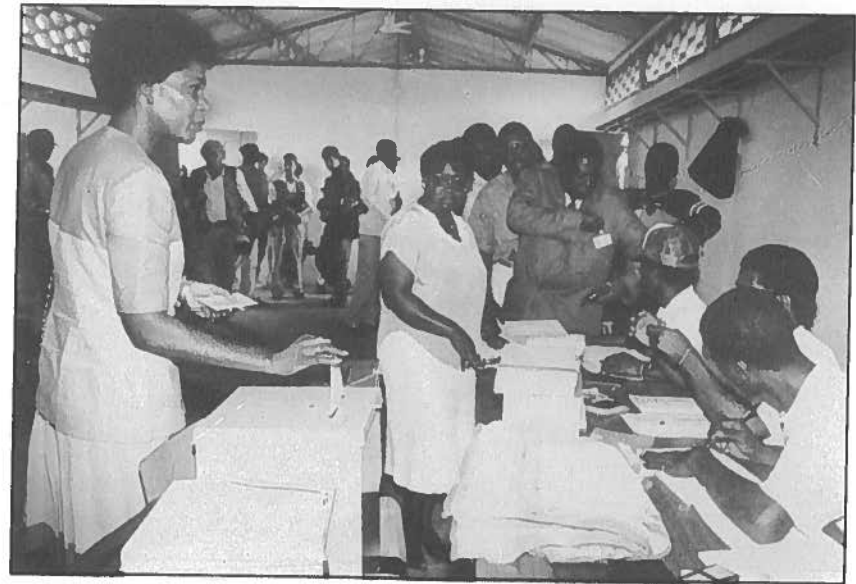
1. Today, 27 September 1992, the People’s Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) and the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FALA) have formally become extinct and hereafter there shall exist only the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA) under the direct command of CCPM until the investiture of the new Government arising out of the elections.
2. As there are still administrative activities to be carried out for the total incorporation into FAA and integration into civilian life of some militaries of the two extinct armed forces, such tasks will be carried out as from this date by the Chief of General Staff of the Angolan Armed Forces and verified by UNAVEM II, to ensure that the aforementioned objective is achieved in the shortest space of time.
3. With a view to enabling the Directorate of the Angolan Armed Forces to carry out these transitory tasks, the CSFAA, is forthwith substituted by a Chief of General Staff of the Angolan Armed Forces (EMGFAA) comprising Generals Antonio dos Santos França “N’Dalu” and Arlindo Isaac Chenda Pena “Ben-Ben”, who will hereafter proceed with the incorporation into FAA of all high ranking officers of the extinct FAPLA and FALA.

(...)

6. The Joint Commission for the Formation of the Angolan Armed Forces (CCFA) is hereby extinct and its members will be integrated into the support sectors of the Chief of General Staff of the FAA. The military advisers to CCFA and the International observers at the CMVF will now work with the Chief of General Staff of EMGFAA.
7. The incorporation into FAA and the installation of the officer generals to be integrated into the Chief of General Staff and of the support sectors will take place on 28 September 1992.
8. In the framework of the mandate of UNAVEM II, working liaison should be established with CCPM and the Chief of General Staff of FAA, with a view to following up and finalising the practical aspects of the extinction of FAPLA and FAA, with the closure of the assembly areas, transportation of weapons and the demobilized and the social reintegration of the latter”.



*Polling Station Officers*



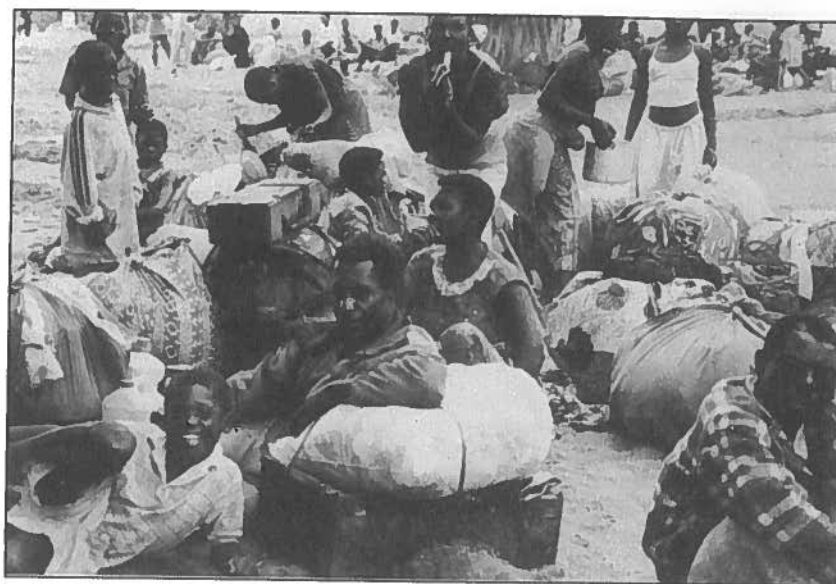
*Depositing the ballot in the ballot box.*



*Peace March in Luanda in October 1992.*



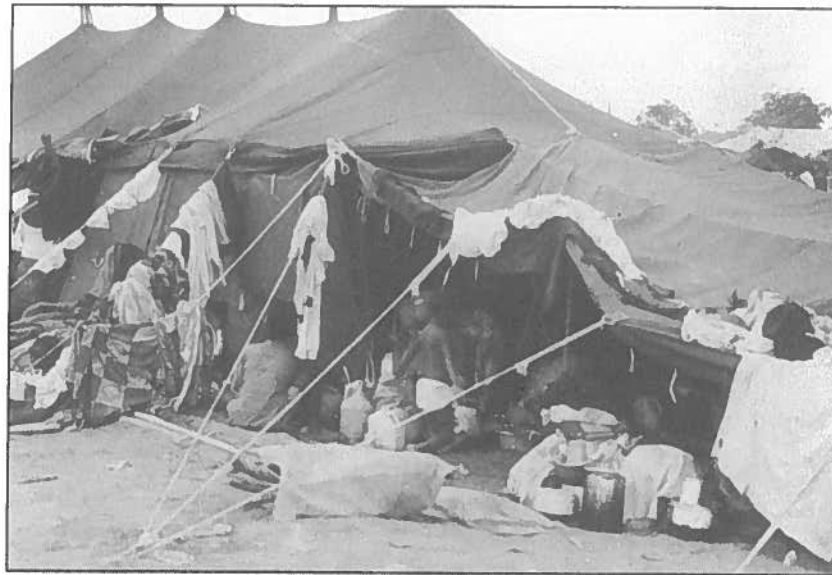
*The UN Secretary-General's Special Representative, Margareth Anstee attending the II Multiparty Meeting in Luanda, November 1992.*



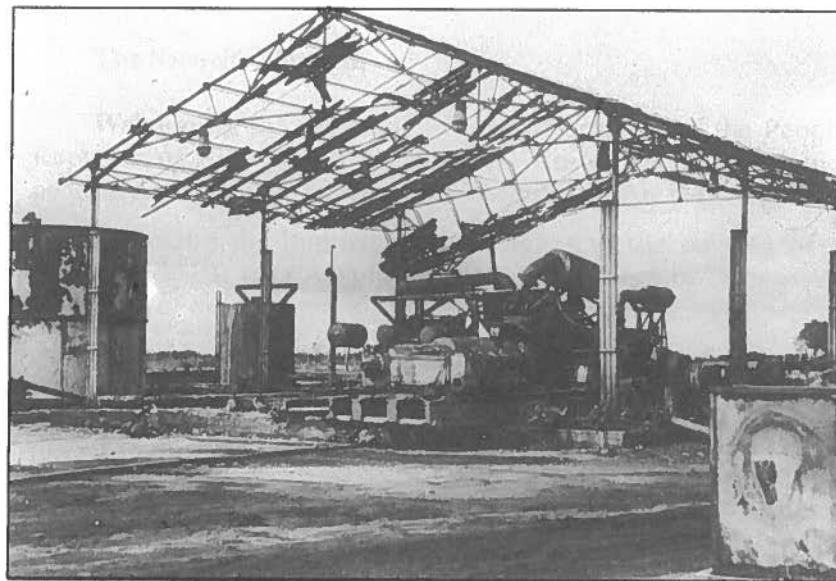
*The War Displaced in Bengo.*



*Destruction caused by UNITA in Caxito.*



*Camp for Displaced persons in Bengo.*



*Destruction of Oil installations in Soyo.*

**POSITION TAKEN BY THE  
UN SECURITY COUNCIL**

**RESOLUTION 696 (1991)  
Adopted by the Security Council at its 2991st  
meeting on 31 May 1991**

**The Security Council,**

**Welcoming** the decisions of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola to conclude the "Acordos de Paz para Angola",

**Stressing** the importance it attaches to the signing of the "Acordos de Paz para Angola" and to the fulfilment by the parties in good faith of the obligations contained therein,

**Stressing further** the importance of all States refraining from taking any actions which could undermine the agreements mentioned above and contributing to their implementation as well as respecting fully the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola,

**Noting with satisfaction** the decision taken by the Governments of the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba to complete the withdrawal, ahead of schedule, of all Cuban troops from Angola by 25 May 1991 (S/22644),



**Considering** the request submitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations by the People's Republic of Angola in its letter dated 8 May 1991 (S/22609),

**Having considered** the report of the Secretary-General dated 20 May 1991 (S/22627) and the addendum dated 29 May 1991 (S/22627 Add.1),

**Taking into account** the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM) established by the Security Council resolution 626(1988) of 20 December 1988 expires on 22 July 1991,

1. **Approves** the report of the Secretary-General dated 20 May 1991 (S/22627) and the addendum dated 29 May 1991 (S/22627 Add.1) and the recommendation therein;

2. **Decides accordingly** to entrust a new mandate to the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM) (henceforth UNAVEM II) as proposed by the Secretary-General in line with the "Accordos de Paz para Angola" and requests the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to this effect;

3. **Further decides** to establish UNAVEM II for a period of 17 months from the date of adoption of this resolution in order to accomplish the objectives stated in the report of the Secretary-General (S/22627);

4. **Requests** the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council immediately after the signature of the "Accordos de Paz para Angola" and to keep the Council fully informed of further developments.

**RESOLUTION 747 (1992)**  
**Adopted by the Security Council at its 3062nd**  
**Meeting on 24 March 1992**

**The Security Council**

**Recalling** its resolution 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991 which decided to entrust a new mandate to the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) as proposed by the Secretary-General in line with the "Accordos de Paz para Angola",

**Welcoming** the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General to implement fully the mandate entrusted to UNAVEM II,

**Noting with satisfaction** the efforts made so far by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola to maintain the cease-fire and expressing concern over the delays and gaps in the completion of some major tasks arising from the "Accordos de Paz",

**Stressing again** the importance it attaches to the fulfilment by the parties in good faith of all obligations contained in the "Accordos de Paz",

**Welcoming** the appointment by the Secretary-General of a Special Representative for Angola who will be in charge of all current and projected activities of the United Nations in connection with the "Accordos de Paz" and will also be the Chief of UNAVEM II,

**Taking into account** the further report of the Secretary-General dated 31 October 1991 (S/23191),

**Having considered** the report of the Secretary-General dated 3 March 1992 (S/23671) and the addendum dated 20 March 1992 (S/23671/Add.1),

1. **Approves** the report of the Secretary-General dated 3 March 1992 (S/23671) and the recommendations contained therein concerning the operational plan for United Nations observation of the elections and the enlargement of UNAVEM II;

2. **Urges** the Angolan parties to fully cooperate with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and with UNAVEM II, including the fulfilment of its enlarged mandate;

3. **Stresses** the need, as stated in paragraph 8 of the report of the Secretary-General, for the United Nations observer mission to the elections to have the explicit agreement of the two parties in the "Accordos de Paz".

4. **Decides** to enlarge the mandate of UNAVEM II, to include the mission contained in paragraph 10 of the report of the Secretary-General up to the end of its existing mandate:

5. **Urges** the Angolan parties to scrupulously adhere to the provisions of the "Accordos de Paz" and the deadlines agreed upon and, to this effect, proceed without delay in the demobilization of their troops,

the formation of national unified armed force, put into effective operation the joint police monitoring units, the extension of the central administration and the execution of other important tasks;

6. **Urges** the leaders and Angolan parties to finalise the political, legal, organizational and financial preparations needed for the free and fair multiparty elections to be held in September 1992 and pool, wherever possible, all available resources for the electoral process;

7. **Calls upon** all States to make voluntary contributions and request the United Nations specialized agencies and programmes to give the assistance and support needed to prepare the free and fair multiparty elections in Angola.

8. **Urges** the parties to establish in the shortest time possible, a timetable for the electoral process in Angola to ensure that elections may be held on the set date and to request the Secretary-General to extend his cooperation to this end;

9. **Requests** the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council informed on developments and to submit a fresh report to the Council within the three months following the passing of this resolution.

**RESOLUTION 785 (1992)**  
**Adopted by the Security Council at its 3130th**  
**meeting on 30 October 1992**

**The Security Council**

**Recalling** its resolutions 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991 and 747 (1992) of 24 March 1992,

**Recalling also** the statement made on its behalf by the President of the Security Council on 27 October 1992 (S/24720)

**Taking note** of the letter of the Secretary-General dated 29 October 1992 (S/24736), in which he recommends an extension of the existing mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) for an interim period,

**Deeply concerned** at the deterioration of the political situation and the rising tension in Angola,

**Deeply concerned** also at the reports of the recent resumption of hostilities by UNITA in Luanda and Huambo,

**Affirming** that any party which fails to abide by all the commitments entered into under the "Acordos de Paz para Angola" will be rejected by the international community, and that the results of use of force will not be accepted,

1. **Approves** the recommendation of the Secretary-General to extend the existing mandate of UNAVEM II for an interim period, until 30 November 1992;

2. **Requests** the Secretary-General to submit to it by that date a detailed report on the situation in Angola together with long-term recommendations, accompanied by the financial implications thereof, on the mandate and strength of UNAVEM II;

3. **Strongly condemns** any such resumption of hostilities and urgently demands that such acts cease forthwith;

4. **Calls** on all States to refrain from any action which directly or indirectly could jeopardize the implementation of the "Acordos de Paz" and increase the tension in the country;

5. **Reiterates** its full support for the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and UNAVEM II, and its strong condemnation of the attacks and baseless accusations made by UNITA's radio station, "Vorgan", against the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and UNAVEM II;

6. **Supports** the statement by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General certifying that the elections held on 29 and 30 September 1992 were generally free and fair and calls upon UNITA and the other parties to the electoral process in Angola to respect the results of the elections;

7. **Calls upon** the parties to the "Acordos de Paz" to abide by all the commitment entered into under the Accords, in particular with regard to the confinement of their troops and collection of their weapons, demobilization and the formation of the unified national armed force, and to refrain from any act that might heighten tensionl jeopardize the continued conduct of the electoral process and threaten the territorial integrity of Angola;

8. **Urges** the leaders of the two parties to engage in a dialogue without delay so as to enable the second round of the presidential elections to be held promptly;

9. **Reaffirms** that it will hold responsible any party which refuses to take part in such a dialogue, thereby jeopardizing the entire process, and reiterate its readiness to consider all appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations to secure implementation of the "Acordos de Paz";

10. **Decides** to remain seized of the question.

**RESOLUTION 793 (1992)**  
**Adopted by the Security Council at its 3144th**  
**meeting on 30 November 1992**

**The Security Council**

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

**Taking note** of the further report of the Secretary-General of 25 November 1992 (S/24858 and Add.1),

**Deeply concerned** by the deterioration in the political and military situation in Angola and especially by the troop movements which have taken place and by the hostilities which occurred on 31 October and 1 November 1992,

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

**Disturbed** by the continuing non-implementation of major aspects of the "Acordos de Paz para Angola",

**Reiterating** its support for the statement by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General that the elections held on 29 and 30 September 1992 were generally free and fair and taking note of the acceptance by UNITA of the results of the elections,

**Noting** the intention of the Secretary-General to continue, in this as in other peace-keeping operations, to monitor expenditures carefully during this period of increasing demands on peace-keeping resources,

1. **Approves** the recommendation of the Secretary-General to extend the existing Mandate of UNAVEM II for a further period of two months until 31 January 1993;

2. **Appeals** to the troops and police contributing States to lend cooperation to UNAVEM II in order to restore as soon as possible its mandated strength;

3. **Welcomes** the joint declaration of the Government of Angola and UNITA made in Namibia on 26 November 1992 and urges them to take immediate and effective actions in accordance with the declaration;

4. **Demands** that the two parties scrupulously observe the cease-fire, immediately stop all military confrontations, and in particular offensive troop movements, and create all the conditions necessary for the completion of the peace process;

5. **Urges** the two parties to demonstrate their adherence to, and fulfilment without exception of, the "Acordos de Paz" in particular with regard to the confinement of their troops and collection of their weapons, demobilization and the formation of the unified national armed force and to refrain from any action which might heighten tension or jeopardize the return to normalcy;

6. **Strongly appeals** to the two parties to engage in a continuous and meaningful dialogue aimed at national reconciliation and at the participation of all parties in the democratic process and to agree on a clear timetable for the fulfilment of their commitments in accordance with the "Acordos de Paz";

7. **Reaffirms** that it will hold responsible any party which refuses to take part in such a dialogue, thereby jeopardizing the entire process, and reiterates its readiness to consider all appropriate measures under the Charter of the United Nations to secure implementation of the "Acordos de Paz";

8. **Calls on** all States to refrain from any action which directly or indirectly could jeopardize the implementation of the "Acordos de Paz" and increase the tension in the country;

9. **Requests** the Secretary-General to submit to it by 31 January 1992 a further report on the situation in Angola together with his longer-term recommendation for the further role of the United Nations in

the peace process, which should be clearly defined in scope and time and based on a wide degree of support in Angola;

10. **Decides** to remain seized of the question.

**RESOLUTION 804 (1993)**  
**Adopted by the Security Council at its 3168th**  
**meeting on 29 January 1993**

**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 dated 21 January 1993 (S/25140 and Add.1),

**Having considered** also the request submitted to the Secretary-General by the Government of Angola in its letter dated 21 January 1993 (S/25155),

**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 "Acordos de Paz para Angola",

**Concerned** at the recent absence of dialogue between the Government of Angola and UNITA, and welcoming the meeting between them under United Nations auspices in Addis Ababa to discuss the cease-fire and political matters,

**Also concerned** at the outrageous harassment and physical abuse to which UNAVEM II personnel have been subjected, and the looting and destruction of United Nations property, as described in the above-mentioned 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 UNAVEM II 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 steps have been taken to set a Government of National Unity which would reflect the results of the legislative elections, and deeply regretting the failure of UNITA 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. **Notes** with appreciation the above-mentioned report of the Secretary-General;

2. **Strongly** condemns the persistent violations of the main provisions of the "Acordos de Paz", in particular the initial rejection by UNITA 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 cease fire immediately, restore at their meeting in Addis Ababa continued and meaningful dialogue, and agree on a clear timetable for the full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz", 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. **Supports fully** the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in their continuing efforts to restore the peace process and to carry out the mandate of UNAVEM II under extremely difficult conditions;

5. **Urges** once again the two parties, and in particular UNITA, to produce early evidence of their adherence to, and fulfilment without exception of, the "Acordos de Paz";

6. **Appeals strongly** to the Government of Angola and UNITA to confirm as soon as possible to the Secretary-General that real progress has been made towards implementation of the "Acordos de Paz";

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 "Acordos de Paz";

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 "Acordos de Paz" 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 thereunder and the appropriate provisions of the "Acordos de Paz";

11. **Demands** that UNITA immediately release foreign nationals taken hostage;

12. **Strongly condemns** attacks against UNAVEM II personnel in Angola, and demands that the Government and UNITA take all necessary measures to ensure their safety and security;

13. **Expresses** its condolences to the family of the UNAVEM II† 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 UNAVEM II 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 UNAVEM II deployment in Luanda, and at this 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 UNA-

VEM II as soon as this becomes feasible, with a view to the resumption of its functions in accordance with the "Acordos de Paz" 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 this 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 "Acordos de Paz";

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

#### **RESOLUTION 811 (1993)**

**Adopted by the Security Council at its 3182nd  
Session on 12 March 1993**

#### **The Security Council**

**Reaffirming** its resolutions 696(1991) of 30 May 1991, 747(1992) of 24 March 1992, 785(1992) of 30 October 1992, 792(1992) of 30 September 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 ensured and the further deterioration of the already dangerous political and military situation, bringing the country on the verge of resumption of civil war,

**Gravely concerned** at the persistent violations by UNITA of the major provisions of the "Acordos de Paz para Angola",

**Further concerned** at reports that military support and equipment continue to flow in contravention of the "Acordos de Paz",

**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 UNITA, which had been scheduled to be held on 26 February 1993 in Addis Ababa under the auspices of the United Nations, did not take place because of the failure of UNITA to fulfil its commitment to send a delegation to Addis Ababa,

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

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

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

1. **Strongly condemns** the persistent violations by UNITA of the major provisions of the "Acordos de Paz", in particular the continued rejection by UNITA of the results of the elections held on 29 and 30 September 1992 which the Special Representative of the Secretary-General determined as 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, its seizure by force of provincial capitals and municipalities and the resumption of hostilities;

2. **Demands** that UNITA accepts unreservedly the results of the democratic elections of 1992 and abide fully by the "Acordos de Paz" and further demands that the two parties, particularly UNITA, produce early evidence, not later than 30 March 1993, that real progress has been made towards the implementation of the "Acordos de Paz";

3. **Strongly demands** an immediate cease-fire throughout the country, and further 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 "Acordos de Paz" 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 "Acordos de Paz";

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

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

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

8. **Invites** the Secretary-General to seek to organize a meeting between the Government of Angola and UNITA at the highest possible level with a view to securing the full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz", this meeting 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 803 (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 encourage 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 appeal** 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. **Look 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.

### **RESOLUTION 823 (1993)**

**Adopted by the Security Council on 30 April 1993**

#### **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 October 1993,

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

**Supporting** the peace talks currently in progress in Abidjan between the Angolan Government and UNITA under the auspices and Presidency of the United Nations, and expressing the hope that they will lead to an immediate cease-fire and the full application of the "Acordos de Paz",

**Gravely concerned** by the continuation of attacks perpetrated against international humanitarian flights operating in Angola, in particular by the fact that a WFP aircraft was recently shot down,

**Taking** into account the letter that the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Council on 29 April 1993,

1. **Decides** to extend the mandate of UNAVEM II up to 31 May 1993;

2. **Requests** the Secretary-General to submit to it as early as the situation permits, and in any case by 31 May 1993 at the latest, a re-

port on the situation in Angola, containing all the recommendations on the enlarged role that the United Nations Organization will play in the peace process, and from now until then he keeps the Council regularly informed;

3. **Stresses** that it is ready to act promptly, on the recommendation of the Secretary-General and at any time during its mandate authorized under this Resolution, with a view to substantially enlarging the presence of the United Nations in Angola in case significant progress is made in the peace process;

4. **Condemns** all attacks carried out against international humanitarian flights operating in Angola and demands that these attacks cease immediately and that the two parties, and UNITA in particular, take steps necessary to ensure the security of these flights as well as UNAVEM II personnel.

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

**POSITION TAKEN BY THE OAU  
AND "FRONTLINE STATES"**

**A/ OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
RESOLUTION ON THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA  
(15/19 February 1993)**

The Council of Ministers of the OAU, meeting at its 57th Ordinary Session in Addis Ababa, from 15 to 19 February 1993,

**Recalling** various resolutions on Angola, adopted by the Council of Ministers of the OAU, the Ad Hoc Committee of the OAU on Southern Africa (15 October 1992) in Gabrone, by the Summit Meeting of the Frontline States (December 1992) in Harare and by the 11th Session of the PTA Summit Meeting (25 January 1993) in Lusaka,

**Recalling also** Resolution 804/93 (29 January 1993) of the United Nations Security Council,

**Having heard** the information supplied by the Representative of the Angolan Government on the evolution of the current situation in the Country,

**Conscious** that the multiparty elections held on 29 and 30 September 1992 were internationally recognized as being free and fair,

**Gravely concerned** by the resumption of hostilities in various parts of the Angolan territory and the continuing deterioration of the social, political and military situation provoked by the military wing of UNITA and its leader,



**Concerned also** by the fact that the principal provisions of the "Acordo de Paz para Angola" have not been complied with by UNITA,

**Reaffirming** the imperative need for all countries to respect the territorial integrity and to observe the inviolability of the borders of the Angolan state, and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the Country,

1. **Strongly urges** UNITA to accept the results of the democratic elections;

2. **Strongly condemns** UNITA for its withdrawal from the newly formed Angolan Armed Forces, its occupation of villages, communes and provincial capitals and its resumption of military actions throughout the Angolan territory, in violation of the "Acordos de Paz";

3. **Appeals** to UNITA to immediately cease all military actions and return to the dialogue initiated with the Government in Addis Ababa on 27 January 1993;

4. **Demands**, in other words, that UNITA disarm, assemble, demobilize and integrate its military forces into the Angolan Armed Forces;

5. **Urgently appeals** to all Member States of the International Community to accord their full political-diplomatic and material support to the Government formed as a result of the elections of September 1992, with a view to permitting it to restore peace and deal with the serious food and health problems facing the Country;

6. **Appeals**, to all the African States, Republic of South Africa in particular, to immediately and effectively cease all direct military or paramilitary intervention in support of the military wing of UNITA.

7. **Vigorously condemns** the massacre of defenceless civilians and the destruction of economic structures, resulting from the resumption of military activities by UNITA and its mercenaries;

8. **Congratulates** the Angolan Government on its continuous willingness to maintain dialogue with the UNITA rebel movement, in search of a political, peaceful and rapid solution to the conflict.

9. **Requests** the Sub-committee created in Gaborone by the Ad Hoc Committee of the OAU on Southern Africa to mobilize the inter-

national community, in particular the countries directly supporting UNITA in its rebel campaign, with a view to ensuring the immediate cessation of all hostilities in Angola and the resumption of the talks initiated in Addis Ababa on 27 January 1993 to try and bring about the implementation of the "Acordos de Paz" and the consolidation of the democratic process in the Republic of Angola".

## **B/ SUMMIT MEETING OF THE FRONTLINE STATES**

### **FINAL COMMUNIQUE**

Harare, 11 December 1992

1. The Summit of the Frontline States and Representatives of the Liberation Movements met in Harare, Republic of Zimbabwe on 11 December 1992. (...)

4. The Summit heard an extensive presentation by the Prime Minister of Angola, Dr. Marcolino Moco, on the situation prevailing in Angola since the conclusion of the elections supervised by the United Nations at the end of September 1992. The Summit was informed about the renewed fighting in many parts of Angola and the rising tension between the National Police and military units of UNITA. With regard to this, the Summit appealed to all the parties to renew their confidence in the "Acordos de Paz de Bicesse" which held a promise for a return to normal life in Angola after the holding of the elections considered as being free and fair by the International Community.

5. The Summit expressed great disappointment and astonishment at the UNITA leadership's stand regarding the democratic process and objectives of free elections. An appeal was made to them, and in particular to Dr. Jonas Savimbi, to respect the democratic process and the wishes of the Angolan people. With regard to this, the Summit condemned the violent acts committed by the UNITA armed forces.

The UNITA leadership should unequivocally accept the results of the elections and take up their rightful place in the Parliament and Government of national unity and reconciliation to be constituted on 4 December 1992. It was recommended to President JosÉ Eduardo dos Santos that he name a broad-based government of national unity representing all parties in the Angolan society.

6. It was suggested that the United Nations contingent (UNAVEM) be enlarged and increased. The Summit supported the UN operations in Angola and expressed the hope that sufficient resources would be made available to UNAVEM for it to fulfil its mandate.

7. The Summit recalled the decision by the Ad Hoc Committee of the OAU for Southern Africa, at its meeting held on 15 October 1992 in Gaborone, to send a high level delegation to Angola. It recommended that the AD Committee delegation act promptly to support the peace and national reconciliation process in progress in this Country.

8. The Summit analysed with rising suspicion the evidence of military activities of the South African Defence Force in Angola and condemned the violation of the airspace of Namibia, Botswana and Zimbabwe by South African aircraft. In the light of these incidents and the reported purchase of sophisticated combat planes, the UN is strongly requested to continue guaranteeing the supervision of the arms embargo. The Member States took note of the need to consult on a regular basis on security matters and coordinating strategy.

## C/ SUMMIT OF THE FRONTLINE STATES

### FINAL COMMUNIQUE

Harare, 2 April 1993

1. The Summit of the Frontline States and the Representatives of the Liberation Movements met in Harare, Republic of Zimbabwe, on 2 April 1993. (...)

### ANGOLA

4. The President of the high-level Delegation of the OAU, His Excellency President Robert Mugabe informed the Summit of his visit to Luanda on 27 to 28 December 1992. The Delegation appreciated the fact that the Angolan Government and the recently elected members of the National Assembly had responded positively to the recommendation made that they resume their talks with UNITA with a view to finding a peaceful solution for the post-electoral crisis. The Summit deeply regretted the refusal by Dr. Jonas Savimbi to travel to Luanda

to hold discussions with the High-Level OAU Delegations and the continuing reluctance by UNITA to engage in any form of dialogue with the Delegation.

5. The Prime Minister of the Republic of Angola, Dr. Marcolino Moco, informed the Meeting about the crisis in Angola, the grave social, political and military situation caused by UNITA and its leader's actions. The Summit condemned the unacceptable level of human suffering and the large number of dead and wounded resulting from the renewed fighting, and advised all the parties to observe the cease-fire and refrain from causing further loss of lives and permit the delivery of food supplies and other humanitarian aid to the thousands of continuously suffering people. With regard to this, the Meeting requested the International Community to assist, as a matter of urgency, in giving humanitarian aid to the Angolan people.

6. The Meeting requested the United Nations to play a greater role in Angola to ensure the effective maintenance of peace and total disarmament of the UNITA illegal army, before the second round of elections. In addition, the Meeting requested an overall expansion of the mandate and an increase in resources for the UNAVEM operations. The Bicesse Accords continue to be the only feasible formula for peace and UNITA must demonstrate its peaceful intentions by accepting the results of the elections held in September 1992..

7. The Meeting requested the members of the international Community with influence on UNITA to persuade this organization to comply with the decision of the UN, particularly UN Security Council Resolution 811(1993). The Summit stressed the legitimate right of the Angolan Government to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity and to resort to all means necessary to reach this objective. With respect to this, the Summit appealed to the international community to give all assistance possible to the Angolan Government.

8. The Summit demanded the total cessation of external interference in the internal affairs of Angola and particularly requested the countries supplying UNITA with arms to cease this supply and respect the territorial integrity of Angola and its democratic institutions.

9. The Summit appealed to the Government of the United States of America to accede to the recognition of the democratically elected government of Angola. The Summit considered that this positive step would help speed up the democratic process in this Country.

## **POSITION TAKEN BY THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY**

### **A/ STATEMENTS MADE BY THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY**

#### **Statement made on 1 October 1992**

Following the holding of the presidential and legislative elections in Angola, the European Community and its Member States congratulate the people of Angola on the success of their first democratic experience. The European Community is convinced that the former warring parties will respect the results of the elections, as has been promised by their respective leaders together with all Angolans. Hereafter, all should work together to reconstruct Angola in a spirit of tolerance and reconciliation. By doing this, they will not only help their country but will also serve as an example to the other countries of the region and those beyond who are still hoping to attain a democratic state, which the Angolan people have arrived at. The Community and its Member States reiterates its commitment to give all assistance possible for the reconstruction of the country, in the hope that the Angola people will assume the fundamental responsibility of guaranteeing the stability which will permit them to preserve the democratic values acquired with such difficulties.

#### **Statement made on 14 October 1992**

The Community and its member States recall the applaud they gave on 1 October 1992 to the elections that have taken place in Angola but note with regret recent violent incidents arising out of disputes over these elections. They reaffirm the importance they attach to all parties using the agreed mechanisms to resolve their differences to the National Electoral Council and the Special

Representative of the UN Secretary-General. They call for an immediate end to the violence and for all parties to respect the final outcome of the democratic process. They urge all sides to help create conditions that will allow the Community and its member States and the wider international community to continue to support national reconstruction in Angola.

#### **Statement issued on 22 October 1992**

The Community and its member States take note of the publication of the official results of Angola's first democratic elections and their verification as having been free and fair by the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General. They fully support the conclusions reached by the Special Representative and expect all parties who participated in the elections to respect the choice of the Angolan people.

They also look forward to the holding of the second round of presidential elections in conditions of peace and without threats or intimidation from any side whatsoever.

They further believe that an essential condition for peace lies in the strict compliance with the Bicesse Accords particularly those sections related to the Angolan Armed Forces.

#### **Statement issued on 22 January 1993**

The Community and its member States deplore the outbreak of widespread and fierce fighting in Angola and the heavy losses of human lives incurred. They appeal strongly to the Government and to UNITA to bring an end to the fighting, which constitutes a serious setback for the peace process that culminated in the free and fair elections of September 1992. They also appeal to the countries in the region to refrain from any act that could contribute to an internationalisation of the present conflict in Angola.

A solution to Angola's problem cannot be found on the battleground. A general cease-fire is the first and immediate requirement. On this basis they regret the refusal by UNITA to attend a meeting of military leaders due to have taken place in Addis Ababa last week thus jeopardizing the efforts of the Special Representative of the UN, the Secretary-General and the Observers to the peace process and they urge UNITA to reconsider that decision.

The community and its member States reiterate their earlier appeals to the parties, in particular UNITA, to abide by the results of the elections, observe the Bicesse Peace Accords and resume the demobilisation process. In this context, they urge the President of Angola and the UNITA leader to respond positively to the UN Secretary-General's call for an early meeting between them.

The Community and its member States consider that the United Nations should continue to play a key role in restoring and maintaining peace in Angola. They look forward to the report of the United Nations Secretary-General on the future role of UNAVEM. In the light of this report, the United Nations Security Council should consider the role and mandate of UNAVEM and the possibilities of strengthening the United Nations' involvement in the peace process. However, it must be underlined that cessation of hostilities and genuine willingness to reopen the political dialogue are prerequisites for a meaningful UN contribution.

The Community and its member States reiterate their readiness to provide humanitarian assistance to Angola and, once the peace has been restored, to contribute to reconstruction programmes.

#### **Statement issued on 17 February 1993**

The Community and its member States support fully the declaration by the Observers to the Bicesse Peace Accords concerning the deadline of 17 February 1993 for UNITA to decide on the setting of a date for a meeting in Addis Ababa between the subscribers of the Peace Accords for Angola. They align themselves with the appeal for truce in Huambo, issued by the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General.

They appeal strongly to the Government and UNITA to bring an immediate end to the fighting so that humanitarian aid can be provided to the wounded and suffering civilians, particularly in Huambo, where fighting has been going on for more than a month.

The Community and its member States reiterate their appeal, in particular to UNITA, to abide by the results of the elections, observe the Peace Accords and resume the demobilisation process. Likewise they repeat their appeal to the countries in the region to refrain from any act that could contribute to an internationalisation of the present conflict.

## B/ EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT RESOLUTIONS

29 October 1992

### The European Parliament,

- A. Having regard to the importance of the elections in the peace process of Angola;
  - B. Having regard to the democratic manner in which these elections took place, as verified by the international Observers, namely the Community and the United Nations;
  - C. Having regard also to the positions taken by the Government of the United States of America, Portugal and South Africa concerning the elections in Angola;
  - D. Considering that some irregularities were eventually verified does not in any way prevent the elections from being termed as "free and fair";
  - E. Considering the final results announced on 17 October 1992 by the President of the National Electoral Council and condemning all manoeuvres aimed at ignoring or jeopardizing these results;
  - F. Regretting the incidents of violence recorded since the elections, which has caused several deaths;
1. Appeals to all the parties concerned to rigorously and fully respect the commitments taken up in Lisbon, which have already permitted the election of a new Parliament as well as the first round of presidential elections;
  2. Requests that any of the parties trying to resume hostilities be strongly condemned and be subject to immediate sanctions;
  3. Requests the UN to ensure that the second round of presidential elections take place in an exemplary manner, according to the commitments taken up within the framework of the Peace Accords of Bicesse.
  4. Expresses its satisfaction at the opportunity and the relevance of the EPC Declarations on 1 and 15 October 1992, particularly the part referring to respect for the electoral results as being an indispensable element to permit the international community to create the conditions for assistance to the reconstruction of Angola;

5. Promises to study, with the other Community institutions, the possibility of establishing a technical cooperation programme with the new Parliament, in conformity with the provisions of Article 5, 26 and 275 of the Lomé Convention;
6. Calls on all the parties to respect the Peace Accords of 1991 and, especially, the effective formation of a single national army;
7. Calls on member States to prepare themselves in order to cooperate with the UN through its sending of Observers to supervise the election;
8. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the EPC, the Commission, the UN Secretary-General, the member States, the Governments of the USA, Angola and South Africa, the Secretary-General of the OAU, the Co-presidents of the ACP-CEE Joint Assembly the President of the Russian Republics and the Presidents of MPLA and UNITA.

Resolution dated 19 November 1992

### The European Parliament,

- A. Having regard to the violation of the peace agreements and the serious conflicts and acts of violence recorded in Angola,
- B. Whereas UNITA has violated the agreements signed in Bicesse in May 1991 by refusing to respect the outcome of the elections,
- C. Deploring the fact that the elections, although overseen by a large number of international observers, did not result in the desired political solution and that one side's refusal to accept the election result, and their acts of violence, prompted the other to perpetrate similar excesses,
- D. Having regard to the EPC Declaration on 23 October 1992 which it fully endorses,
- E. Mindful of the resolution adopted by the United Nations Security Council on 30 October 1992 extending the UN mandate in Angola, warning that any party which did not comply with the undertakings entered into under the peace agreements would be repudiated by the international community,

- F. Having regard to the use of blackmail and revenge, the undeclared civil war that has broken out in Angola, leaving thousands dead and wounded, including political leaders, official negotiators, a number of foreign citizens and UNAVEM officials,
  - G. Deeply concerned at the fate of those arrested during these incidents, among them Godfrey Absalom Nagonya, a human rights activist who is now detained in the Estrada de Catete prison,
  - H. Hoping that necessary conditions will be created to enable the second round of presidential elections to take place,
1. Strongly condemns the violation of the peace agreement and the skirmishes, killings and destruction which have taken place and expresses its deepest condolences to the victims;
  2. Condemns any further acts of hostility and violence and calls for an immediate end to armed attacks and for the resumption of the pacification process;
  3. Calls for an international inquiry into all the incidents, skirmishes and killings in Angola since the elections;
  4. Calls for that international inquiry also to cover the possible implications of third countries in the current situation in Angola and the possible presence of foreign troops on Angolan soil;
  5. Hopes that all the countries in the region will refrain from intervening in Angola's internal affairs and from any other activity like to obstruct a swift return to a situation of peace and normality;
  6. Calls on the UN and the countries which contributed to the Bicesse agreements to do their utmost to ensure that Angola's future is settled;
  7. Calls on the international community to attach greater importance to the conclusions of the electoral process and requests the UN and all the relevant international organizations and especially, the Community to support the peace process in Angola, in particular by supporting the organization of a second ballot for the presidential elections and by ensuring that such a ballot is monitored by a sufficient number of observers;

8. Calls for the introduction of an aid programme to help the newly elected government to tackle the serious economic and social problems associated with reconstruction;
9. Instructs the President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, EPC, the Members States, the UN Secretary-General, the governments of the United States, Russia, South Africa and Angola, the Secretary-General of the OAU, the Co-President of the ACP- EEC Joint Assembly and the Presidents of MPLA and UNITA.

Resolution passed on 21 January 1993

#### **The European Parliament**

- A. Regrets the resumption of the civil war in Angola which brings back the suffering to a country which has already seen three decades of conflicts;
- B. Recalls that, under the terms of the peace accords of 31 May 1991, Angola had put an end to a civil war lasting more than sixteen years and which caused the death of about 350,000 people;
- C. Concerned that the results of the legislative elections of September 1992 were not accepted by all the parties, even though they had been declared free and impartial by the international community;
- D. Distressed at the news of deprivation of freedom and imprisonment of many civilians, including elected deputies;
- E. Concerned at the rumours of ill-treatment and the raping of women;
- F. Condemning the atrocities committed by any of the parties in conflict;
- G. Having regard to the resumption of increasingly heavier fighting with the participation of armed civilians, especially in the provincial capitals, to the point where UN envoys to Angola consider the situation as becoming uncontrollable;
- H. Considering that this situation has caused displacement of the population and exodus from the country;
- I. Considering the need for all Angolans to contribute towards the pacification of the country and that no stable peace can be based on political or military defeat of the enemy;

- J. Stressing the positive role played by the UN, following the Bicesse peace accords signed in May 1991;
- K. Recalling its resolutions of 29 October (1) and 19 November 1992 (2) on the situation in Angola,
  - 1. Demands an immediate cease-fire by both parties involved in the conflict and the resumption of the peace process which should follow the Bicesse agreement and the elections;
  - 2. Recalls that the responsibility for the rupture of the peace accords lies on the UNITA leaders because they contested the electoral results;
  - 3. Calls for the holding of the second round of presidential elections as soon as possible, under the terms of the Bicesse agreement, and that the elected bodies, that is the Parliament begins to function with the presence of all its members, some of whom are deprived of freedom and are under house arrest;
  - 4. Requests UNAVEM, the observer countries and European Policy Cooperation to define all the ways necessary to continue the democratic process and insists on the need for an adequate UN presence or other international observers to guarantee free and fair elections;
  - 5. Invites the United Nations, the EC and the countries which contributed to the Bicesse Accords to continue their efforts in trying to put an immediate end to the war, establishing an effective dialogue and the resumption of the peace process and simultaneously ensuring the functioning of the democratically elected parliament under international control;
  - 6. Applauds the recent resumption of the UN humanitarian assistance flights to the provincial capitals;
  - 7. Pledges to support the democratic development of the country by subscribing to financial cooperation aimed at supporting respect for human rights in the world;
  - 8. Reiterates its appeal for the urgent drawing up of an assistance programme aimed at helping the newly elected government to tackle its serious economic and social problems associated with reconstruction;
  - 9. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, the EPC, the UN Secretary-

General, the governments of the Member States, the USA, Angola, South Africa, the Secretary-General of OAU, the Co-Presidents of the ACP-EEC Joint Assembly, the President of the Russian Republic and the Presidents of MPLA and UNITA.

Resolution dated 22 April 1993

#### The European Parliament

- A. Having regard to its recent resolutions and that of the Joint Assembly in Gaborone, on the peace and democratization process of Angola and on the humanitarian situation,
- B. Considering that the EC and its member States as well as various other states and international organizations motivated and encouraged the Angolan political leadership to initiate and enter into a peace and democratization process in the country;
- C. Considering that the positions taken by the EC and the member States have assumed signs of a solemn commitment to assist Angola during the transition period towards democracy, as well as the economic and social reconstruction of the country;
- D. Considering that the elections of 29 and 30 September 1992 were considered as being free and fair by the international observers – and as such sanctioned by the United Nations – and that all the Angolan parties, including UNITA, declared they would accept these results;
- E. Considering that these elections resulted in a clear election of a parliament in which elected deputies from all regions of the country and the various parties obtained seats;
- F. Considering, therefore, the indisputable legitimacy of the National Assembly, the legislative work and important debates and democratic co-existence already undertaken, but also the difficult logistics experienced by its President and deputies;
- G. Considering that eleven deputies elected by UNITA have occupied seats in the Assembly and participated in parliamentary debates and state that they do not approve of the war initiated by the military leadership of UNITA or their lack of transparency with regard to the negotiations, they

- nevertheless want the party to participate in the democratic process;
- H. Considering that in accordance with the previously established constitutional platform between all the parties contesting the elections, the President of the Republic in office installed the Government of Prime Minister Marcelino Moco, which reflects the electoral results and has the implicit confidence of the National Assembly;
  - I. Considering that the present phase of hostilities in Angola commenced on 4 October 1992 on the sole initiative of the UNITA President and that they resulted in shocking suffering and distress for the population of Angola as a whole, without sparing those who supported that party and voted for it;
  - J. Considering that in the face of all the initiatives by the international community, namely the UN to bring about dialogue aimed at a cease-fire, the UNITA representatives responded with evasiveness and the perpetual delay, as has happened in Abidjan, of the efforts for peace and the resumption of the democratic process;
  - K. Considering that the UNITA leadership places itself beyond the margins of the bases for legitimate democracy and the principles ruling international relations and humanitarian sentiments;
  - L. Considering that the abandoning of the legitimate Government of Angola by the EC, apart from being incoherent, will also have serious consequences for its international credibility, jeopardizing the pressures made for the Lomé Convention to align itself with the development efforts made by countries towards democracy, peace and observance of human rights.
1. Appeals to the UNITA leadership and other political leaders and the Angolan civilian society to do everything possible to restore peace and democracy, co-existence and the economic and social construction of the country;
  2. Appeals to the National Assembly to carry on demonstrating to the Angolans its capacity for work and dialogue between the representations of the regions and the different parties;

3. Invites the European Community, through a joint action between the European Parliament, the Joint Assembly and the Commission, to cooperate and carry out actions needed for the optimum functioning of the National Assembly and Parliamentary Commissions, and appeals also to the European Parliament to invite Angola deputies and promote every useful exchange activities between European and Angolan parliamentarians, as well as between members of the policy secretariats;
4. Requests the ACP and EC States to maintain and intensify all efforts and all the support needed by the Angolan government to restore peace;
5. Expresses its deep appreciation of the energy, impartiality and efforts shown by Ms. Margaret Anstee in carrying out her functions, but appeal to the UN to agree to send a sufficient number of "blue helmets" to ensure the security required for the new peace efforts;
6. Expresses also its particular appreciation of the observer countries to the peace process, particularly to the CCPM;
7. Urges the United Nations or countries which collaborated in the signing of the Bicesse Accords to use all means within their reach to immediately end hostilities and to put the peace process back on its wheels;
8. Requests the International Community to stop military assistance to Jonas Savimbi, an essential condition for the restoration of peace, opening up of a dialogue and application of the Bicesse Accords;
9. Recognizes the risks taken by national and foreign civilians, journalists and heads of humanitarian assistance organizations, with special focus on those giving assistance to refugees and emergency programmes and the doctors of international organizations;
10. Recommends the EC and its member States to increase human aid to Angola, namely with regard to increasing food aid for 1993, assistance for non-food items (tents, blankets, medicines, etc), assistance for transport costs in convertible currency and an increase in NGO funding;
11. Requests the Commission to immediately launch the second phase of the Community Support Platform for Angola;



- 12 Appeals to the EC and the Angolan government to urgently deliberate on the application of financial resources from the National Indicative Programme of the 7th EDF for emergency assistance to the population, thus supplementing the other resources made available by the EC.

### C/ ACP-EEC JOINT ASSEMBLY

#### Resolution adopted in Gaborone on 2 April 1993

The ACP-EEC Joint Assembly met in Gaborone (Botswana) on 29 March to 2 April 1993 and presented various resolutions adopted by the Joint Assembly and European Parliament with regard to the peace process in Angola.

- A. Dismayed by the fact that Angola has become the scene for bloody clashes extending to almost the whole of the territory, devastating the country and causing thousands of deaths and wounded among the civilian population, as well as destroying the infrastructures and the nation's wealth,
- B. Considering that the European Community and the member States together with other states and international organizations have encouraged the Angolan political leadership to initiate and conclude the pacification and democratization of the country,
- C. Considering that the European Community and member States have solemnly pledged – in particular in the resolution published by the “Development” Council on 28 November 1991 and in later declarations – to support Angola during its transition period towards democracy and assist it to reconstruct its economy and social structures,
- D. Considering that the elections of 29 and 30 September 1992 were considered by the international Observers as being free and fair and similarly certified by the United Nations, apart from all the Angolan political forces including UNITA having declared that they would accept this verdict,
- D. Once again, considering that the second round of presidential elections have still to be held in order to conclude the electoral process,

- E. Considering however that the elections gave birth to a National Assembly comprising deputies chosen from all regions and different political parties of the country,
- F. Considering, then, the indisputable legitimacy of the Angolan National Assembly and also the legislation already drawn up, and the practical problems facing the President of the Assembly,
- G. Considering that under the terms of a prior constitutional agreement reached by the parties contesting the elections, the outgoing President of the Republic nominated a government - headed by Dr. Marcolino Moco -, whose composition satisfactorily reflects the electoral results and which enjoys the complete confidence of the National Assembly,
- H. Considering that the hostilities currently prevailing in Angola since October 1992 were deliberately sparked off by the UNITA president and that they are the cause of the intolerable suffering and feeling of distress being experienced by all Angolans, including those who supported that party and gave it their votes,
- I. Considering that despite the violence of the combats and the prevailing war situation in the country, the Government has abstained from declaring a state of emergency so as not to hamper the progress of democracy and violate human rights,
- J. Considering that in response to all initiatives taken by the International Community, and in particular the UN, to open up negotiations aimed at reaching a cease-fire, the UNITA leadership has behaved evasively (they began by being absent from the meetings held on 17 and 18 February in Addis Ababa) and considering, moreover, that this same leadership sabotaged all endeavours at arbitration by the Observer countries and independent bodies which supervised the procedures of the electoral process, and considering further that these leaders even reached the point of raising unfounded suspicions against Ms. Margareth Anstee,
- K. Considering that the UNITA leadership placed themselves on the margin of democratic legitimacy and the principles binding international relations and humanitarian action,

- L. Considering that, in the meantime, 10 UNITA deputies and several General and high ranking officers accepted to occupy their seats in the National Assembly or to serve in the Angolan Armed Forces within the framework of an agreement and to eventually participate in the Government, and considering further that these deputies and military officers criticized Mr. Savimbi and that they condemned him for unleashing the hostilities and the UNITA leadership for its inflexibility at the negotiations,
- M. Considering that if the "Twelve" and the ACP States abandoned the legitimate Government of Angola, they would be acting incoherently and would seriously taint their international credibility and jeopardize efforts made to associate national development with democracy, peace and human rights, under the sponsorship of the Lomé Convention,
1. Congratulates the multiparty delegation of Angola composed of democratically elected deputies;
  2. Requests the UNITA leadership and other political leaders, as well as the civilian population to do everything possible to re-establish a climate of peace, democracy and peaceful co-existence in Angola and promoting the economic and social development of Angola;
  3. Requests the Angolan National Assembly to continue its activities to prove to the population that the regional representatives and the different political parties can collaborate and hold dialogue, and applauds the significant number of women in this Assembly, the majority of which belong to the principal parties;
  4. Invites the European Community to take a joint initiative with the Joint Assembly and the Commission to adopt adequate measures to ensure the optimum functioning of the Angolan National Assembly and its Parliamentary Commissions;
  5. Requests the ACP States and Community state Members to proceed with and intensify efforts to give the Angolan government the assistance needed to re-establish peace;
  6. Vigorously applauds the energy, objectivity and dedication shown by the UN Representative, Ms. Margareth Anstee in the exercise of her office;

7. Applauds also the action taken by countries monitoring the development of the peace process and particularly the activities of the CCPM;
8. Invites the United Nations and the countries which contributed towards the signing of the Bicesse Accords to do all they can to put an immediate end to the war and enable the resumption of peace process;
9. Requests the International Community to cease all military assistance to Mr. Savimbi, an essential condition for the attainment of peace, opening up of a dialogue and the application of the Bicesse Accords;
10. Applauds the courage shown by Angolan and foreign journalists and leaders of humanitarian organisations in carrying out their mission, as well as those assisting refugees and those engaged in emergency aid;
11. Invites the information organs of the member States of the Community to inform international public opinion of the realities of the Angolan tragedy and point out who is really responsible for this;
12. Recommends the European Community and member States to increase their humanitarian assistance to Angola;
13. Requests the Commission to immediately start the second phase of the Community assistance programme to Angola;
14. Requests the Community and the Angolan Government to agree as quickly as possible on the modalities of application – in the framework of emergency aid to the population – of available financial resources under the National Indicative Programme of the 7th European Development Fund which will thus supplement those funds already disbursed by the Community;
15. Requests the United States Congress to remind the American Administration, on the one hand, of the commitments made by Washington with regard to the peace process and democratization of Angola and, on the other hand, the promises made by the American observers – and the expectations they raised among the Angolan population – with regard to the rapid recognition of the institutions established as a result of the elections, in conformity with the normal principles binding international relations;

16. Instruct their Co-presidents to transmit this resolution to the ACP-EEC Council of Ministers, the Commission, the Secretary-General of the UN, the United States Congress, the Governments of the United States, Russia and Portugal and the Angolan National Assembly.

## **POSITION TAKEN BY THE OBSERVERS**

### **DECLARATION BY THE OBSERVERS**

(Luanda, 11 February 1993)

The Observers to the peace process verified with great consternation the impasse in the efforts made by the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative to try and get the UNITA leadership to set a date for a fresh round of talks in Addis Ababa, scheduled for yesterday and adjourned at the request of this party.

The Observers' concern is increased by the resumption of military actions throughout the country and specially Huambo, in gross violation of the Peace Accords and the appeals successively reiterated by the Security Council in general and by the International Community.

The persistence in the escalate of loss of human life and the destruction of the material wealth of Angola, without any immediate prospect of putting an end to the armed conflict, is not compatible with the reaffirmations of validity and much less the existence of the Cease-fire Agreement included in the Peace Accords signed in Lisbon on 31 May 1991.

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## COMMUNIQUE

(Lisbon, 23 February 1993)

Delegations from the United States of America, the Russian Federation and Portugal and led respectively by the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, the Director of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Gregory Karassin and by the State Secretary of Cooperation, Briosas e Gala, met in Lisbon on 23 February 1993 to analyse the latest developments of the situation in Angola and prepare the second round of direct talks between the Government of Angola and UNITA, to be held on the forthcoming 26th in Addis Ababa, under the auspices of the United Nations.

The three delegations reaffirmed that the only political way out of the post electoral crisis in Angola resides in the observation and fulfilment of the Peace Accords signed in Lisbon on 31 May 1991 and that the elections of 29 and 30 September 1992 were confirmed by the United Nations as being generally free and fair, thus recognizing the legitimacy of the democratic institutions created thereafter.

They also agreed on the essential role to be played by the United Nations in the execution of the tasks needed to bring about a durable solution for the current crisis in Angola.

With regard to the Peace Accords, the Observers discussed concrete measures to be taken to secure and strengthen the steps needed to conclude the process.

Firstly, they agreed that the principal objective was the reestablishment of the cease-fire throughout the Angolan territory. The Angolan Government and UNITA should agree on a specific timetable for the implementation of the cease fire and reactivate the mechanisms established in the Peace Accords. Meanwhile, the two parties could positively respond to the appeals for a truce made by the International Red Cross and by the United Nations, with a view to giving urgent humanitarian assistance to the most needy Angolan population.

Secondly, the Observers hope that the next meeting in Addis Ababa will lead to the full application of United Nations Security Council Resolution no. 804 dated 29 January 1993, including the immediate and effective cessation of any external military or paramilitary interference, direct or indirectly, in Angolan territory.

Thirdly, the Observers understand that all the Angolan people's concern about security should be taken into consideration to permit

the participation of all representatives of democratically elected parties in the State bodies.

Finally, the Delegations of the three Observer countries considered that there were currently within the reach of the Government of Angola and UNITA, solutions for the return to peace and the initiation of a reconstruction and development programme for the country within the framework of the democratic process. The three Governments will be greatly concerned at the refusal to accept these solutions in the shortest time possible and will recommend an appropriate international response against those who insist on hampering the peace.

The Delegations of the United States, the Russian Federation and Portugal firmly hope that the next round of the Addis Ababa talks will take specific steps forward towards the solution of the post-electoral Angolan crisis, namely:

- the setting of a date for the re-establishment of the cease-fire;
- the reactivation of the verification and security mechanisms of the Peace Accords;
- the signing of an agreement on essential security issues;
- the resumption of direct and continuous dialogue between the Government of Angola and UNITA aimed at genuine national reconciliation;
- the strengthening of the role of UNAVEM II in all sectors essential to freedom and democracy in the second round of presidential elections.

The delegations of the United States and the Russian Federation express their gratitude for the hospitality conceded by the Portuguese Government.

## COMMUNIQUE

(Abidjan, 21 May 1993)

The Observers to the peace process for Angola, of Portugal, Russia and the United States of America were concerned at the rupture of the Abidjan talks. This rupture was due primarily to the current refusal by UNITA to initial a set of principles which would permit the initiation of a process leading to a cease-fire, the concession of humanitarian assistance to the whole country, the release of prisoners, the

conclusion of the Bicesse Accords and national reconciliation. The continuation of the current situation in Angola constitutes a tragedy for the Angolan people who are the main victims of the war and results in an increase in suffering of the population. The suspension is also unfortunate in that it casts a shadow on progress made during the last six weeks regarding an important number of questions.

The Observers believe that the suspension of this round of negotiations will have serious consequences. The refusal by UNITA to initial the protocol means that it did not want to accompany the Government of Angola in sending to the international community the needed signal of good intentions. The GRA and UNITA should recognize the impossibility of a military victory and that it is their responsibility, not the international community's, to negotiate an agreement and determine the future of their own country.

The Observers urge the GRA and UNITA to reflect on the vast implications of the suspension of these negotiations and the essential need for peace and national reconciliation, as well as the resumption of the negotiations as quickly as possible. The Observers stress that they will make all efforts, in cooperation and coordination with the UN, to resume the negotiations when and if the parties so wish. Meanwhile, the Observers will work within the framework of the international community to provide emergency aid to all Angolans.

Finally, the Observers thank the Government and people of the Ivory Coast for their exceptional hospitality. In particular, they express their gratitude to President Felix Houphouët-Boigny and his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Essy Amara, for his dynamism, support, leadership and stature in trying to contribute to the success of the talks. The Observers consider that the participation of the Government of the Ivory Coast in this process will continue to be invaluable.

## **RECOGNITION BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

Declaration by President Bill Clinton  
(19 May 1993)

Today I have the pleasure to announce the recognition of the Government of Angola by the United States.

This decision reflects the high priority that my Administration gives to democracy.

In 1992, after years of bitter civil war, the people of Angola held multiparty elections which the United States of America, the United Nations and other countries considered as being free and fair.

Since I took up the Presidency on 20 January I have tried to use recognition as a means of influencing the end of the civil war and hostilities, in the hope that all Angolan political groups and the Government of Angola would participate. Unfortunately, the party which lost the elections, UNITA, resumed the war even before the electoral process could be concluded. And UNITA now refuses to sign a peace agreement which is currently on the table.

On the contrary, the Government of Angola has agreed to sign the peace accord, it has installed a democratically elected National Assembly and offered UNITA participation at all levels of Government.

Today, we acknowledge these achievements by recognizing the Government of the Republic of Angola. I hope that UNITA accepts a negotiated solution and becomes part of this Government.

I intend to work with the Government of Angola and UNITA to find a durable peaceful solution and establish a vibrant democracy. I hope that the efforts of the USA have helped and I am confident that the Government of Angola deserves the recognition that the United States is giving it today.

## **BY POSITIONS TAKEN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH**

### **PASTORAL MESSAGE OF THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF ANGOLA**

(22 October 1992)

"From 31 May 1991 to 30 September 1992, the people of Angola have experienced sixteen months of joy never before experienced in living memory. They were able to return to their homes, their neighbourhoods, their fields, without war and without fear. It was "the dove of peace". It was the miracle of Bicesse. In order to consolidate this peace, the people saw the approximation of the dream of democratic elections which promised them a Government chosen by themselves, and not a Government imposed by the barrel of a gun. For this reason, there was a massive turnout at the polling stations.

Suddenly, this happiness was transformed into panic. Immediately following the elections, the people began to feel cheated by these because the threat of guns hung over them again. And the scenario of war repeated itself: they had to leave their homes and villages, abandon communes and municipalities and return to the bush in search of refuge and the hope of greater security for their lives.

The Church cannot accept such a state of frustration and suffering into which the people were once again immersed. It is for this reason that we are here to speak in the name of these peoples, beseeching at all the politicians and those responsible for the electoral process in Angola:

Save us or we shall perish (Mt 8.25)!

(...)

No one should ignore the high price of our national reconciliation on 31 May 1991. High ranking officials from the most diverse part of the world used their names and prestige for us to arrive at that date. The two parties in conflict travelled an arduous road difficult to renounce to silence their weapons. Democracy was the centre of the question. For this democracy to begin by means of an electoral process, Angola had the privilege of receiving the guarantee of the most reputable international bodies, namely the UN.

(...)

In a democracy, the ones who should really rule are the people. Their will is sovereign and it has to be respected as the queen of democracy. The Angolan people exercised sovereignty of will in the electoral act of 29 and 30 September last. And they did so with so much civility that the world was amazed at the evidence of their political maturity. Indeed, side by side, followers of different parties were seen depositing their votes with mutual respect, silently and without any disorderly acts.

For this reason only can the politicians be proud of their people, let's hope that the people have similar reason to be also proud of their politicians.

The electoral process is a human undertaking, and as such it is subject to both moral and intellectual imperfections in its execution.

In order to resolve eventual illegalities or fraud resulting from such human imperfection, there cannot be absent from the process the

necessary legal mechanisms. And it is through these mechanisms and not through violent means that the political problems arising from any electoral process should be resolved. To proceed in any other form would be a violation of democratic principles.

With the prospect of a second round of presidential elections, we urge that all necessary provisions be made to reduce to the minimum, the risk of any irregularities which could disturb the good relations between the two contesting parties. We should select persons with reputable maturity for the scrutiny. And we should not give anyone reason to say that we are unable to live in democracy because of lack of political maturity.

(...)

The return to the spirit and letter of Bicesse seems to be the obligatory path to overcoming the political crisis which has halted the breath of Angolans. It is important for the signatories to be true to their word to show their political honour to the Nation and the world. The dignity and credibility of a party is not worth more than a simple seat in Parliament or even in another higher post. It was the initial faith in Bicesse that brought peace to the country and confidence to the people as much as it was the recent rupture in certain crucial items in the Accords which once again reduced the people to a reign of terror and anxiety.

Among the chapters of Bicesse is one which constitutes the touchstone of democracy and peace: it is the substitution of the two warring parties for a single national army. We promptly recall the seriousness of this problem and we are asking for the solution it deserves.

At the last minute, the solution was found for the legal extinction of the two armies. But unfortunately its implementation failed.

The existence of two armed parties is a "square circle for democracy". A contradiction, The promises of peace and the taking up of arms seem to us to be two simply irreconcilable things. The people cannot believe in a democracy or in a peace which conceals a threat of war. For this, we vehemently urge the competent authorities to proceed, as soon as possible, with the effective disarming of the warring parties and to restore to the people its confidence in democracy and peace.

(...)

The massive voting by the people which surpassed ninety-one percent is a public demonstration of the confidence of the electorate in their political leadership. It is now up to these leaders not to cheat them.

(...)

If the the victory of the government represents the voice of the majority, the victory of the opposition represents the voice of the minority who gave them the vote. Whatever the case, all the minorities need to be defended by someone. In Parliament or out of it. There is a special opening here for irreplaceable democratic opposition.

In summary, a democracy, especially when new, cannot develop firmly without stimulation from the opposition whose poliphonic voices should substitute the monotonous sound of dictatorship.

(...)

We vigorously urge the political leadership to give back confidence and tranquility to the people and remove all violence from their language, and from the country all the machinery for military preparations. Only in this manner can the dispersed people return to their homes and return to a normal life, in peace and tranquility..”

### **PASTORAL MESSAGE OF THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS**

(11 February 1993)

“(...)

No less distressing is the scenario of war devastating the Nation. In a few weeks of military conflicts there has been more destruction and human bloodshed than during the many years of the preceding war.

Our Fatherland is victim to an unjustified and monstrous civil war which the future will judge as one of the greatest crimes in our history. In the electoral propaganda the people received the greatest promises of peace and democracy and now they are given persecution, shots, pillage, hunger, explosions and death; in short, tears and blood.

The war tormenting us has become a systematic violation of the most sacred human rights. Long range weapons and destructive

power, air or ground, continue to indiscriminately devastate our towns and cities, without sparing even the holy places. Churches, hospitals, nurseries, and other such places have constituted since time past sacred zones which even so called uncivilized people respected during times of war. Unfortunately, among us it is not just a case of one such structure being destroyed by arms.

In the towns, the people most most vulnerable to these means of destruction are those who cannot and should not flee, such as children, mothers, the elderly, the sick and those assisting them such as medical personnel, paramedics and missionaries. The most elementary human sentiments towards these institutions and persons should be scrupulously respected, especially during combats.

To achieve its objectives the war uses any means. It forces the youth to be incorporated into its ranks and even ignores the question of age, sex or family. It is a foreboding sarcasm; while preparations are underway for peace negotiations, the preparations for war also increase.

(...)

It was as a political party that UNITA received its vast well-known support from the electorate. And it is as a political party that it is failing in the actual democratic context of the Country.

For this reason, we request the GOVERNMENT to give visible guarantees of security for the UNITA structures and personnel in the sovereign bodies, to which they are entitled, and to resort to the good services of the United Nations if necessary.

In its turn, this same UNITA should promptly occupy its places in the Republican Assembly, in the Government and in the Armed Forces and adopt a completely political-party line at the definitive exclusion of military force, which we believe guarantees the best security and presitge for it in future.”

### **PASTORAL MESSAGE OF THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF ANGOLA AND SÃO TOMÉ**

(7 March 1993)

The Church is the mother of all its followers and the Bishop should be the father of its diocese. This means that all God's people,



irrespective of their race, ethnic grouping, culture or political affiliation, should have a place in the heart of the Church and of the Bishop which congregates it.

This comes in reference to the political conflicts in the midst of which the Angolan Hierarchy has exercised and continues to exercise its pastoral mission. Just like any citizen, all bishops have the right and by chance the obligation to make political options through the ballot. But they should respect the just political options of all their congregations in such a manner that none of them feel discriminated against or felt left out of communion with their Pastor.

In spite of their personal political options, the Bishops of Angola have never ever, either privately or collectively, issued any pastoral directive to recommend the election of a certain party. This has been and continues to be the pastoral line followed by the Hierarchy of Angola. We are Bishops for all Angolans, irrespective of their political beliefs.

(...)

For all that we have just said, we reiterate our appeal, and in the most vehement terms, for an urgent cease-fire as a preamble to the final peace negotiations. A similar appeal was just recently made by the African Cardinals. No one can ignore that violence breeds violence and that its fruits are only death and destruction. Our own history teaches us that a war such as ours can only end through dialogue. Tomorrow will be too late. Each day that passes is a step backward in the development of our Country.

This appeal is in itself addressed to those who have the decisive power over this war, or better still, who hold the peace of the Angolan people in their hands and for whose return they (the people) are crying out. None of these leaders should refuse dialogue. Above all, they know how to remove all the obstacles and create all the necessary conditions so that the recent and sadly failed round of talks can be re-established immediately to give back the people their lost hopes”.

## MANIFESTO OF THE ANGOLAN WRITERS' UNION

4 December 1992

“(...) The tortuous patch leading to the Bicesse Accords has revealed to our people an almost certain political maturity of its signatories.

The signs of war fatigue pointed to a scrupulous implementation of the Bicesse Accords.

This did not happen and the people emerged victorious but victims of future treachery.

The exemplary manner in which our people behaved during the electoral process was testified and confirmed by the observers of almost the whole world, but the people were faced with an inoperational democracy the responsibility for which, kept at a distance, can only be attributed to the political bi-polarization of its subscribers.

The truth is that during the period between the commencement of preparations for the electoral process and their materialization, our people witnessed a real comedy of political ambiguities which culminated, with the bad faith of UNITA, in an increased responsibility for the Government, international organizations and mediators. The successive delays in resolving questions yet to be resolved today, the change of authorities or visible tolerance in the masquerade of a political party signatory to Bicesse, but with the face of a terrorist military organization, pillaging the wealth of the people and inventing lies and defamations, transforming itself into an impostor before the people who, in the final analysis, found themselves needing to defend their vote with their own lives.

The Union of Angolan Writers solemnly expresses the defence of democracy. Not as an imported model or toy machine, but as a set of values englobing the dignification of and respect for our people, for true freedom evidenced by the right to life, freedom, health, education, wealth, justice and participation with regard to the destiny of Angola, to the ballot and to decisions which enable our Country to be free of the spectre of war and equivocal situations in which it finds itself.

The Union of Angolan Writer expresses the right of defence of unity by our people, based always on the will of the communities. Meanwhile, we wish to safeguard the socioal-political concept of unity of the Angolan people and condemn any drawing up of analogies which wish to use so called national unity in the formulation of party alliances or coalition governments which are against the will expressed by the people.

The Union of Angolan Writers defends the principle of harmonious development in all its dimensions, as a solid base to safeguard democracy and as a defence mechanism against the disparities between the ethno-linguistic and regional components.

The Union of Angolan Writers strictly calls on the demilitarization of Angola by immediately constituting a truly single and non-partisan



Angolan Armed Force effectively subordinated to democratic political power, followed by the extinction of all illegal private armies and the penalization of all those who within the FAA, only follow partisan strategies and subsequently violate the principle of impartiality incumbent upon them.

(...)

The Union of Angolan Writers condemns the UNITA leadership for the illogical manner in which it refused to accept the result of the people's vote, embarked on human destruction and ecological imbalance rejected by the whole world, spreading degenerative primitivism such as tribalism and racism and devaluing democracy; for its its unmeasured ambition for power while explicitly exercising neo-fascism under the silent eye of certain democracies who support or ignore it, by omission, and give UNITA the possibility to gain time and deify the value of a peace more monstrous and atrocious than the 16-year war, which the people are now suffering in the flesh.

To this effect, the Union of Angolan Writers calls for peace as a rejection of violence, for democratic will to listen to one another, for unity to create material and spiritual wealth according to the will of the people, but never as a negotiated result with those who, in the name of democracy, have decided to crush it and uphold the ghost of peace with the sole objective of spreading the fear of war in order take over power.(...)

## DECLARATIONS BY UNITA LEADER JONAS SAVIMBI

### Radio "Vorgan", 3 October 1992

"(...) I'm sorry to reveal to you that the MPLA has stolen the ballot boxes; sorry to say that MPLA is misappropriating the ballots.

(...) It's up to us, freedom fighters(...) to tell you that MPLA is not winning and that MPLA cannot win. (...)

(...) At the moment MPLA is lying. In all the provinces, UNITA is running ahead in the legislatives and presidentials, as a just and noble recognition of those who fought for the liberation of the country. I appeal to you not to listen to Radio Nacional, not to believe in the TPA (Televisao Popular de Angola); to wait calmly in your houses, in

your villages, in your neighbourhoods for the results which will surprise not only the world but the MPLA itself.

(...) At the same time that on behalf of all those who fought and died, those who are mutilated, I'd like to say that the NEC should be more responsible and not repeat only that which Futungo says.(...)The NEC will have to take into account that all its manoeuvres falsified numbers, unprogrammed computers, all this will make UNITA take a position which could deeply disturb the situation in this country. (...) The NEC is manipulated by Futungo and we are not afraid of Futungo.(...)

We have all the facts on the fraud, the violation, the theft of votes, and we will in due time present to the national and international opinion so that when we take our stand the people will completely agree with us. It's the time to cry.(...) MPLA cannot(sic) silence us. Sixteen year of suffering, of humiliation, of torture and above all of theft, it enough! The hour for change has come.(...)

(...) We wanted the process to be so transparent and impartial that it would convince Angolans and not foreigners. That is why UNITA has not changed its slogan:"Angolans first, Angolans second; Angolans third, and Angolans forever".

(...) It's not up to any international organization to say that the elections were free and fair. It will depend only and only on the observation of the Angolans themselves to say whether all Angolans who registered had voted or not and if the ballot boxes had not been tampered with or stolen.

(...) IWe would like, finally to thank the(inaudible), UNAVEM, UNDP and other international organizations. But we would also like to tell them that for us Angolan interests must come before any other accommodation of international opinions".

(...) If anyone wants peace, it is UNITA. But if the interests of the Fatherland are threatened, if MPLA wants to keep itself on the roost and tell lies; the most important thing for us in UNITA is defence, not only of the interests of the fatherland but also of the lives of those who want to think differently from MPLA. We refuse to allow MPLA to turn us into a flock of sheep.

(...) We will know how , when necessary, to assume our responsibilities. We don't want any of us, nor the MPLA nor UNITA, nor other parties to try to plunge, once again, this country in obscurity and war because history would never pardon this ambition and greed which

only uses power to take money and doesn't render any services to the population.(...)

### Portuguese Radio TSF on 11 January 1993

"(I'm not even (in a weak position). I even control the greater part of the country.(...)Who controls more municipalities, who controls more people? It's us! And we intend to keep this control.

(...) No one's going to throw anyone out..Even the (Minister of Interior) Petroff who is the chief of police says that of the 190 municipalities, UNITA controls 110.(...) We want to strike where it hurts most. There'll be no petroleum, there'll be no diamonds, there'll be nothing.(...) It will be war. They'll pay the price of their insolence and arrogance.(...)

(Huambo is) not only our ethnic bastion, it is also our region which we will never cede to anyone.(...)

José Eduardo dos Santos is a show-off (...) for being President of the Republic. In the first place, he didn't manage to get the 51%. So, now we have to go on to the second round. If they don't accept, they be acting against the constitutional law.(...) I'm always ready (for a meeting with Dos Santos). But not in Luanda, never. (In) Geneva. And it's not even I who has suggested this. It's the Secretary-General of the United Nations. (...)He wasn't elected: he had 49.40. A second round is needed. It's in the MPLA Constitution and it is also in the Bicesse Accords.

(...) MPLA is counting a lot on the Clinton Administration. It (Administration) won't give them anything. They(MPLA) are former Communists, they are Communists...America will be careful to see where reason lies.

In every situation, said Churchill, there is a position. This (animosity towards the Portuguese government) has already passed. (...) I want to renew my confidence in Minister Durao Barroso. If I say one or two wrong words, it is because of the shock of the electoral situation. But he knows me well. I'm not sorry, but I would like him to understand that I still admire and hold him in high esteem.

The Prime Minister (Cavaco Silva). (...) Whatever misunderstanding there is between us, the Prime Minister doesn't want a war. (...) If I blamed the Prime Minister for wanting to make a war, then I take back my words. He doesn't want a war, he wants peace, he has always wanted peace. (...)"

### Radio "Vorgan", 9 March 1993

"(...) assure our colleagues on the painful path in the North, to all the population of the South, even those in Luanda, that the occupation of Huambo does not in any way represent the danger of division. It is a point of honour (...) We must also, in this hour of rejoicing after the liberation of Huambo, remember our grief (...) which we suffered even in colonial times, how we were divided in "Luandolandia" and we were used as tools of our land.

(...)The equality of Angolans cannot be written in the Constitution, it cannot be a post (...) it has to be an honour, it has to be dignity. Huambo will never again fall into MPLA hands, even if means the war continuing for many, many years.

(...) Those of "Luandolandia", when they put Chicoty against Savimbi, when they put Chipenda against Savimbi, when they put Nunda against Chilinguitila, when they put Cassoma against Valentim, we are being used to by the Luandolandia circus, whereas we are a great people. No one is denying that Creoles don't have their own culture, they should have their own lifestyle, but what we are saying is that we are not Creole but that we are of Bantu origin and we are Africans and we cannot renounce that (...) we cannot violate (...) our values, we have to talk (...) that we have overcome our humiliation (...)

(...) We found tons and tons of weapons, cannons, tanks, which will enable us to carry out combats (...) for many years.

(...) the people of the Central Highlands, of Bie, Cassongo, Cassongue, Mussende, Waco Kungo in Kwanza Sul, Caluquembe, Caconda, Chicomba and the norther part of Huila province (...) they just want dignity, they want Huambo to have its own power, they only want to be respected, they only want our values not to be trodden on (...) that they shouldn't carry on teaching prostitution, we just want to put an end to marijuana in Huambo and in the other towns. We just want to be represented by our own representatives (...) to show Luandolandia that Luanda was the capital chosen by the Portuguese colonialists (...) with a majority Creole population (...) Today one cannot live in Luanda (...) They can continue to be what they are, but why cannot we not also be left to our own land, to live our own lives? (...) This will always cause war. Wars are bad, wars are there, but often it's worth making war so that when there is peace, it is a definitive peace.

(...) Our armed forces cannot be assembled, our armed forces will not accept disarmament if we do not find a negotiable basis which respects men, their cultures, their lives and their dignity (...)

(...) I ask myself about the role of His Eminency Cardinal Alexandre do Nascimento in the rumours spread in Luanda, on tribal lines, and which today constitutes the philosophy of MPLA and even its Catholic Churches are destroyed, its members are hated. What is the role of His Eminency Cardinal Alexandre do Nascimento?(...) Also in the Central Highlands, we want the quick return of our Archbishop (...) if not, we won't stop here. He is an important element for the wounded here. We won't stop in Huambo, we'll march on Benguela, on Bie, we'll go up to Lubango, we'll go up to where we want and we can.

We don't want the negotiations to be in Addis Ababa any more. We'll only go to the talks if they are held in Geneva. (...) UNITA requests the removal of Ms. Margareth Anstee as Representative of the Secretary-General here in Angola. As long as she is here, there'll be no negotiations because she doesn't have experience in African affairs, she must leave. She doesn't have and has never had any support from UNITA's side, even when we diplomatically wanted to talk to her. (...) It's in Luanda that (she) has commitments, and it is in Luanda that she favoured the fraud (...). Ms. Anstee is not acceptable, she has lost prestige. We want a prestigious person and if possible an African. (...) African problems must be resolved by Africans.

We don't accept the Bicesse charter. We just want to revise certain clauses so as to adapt them to the current situation."

I'm appealing to the commanders in Soyo. If we capture a mercenary, kill him (...)

(...) Evil tongues (say) that UNITA had hidden an army. It had. We had to be ready. (...) We weren't ingenuous. When we saw the Migs, the Suvkoy and tanks and no one was monitoring them, we couldn't allow that. We also then trained our own armed forces (...) we just need aircraft now. We already have tanks captured in Mavinga, we captured more tanks in Cuito Cuanavle, we have now captured many, many tanks here in Huambo. We have anti-aircraft guns, we have long-distance weapons, we have ammunition (...) So we can carry out a war for a very long time.

Africa must play a positive role. UNITA doesn't agree with the Frontline states. UNITA doesn't want to hold discussions with the Frontline (...) we want to send a delegation to Namibia (...) has created conditions for MPLA to use Namibian territory to invade Angola. But

if they do (...) we'll attack the Ruacana Dam, even if it takes 55 days, we'll destroy the Ruacana Dam.

There will be White Portuguese here in Angola, there will be White Portuguese in Portugal (...) The incompatibility of character between the Prime Minister of Portugal and Jonas Savimbi shouldn't be a problem, because when the Portuguese Government envisages my physical elimination, they are faced with an enemy who is not easy to defeat (...) How many Portuguese are here in Angola and how many Savimbi's are there in Portugal? There is none in Portugal, but there are many Portuguese here....."

## INSTITUTION OF THE PARLIAMENT AND GOVERNMENT

### A/ NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

President: Fernando França Van-Dunem (MPLA)

Vice-Presidents: – Lazaro Dias (MPLA-Independent)

– João Pedro Francisco (FNLA)

– Jaime Antonio Chinguimbo (PRS)

– to be nominated by UNITA

Constitutional and Legal Affairs Commission. Regulations and Mandate.

President – Bornito de Sousa (MPLA)

Vice-President – Aniceto Hamukawaya (UNITA)

Defence, National Security and Internal Order Commission

President – Mario Afonso de Almeida (MPLA)

Vice President – Edwardo Kwangana (PRS)

Commission for External Relations, International Cooperation and the Angolan Community Abroad

President – Andre Domingos "Passy" (MPLA)

Vice-President – Georgina Sapalalo (UNITA)

Commission for Local Administration and Power

President – Dianvutu Dienoil-Bento (FNLA)

Vice-President – Moises Gaspar Kamabaya (MPLA)

Economy and Finance Commission

President -Maria Idalina Valente (MPLA)  
Vice-President -Joao Pedro Francisco (FNLA)

Commission for Education, Science, Technology, Culture, Sports,  
Religious Affairs and Social Communication

President – João Maimona (MPLA)  
Vice-President – Conceição Luis Critovao (MPLA)

Commision for Health, Environment, Social Action, Labour and War  
Veterans

President – Fernando Norberto de Castro (UNITA)  
Vice-President -Silvio Paulo de Almeida (MPLA)

Commission on the Family, Youth, Child Welfare and Women's  
Promotion

President – Odete Ludovina Chilala (UNITA)  
Vice-President – Angela BraganÁa

Commission for Human Rights, Petitions, Complaints and  
Suggestions of Citizens

President – Domingo Tunga (PRS)  
Vice-President – Milton Dias da Silva (MPLA)

**LEADERS OF PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS**

MPLA – Joao Lourenço

UNITA – Armindo Moises Cassessa

FNLA – Benjamin da Silva

PRS – Antonio Joao Muachincungo

PLD – Anália Victoria Pereira

**UNITA DEPUTIES INVESTED**

Carlos Morfado

Georgina Sapolado

Nirberto de Castro

Aniceto Hamukawya

Adalberto Chaunga

Arminfo Moisés Cassessa

Honório Van-Dúmen

Azevedo Canjanja

José Abilheira

Odete Ludivina Chilada

**B/ GOVERNMENT**

Prime Minister: Marcolino Moco

M. Defence

Minister: Pedro Maria Tonha Pedale

Vice-Minister: Gen. Pedro Sebastiao

M. Interior

Minister: Andre Pitra Petroff

Vice-Minister: Fernando Dias dos Santos

M. External Relations

Minister: Venancio de Moura

Vice-Minister: Jorge Chicoty (FDA)

Vice-Minister: Joao Miranda

M. Territorial Administration

Minister: Antonio Paulo Cassoma

Vice-Minister: Joao Kussuma

M. Finance

Minister: Emmanuel Carneiro

Vice Minister: Alvaro Craveiro

M. Oil

Minister: Albina Assis

Vice-Minister: Desiderio Cosa

M. Agriculture and Rural Development

Minster: Isaac dos Amjos

Vice-Minister: Jose Amaro Tati

M. Fisheries

Minister: Maria de Fatima Jardim

Vice-Minister: Joao Manuel Caholo (PRS)

M. Geology and Mines

Minister: Jose Dias

Vice-Minister: Moises Chingongo

M. Public Works and Urban Development  
Minister: Mateus Brito Junior  
Vice-Minister: Gilberto Mamedes  
Vice-Minister: (to be nominated by UNITA)

M. Transport and Communications  
Minister: Andre Brandao  
Vice-Minister: Amadeu Neves (PRD)  
Vice-Minister: Licinio Ribeiro

M. Commerce and Tourism  
Minister: Celestino Dias  
Vice-Minister: Paulino Baptista

M. Health  
Minister: Martinho Epalanga  
Vice-Minister: Francisco Mendes (FNLA)

M. Education  
Minister: Joao Bernardo  
Vice-Minister: Artur Julio

M. Social Assistance and Reintegration  
Minister: Norberto dos Santos  
Vice-Minister: Albino Malungo

M. Culture  
Minister: (to be nominated by UNITA)  
Vice-Minister: Ana Maria Oliveira

M. Youth and Sports  
Minister: Justino Fernandes  
Vice-Minister: Jose Sardinha de Castro

M. Justice  
Minister: Paul Tchupilica (FDA)  
Vice-Minister: Miguel Aragao

M. Public Administration, Labour and Social Security  
Minister: Antonio Pitra Neto  
Vice-Minister: Eduardo Severino de Morais

M. Social Communications  
Minister: Hendrik Vaal Neto

State Secretariat for Cooperation  
Secretary: Johnny Eduardo Pinnok

State Secretariat for Coffee  
Secretary: Gilberto Lukutuka

State Secretariat for the Environment  
Secretary: Manuel David Mendes (PAJOCA)

State Secretariat for Energy and Water  
Secretary: Joao Saraiva

State Secretariat for the Promotion and Development of Women  
Secretary: Joana Lina

State Secretariat for Housing  
Secretary: Miguel Correia

State Secretariat for Planning  
Secretary: Jose Pedro de Morais

Secretariat for the Council of Ministers  
Secretary: Carlos Feijo

## **C/ THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH ON THE INVESTITURE OF THE GOVERNMENT**

(4 December 1992)

This ceremony will go down in the annals of our history as a landmark in the organization of the Angolan state.

For the first time in our new Republic a Government originating directly from free and fair multiparty elections under international supervision and observation will actually assume its responsibilities before the people and the Nation.

I do not think it necessary to call attention to the historical and political dimension of such an event. Suffice it to say that as from now

on government in Angola has become legitimized by the sovereign decision of the Angolan electorate through the ballot.

With the taking up of office of this Government and the recent investiture of the National Assembly, the Nation now has two essential organs of State power which no one can contest and which will allow the conduct and materialization of the process of change which we have unwaveringly been implementing during the past years in the economic and political sectors .

As a result of this, the new Government should not be seen as an end to itself. The people who make up this body should regard it simply as a special means of putting into practice the programme of the Party which obtained parliamentary majority, and to serve the people in a framework of national unity and reconciliation.

I request Mr. Prime Minister and the rest of the Government members that when drawing up their plan of action they should take into consideration the programme of the Party which obtained the agreement and preference of the Angolan electorate and whose guidelines and priorities are the consolidation of peace and the democratic regime, the unity and reconciliation of all Angolans and the reconstruction and development of the country.

The search for ways to consolidate peace should be continuous. Dialogue, political and diplomatic flexibility, wisdom and determination in defence of national interests and all democratic values will certainly regulate your attitudes and endeavours in our common mission to reconcile all members of the Angolan family who, once again, are locked in an unjust and destructive war.

Ensuring, in one way or another, the participation of all in the democratic and national reconstruction process and guaranteeing the normal functioning of the sovereign bodies, in strict compliance with their constitutional competence, and promoting solidarity and cooperation between them, are all actions which I intend to carry out and which in this context can ibute towards the strengthening of our young democratic state.

Even during the single party system prevailing until recently, the outgoing government distanced itself from administrative methods of leadership and mangement so inherent to the system of centralized management of the national economy and initiated reforms conducive to a free market economy.

The process of national reconstruction, initiated with the entry into force of the peace accords and now being jeopardized by UNITA

through the resumption of a war of destruction , was at that time being carried out in perfect harmony with a programme of stabilization preceding the structural adjustment of our economy.

The Angolan electorate expressly decided through the ballot that they were not interested in distancing themselves from these fundamental options made during the first Republic and that it was a good foundation to serve the society's interests in the current phase, as long as there is a qualitative alteration in the methods of government.

Continuous renovation seems to be the best formula in which to express the will manifested by Angolans in the elections, in an atmosphere of order and civility said to have been exemplary. The renewal means changes in the methods of governing, starting with greater transparency, efficieny and dynamism.

Continuity means continuity in changes, or simply to continue with economic reforms and to consolidate multiparty democracy.

Renovation in the current situation can still be understood as the promotion of cadres from the young generation to the executive, at a time when more dynamism is expected from the Government to deal with the new war situation created by UNITA.

By its unilateral breach of the Peace Accords signed in Bicesse, demonstrated by its rejection of the electoral results and its subsequent bellicose amd militaristic posture, UNITA has subverted the developing democratic order and voluntarily outlawed itself with a view to seizing through the barrel of a gun that which it was unable to obtain through the ballot. This attitude is naturally being condemned by the political and national forces and by the international community.

In the newly instituted pluralistic system of which UNITA is still a part, the war it is waging is against the Angolan people and against democracy because Mr. Savimbi and his closest collaborators want to impose on Angolans a dictatorship similar to that reigning in Jamba.

Meanwhile, recent Angolan history has shown that there can be no military solution for the Angolan issue and in choosing war, the UNITA leadership has adopted a suicidal attitude. The recent events in Luanda serve as a point of reference not to be dismissed. At the moment there are thousands of young volunteers presenting themselves to the authorities in all the provinces of the Country to help defend villages, towns and cities. I believe that this number will rapidly increase and that united and organized, these volunteers will defend our people and democracy.

The contention, good faith and the willingness to discuss that the Government has maintained is dangerously reaching its limit and the sovereign bodies cannot abandon their responsibility of guaranteeing the integrity of the Fatherland, the protection economic and social infrastructure and the defence of the populations and their property.

More than fifty municipalities are occupied by UNITA which has no administrative capacity whatsoever. There, state and social administration has disappeared and left millions of compatriots in a dramatic and desperate situation, without food, medical care, shelter and security for their lives. It is unacceptable that someone should cause so much suffering and pain to the Angolan people.

And it with this hedious crime on its back that it wants to negotiate. Nowhere in the world has an infractor called for negotiations with the constituted order by using military blackmail and bad faith. Such posture has unfortunately been tolerated through declarations made by certain foreign sectors and personalities who thus insist on giving equal treatment to those who violate the Law and those who try to comply with it.

We were very pleased to hear the recent declaration by the State Department of the United States of America Administration in which it identified the violator of the Accords in Uige and Negage and elsewhere, but it was not only here that Mr. Savimbi violated. He is to blame for all military instability reigning in the Country.

We do not believe that for the war to end the Government has to make concessions and multiple gestures of good will to a political party which does not behave like one and which keeps its armed forces illegally active.

The just solution to this war situation created by UNITA has to be through the return of its troops to the assembly areas and by their total disarmament under international verification; by their return to the ranks of the Angolan Armed Forces; by the inambiguous acceptance of its electoral defeat; by its occupation of its Parliamenaryt seats elected by the people and the discussion in this forum of all political and legal questions; by the eventual acceptance of all posts that MPLA has made available to it in the Government.

UNITA thus has an opporotunity to demonstrate to our people that it is in favour of peace and not war, that it can live in democracy and contribute to the reconstruction and development of the country.

The new Government has to catch up with the long delays in the execution of national reconstruction programme unjustly aggravated

by UNITA's actions, carry out a policy of peace to be defined by the National Assembly and at the same time adopt measures which guarantee the effective defence of the territory, the population and their property.

The sovereign will of the people cannot continue to be cheated by those who reject it with guns in hand. All the political parties holding parliamentary seats, the leaders of the various political associations, the civilian society, the people in general and the Nation as a whole, must, for this reason, assume their responsibility of vigorously condemning the option for war and violence taken by the leadership of the main Angolan opposition party, and combine their efforts so that national peace and harmoney can be restored.

Members of Government, I hope that you will be able to successfully face the complex challenges existing at this your moment of taking up office and I am sure that you will continue to serve the higher interests of our people, with honesty, dynamism and efficiency.

## POST-ELECTORAL NEGOTIATIONS

### THE NAMIBE DECLARATION

26 November 1992

The Delegations of the Government and UNITA, with the presence of Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General and the Observers to the Joint Political-Military Commission, meeting in the town of Namibe on 26 November 1992 with a view to reactivating the negotiation process conducive to the total application of the Peace Accords for Angola, formally and solemnly declare before the Angolan people and the International Community, that they,

1. Totally accept the validity of the Peace Accords for Angola as the only way to a solution of the Angolan problem.
2. Will resume and effectively observe the cease-fire throughout the national territory and immediately cease all offensive movements.
3. Request the extension of the manadate of UNAVEM II in Angola and its greater quantitave and qualitative involvement. The two parties pledge to present shortly their proposals for the specific tasks of this new mandate.



## ADDIS ABABA

### PRESS RELEASE BY THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, MARGARETH ANSTEE

1 March 1993

(...) These developments have left me with no alternative but to cancel this second round of peace talks in Addis Ababa. It is a decision I have taken with the greatest regret. This outcome is a bitter disappointment to all of us who are engaged in the Angolan process, particularly the Angolan people who continue to be the victims of this savage war.

A very great deal hinged on this encounter in Addis Ababa, the latest in a series of abortive attempts to bring about a cease-fire and put an end to the tragic cycle of violence and death which once more engulfs Angola. Its conciliation represents a grievous setback to prospects for peace in the near future. While both the Government and UNITA have assured me of their commitment to dialogue, and to a political rather than a military solution, it is hard to see how these objectives can be realised if it is not even possible, because of deep suspicion and mistrust, to bring the two sides together in one place. Moreover, each reverse of this kind compounds mutual resentment and makes the road ahead even more difficult.

In my statement of Saturday I outlined in detail the meticulous arrangements which the UN had organised in order to ensure the safe transport of the UNITA delegation here. These had, moreover, been under discussion with UNITA for over a week before the scheduled opening of the meeting. While I can understand UNITA's concern for the safety of its leaders, I cannot find justification in their refusal to accept guarantees provided by UNAVEM, particularly when senior military observers and other UN personnel were to accompany them.

It is indeed tragic that this critical meeting, on which so many hopes and fears depended, should founder for a reason of this kind. I am grateful to the delegations of the Government and of the three observer countries to the Peace Accords for accepting the invitation of the United Nations to come to Addis Ababa and for their patience over four days of waiting. The main losers, however, are the long-suffering people of Angola who continue to bear the calamitous effects of civil strife and destruction, bereaving thousands of families, leaving thou-

sands more maimed and homeless, indiscriminately devastating the lives of young and old alike and destroying the riches of a potentially wealthy country.

(...) It must be clear to everyone, both inside and outside Angola, that continued military action can bring no victory for anyone, but only more death and destruction to a people who have already suffered beyond human endurance. Unless this cycle of violence, revenge and retribution can be broken the Angolans face an even more desolate future. A humanitarian disaster of incalculable proportions is already only too poignantly evident.

Despite this grievous setback in Addis Ababa both the Angolans and the international community must redouble their efforts to find an early solution. It is never too late for peace.

### STATEMENT BY THE GOVERNMENT ON THE 2ND ANNIVERSARY OF THE PEACE ACCORDS

31 May 1993

Two years have passed since the signing of the Peace Accords in Bicesse, Portugal.

And the world can see that as soon as the cease-fire had been established, Angola which had until then been held back by the bonds of insecurity created by the war immediately tried to get down to the task of reconstruction and reconstitution of life in the prospect of peace and reconciliation which appeared to be permanent and durable.

It is not only the Government that tried to immediately rebuild infrastructures until then inoperative or destroyed, it was also the people and with them the business sector which could now move around in fraternal co-existence between the provinces, towns and municipalities in an effort to recreate its life in peace, confidence and work.

Unfortunately, this atmosphere of healthy and productive co-existence which culminated in the extraordinary example of civility and political maturity of the September elections was abruptly interrupted when Jonas Savimbi tried to militarily take over power which had been denied him through the expressed will of the electorate.

In this manner and only for this reason are we commemorating today the second anniversary of the Peace Accords in an atmosphere



of generalized hostilities. Never has our country in its more than thirty years of war suffered such devastating, futile and unacceptably unfounded destruction. Towns and villages have been demolished. Thousands of peace-loving and innocent citizens have died. There has been an alarming increase in the number of orphans and abandoned children. More than one and half million displaced persons are suffering from hunger, malnutrition, nudity and lack of shelter. Hundreds of people, among them nationals and foreigners in areas beyond Government control, live in a situation of excruciating desperation, permanent insecurity, lack of any resources and real and insupportable isolation.

The world is a witness to how much effort the Government of the Republic of Angola has made in order to honourably and with dignity resume the path of peace.

Despite the electoral results which gave the ruling Party the right to govern alone, a government of national unity was formed and UNITA itself has (and maintains) its seats reserved.

In spite of being legitimately entitled to refuse any sort of negotiation, the Government has always shown its commitment to discussions and dialogue with the transgressing party and it has been flexible in its positions up to all possible limits while trying to understand the allegations made by the opposite party, with honesty and the desire for approximation without however disregarding the firmness of its principles to which it has always been entitled.

Unfortunately the military wing of UNITA has not given equal proof of honest will and effort to arrive at a peaceful solution. It has not (or it cannot) put the Nation above its personal and partisan interests. And if it was unable to gain any real benefit by taking advantage of the weak defensive position in which the Government found itself after the demobilization of the FAPLA, it was only because the people were against it and guaranteed with guns in hand the legitimacy conferred upon them by the peaceful and democratic path of the ballot.

All of us have witnessed the fact that when UNITA and Jonas Savimbi raised (and still raise) the spectre of tribalism, they deliberately forget to explain to the world that the people who defended the towns and villages against their attacks are Angolans of all ethnic groups.

It's obvious to all that Savimbi attacks the whole population of Angola, from Cabinda to Cunene, from the West coast to the East.

In this hour which should be one of rejoicing but is one of deep sorrow; this anniversary of peace which should be one of rebirth but is

one of destruction and death; this date which should be one of feasting and joy but is one of hunger and shortages of all types, of obvious economic difficulties, the Government of the Republic of Angola appeals to all those engaged in our peace process – Portugal, United States of America, Russia, the United Nations Organizations and the Organization of African Unity – to double their efforts in bringing UNITA and Dr. Jonas Savimbi to the reason of democracy and peace. It is not only Angola which is affected by this war, it is also the legitimacy of democracy. Furthermore, it is the international mediators, the UN and OAU who are being discredited. It is, on the other hand, an example for Africa (namely Mozambique and South Africa) to show how the will of a few can oppose with impunity the vote expressed by so many and that results of elections declared free and fair can be dismissed.

The Government of the Republic of Angola reaffirms its profound conviction that war is not and has never been a reason to attain peace. But it cannot shun the responsibility incumbent upon it to defend itself and defend the country from invaders and mercenaries in the pay of a group of rebels who, without reason, want to destroy and "Somalianize" the Country.

The Government of the Republic of Angola is deeply and consciously convinced that only a serious dialogue, deep and open discussions and healthy patriotism placed above personal and partisan interests can enable us to achieve an honourable and lasting peace. However, the Government cannot leave its people to be sacrificed with impunity, allow its authority to be continually contested, allow the continuation and increase of the prevailing misery which must be stopped, and to this end it reaffirms its readiness to defend the Nation and the integrity of the national territory at the cost of whatever sacrifice and up to any possible limit.

The Government of the Republic of Angola is aware that it is not enough to gain legitimacy through the ballot and that it is necessary to know how to defend it at all costs and thus defend the Fatherland, the People, Democracy and Freedom".