4. The situation in Angola

Decision of 8 February 1996 (3629th meeting): resolution 1045 (1996)

At the 3628th meeting of the Security Council, held on 6 February 1996 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (United States), with the consent of the Council, invited the representatives of Angola, Brazil, Lesotho, Malawi, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, South Africa, Tunisia, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting the Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General dated 31 January 1996 on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) pursuant to Security Council resolution 1008 (1995).¹ In his report, the Secretary-General observed that the peace process in Angola had been proceeding at a disappointingly slow pace and the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol was still woefully behind schedule. A deepseated mistrust and a lack of political will to take decisive measures had prevented the parties from honouring their commitments. However, both the Government and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) had agreed on a new timetable to move the peace process forward. He noted that the promising steps taken by the Government of Angola in the previous weeks were encouraging and he urged UNITA to respond positively by a large-scale and fully verifiable movement of its troops to quartering areas; by releasing all prisoners; and by provision to the United Nations of the information required by the Lusaka Protocol. He stated that the talks on military matters needed to be concluded as a matter of urgency, with workable and fair agreements concerning the incorporation of UNITA troops in the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA) and the gradual demobilization of its other forces. He also urged the President of Angola and the head of UNITA to meet as soon as possible in order to promote mutual confidence and resolve outstanding issues. Although the success of the peace process lay in the hands of the Angolan parties, the failure of past attempts to bring peace to Angola underscored the need for active international involvement and encouragement. He recommended that the mandate of UNAVEM III be extended for a further six months, and stated that he would continue to submit comprehensive reports to the Council every two months. He also noted that large segments of the population still required massive emergency assistance and that the Department of Humanitarian Affairs would issue a revised version of the current inter-agency appeal, extending the existing humanitarian programme through 1996.

The representative of Angola stated that the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol had entered its most decisive and defining stage, but not without difficulties, some of which were caused hv non-compliance and violations on the part of UNITA, others obviously resulting from the very nature and complexity of the conflict and from the process of the practical implementation of the Agreement. Major, substantial progress had been made, the most significant aspect being the maintenance of the ceasefire one year after its signing. The main issue was the question of the quartering of the UNITA military forces, their disarmament and demobilization, which was affecting the conclusion of the formation of a single national army and the integration of UNITA cadres into the national unity government. He underlined that they wanted the process to be as transparent as possible and entirely verified by UNAVEM III, in order to avoid any military forces or war materiel escaping the control of the United Nations, as was the case at the time of the Bicesse Accords. He expressed their concern about the continued UNITA military activity in some regions of the country, in a pattern of military movement without prior notification to UNAVEM III and of isolated attacks and ambushes against civilian and military targets alike. He noted that the difficulties posed by UNITA regarding the free movement of people and goods in the areas that were still under its control were of the other serious obstacles that the one implementation of the Protocol was facing since they hampered the free movement not only of Angolan citizens but also of UNAVEM III personnel. He stated that as the new mandate of UNAVEM III began, it was imperative that non-compliance and unjustified delays be prevented and that those responsible be held accountable. The question of humanitarian assistance also needed to be the object of special attention during

¹ S/1996/75.

the new mandate. He also reiterated that there continued to be violations by the Republic of Zaire of the clause contained in resolution 863 (1993) that prohibited the supply of military or any other assistance to UNITA. Zaire, in a clear challenge to the authority of the Council, continued to serve as a base for the UNITA planes that violated Angolan airspace and land clandestinely in areas under its control to obtain supplies of lethal materiel. He hoped that the Council and the Sanction Committee, in particular, would adopt urgent and effective measures to discourage Zaire from engaging in such behaviour, which could only contribute to increasing the obstacles to the implementation of the Accords and which constituted gross interference in the internal affairs of his country. As to the draft resolution, his Government endorsed all positive steps consistent with the present situation concerning the peace process in his country.²

The representative of Italy spoke on behalf of the European Union and associated countries.³ He stated that the European Union welcomed the commitment recently undertaken both by the Government and by UNITA on a new timetable to move the peace process forward. He underlined that it was essential that UNITA confirm its recent pledge to accelerate the quartering of its troops, which had not yet reached significant levels. He noted with satisfaction the steps that had been taken by the Government of Angola in the implementation of the peace process, and encouraged it to speed up compliance. He expressed concern over the delays in demining activities and reports that efforts of the Angolan parties in that area continue to be minimal. The European Union was equally concerned over the further deterioration of the Angolan economy, which was partly a result of complex post-war problems, but which also reflected the Government's difficulty in implementing effective stabilization measures and necessary reforms. The European Union stressed the importance of international support for the peace process in Angola, and underlined the stabilizing role of UNAVEM III in the current fragile situation. He stated that the European Union remained committed to the Angolan peace process and was undertaking demarches with both the Government and UNITA to urge them to make further and rapid progress in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol.⁴

The representative of the Russian Federation stated that it, as a member of the troika of observer States to the Angolan settlement, was deeply concerned at obstruction of the peace process by UNITA, which was continuing to evade implementation of the priority provisions of the Lusaka Protocol, particularly the quartering and disarmament of troops, thus hindering the normal activity of UNAVEM III, against which it had even launched a propaganda campaign. He expressed belief that it was time for the international community to stop accepting the inconsistency of UNITA and endless manoeuvring vis-à-vis the resolution of a set of military issues. That was particularly important in the light of the fact that the present policy of the leadership of UNITA recalled to a great extent its actions at the end of 1992, when it provoked the breakdown of the Bicesse agreements and the resumption of the civil war. It was also extremely important that at the UNITA quartering points there were real soldiers, with real weapons, and not unarmed youths, as was the case on several occasions. He expressed his belief that the UNITA leadership could have no justification for further procrastination in the release of all prisoners, in providing the United Nations with information on military questions and in ensuring freedom of movement for people and goods throughout the territory of the country. He noted the constructive steps taken by the Government of Angola to strengthen the peace process.⁵

The representative of the United Kingdom expressed their concern that major elements of the Lusaka Protocol had not yet been implemented and underlined that there would be no excuse if UNITA failed to quarter the promised troops by 8 February. He expected that all mercenaries would be repatriated promptly and that the agreement on integrating UNITA troops in the Angolan armed forces would be implemented. He stated that his delegation was disappointed that UNAVEM III radio was not yet properly established, despite the repeated calls of the Council to the Government of Angola on the subject. He also stated that if peacekeeping operations were to be enabled to fulfil their mandates they had to receive

² S/PV.3628, pp. 2-5.

³ Ibid., p. 5 (Poland, Romania and Slovakia; and Lithuania, Malta and Latvia).

⁴ Ibid., pp. 5-6.

⁵ Ibid., p. 10.

funds in full and on time. The operation which they were discussing then was crucial to the restoration of peace and stability to a war-torn country. Conflict in Angola had posed a threat to peace and security more widely in southern Africa, and United Nations mission could not fail because of lack of money.⁶

The representative of France stated that there were good reasons for concern over the lack of progress in implementing the peace process described by the Secretary-General, although in their view it was natural that after 20 years of war a certain distrust between the belligerents continued. He noted the new commitments undertaken by the two parties and expected them to be scrupulously respected. He also noted that the authorities in Luanda had since tried to demonstrate good will by implementing certain fundamental points of the peace agreement and the encouraging progress by UNITA on the quartering of its troops. However, it was not acceptable for UNITA to refuse to cooperate with UNAVEM III in concluding the task of quartering, and UNITA had to continue the operation to its end, as rapidly as possible. He stated that the agreement defined the level of the participation of UNITA in the new Angolan Armed Forces, but such an agreement would have no effect if UNITA did not allow itself to be disarmed and quartered and if the government forces did not withdraw far enough from the assembly zones or if they sought to take advantage of the disarmament of UNITA. France felt that extending the mandate of UNAVEM III for six months might not send a sufficiently clear signal from the Council. They would therefore prefer that the mandate of the United Nations operation be renewed for three months, thus allowing the Council to re-examine the situation by 8 May, particularly regarding the progress made in the disarmament and quartering of troops.7

The representative of the United States stated that, having personally toured the operations of UNAVEM III, she could confirm that the United Nations peacekeepers were critical to the peace process launched by the Lusaka Protocol. However the future of Angola rested with the Government and with UNITA. She noted that to a large extent the Government of Angola had been moving in the right direction. However, the poor performance of UNITA under the Lusaka Protocol had jeopardized the peace process and undermined the viability of UNAVEM III. She underlined that the Council anticipated that if the Secretary-General reported insufficient progress towards implementing the Lusaka Protocol, by either side, then they would re-evaluate the merit of continuing the mandate of UNAVEM III to February 1997.⁸

The representative of Norway stated that his country had participated in UNAVEM II and III with military observers, and supported the renewal of the mandate and would continue their participation. However the numerous delays in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol remained a matter of grave concern. He therefore urged the parties to the Protocol, and in particular UNITA, to continue to commit themselves fully and faithfully to implementing its provisions and to respect and maintain the ceasefire throughout the country. The reports of deteriorating security for humanitarian activities, especially in areas controlled by UNITA, were disturbing. He stressed the importance they attached to UNITA and the Government continuing to cooperate fully with the international humanitarian relief effort.9

The representative of the United States, in her second intervention, stated that she had spoken to the head of UNITA, Mr. Jonas Savimbi, that afternoon. She had expressed her nation's concern that the quartering process was seriously behind schedule and that UNITA would not be able to honour its commitments. He had acknowledged that the quartering was behind schedule but had stated that he was working around the clock to fulfil his commitments. She had also reminded him that the troops were required to bring their weapons with them and he had stated that they were. He had also confirmed that owing to a lack of communication from UNITA troops there had been instances where UNAVEM had sent transport for UNITA troops but the troops had not been at the appointed location. She had also informed him that the Council meeting was a sign that the international community was following developments very closely.10

The representative of Portugal stated that Portugal had been deeply committed to the process in Angola, first as a mediator in the negotiations which

⁶ Ibid., p. 11.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 12-13.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 20-21.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 21-22.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 20-21.

led to the "Acordos de Paz" and now as a member of the troika of observer countries and they shared the concerns with the delays in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. They were particularly concerned with the slow pace at which UNITA troops were being quartered and with reports that the combatants moving towards the quartering area were either very young or very old and many of them unarmed. He underlined that UNAVEM III was not a buffer force between the parties in conflict: its aim was to monitor compliance with the "Acordos de Paz" and the Lusaka Protocol. Therefore, it was essential that it should impose strict controls on the armaments of UNITA, including its heavy weapons. He urged the President of Angola and the head of UNITA to meet as soon as possible. Regarding the mandate of UNAVEM III, Portugal considered that the use of the duration of the mandate of UNAVEM III as a form of pressure towards the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol was probably not the best solution for the Council to act upon at this stage. In his view, in order to apply pressure effectively, the Council resolution needed to be tailored to include an operative paragraph establishing clearly a review of the implementation of the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol, which could take place on a monthly basis. In this way, the Council would send a strong signal that it would be closely monitoring developments in Angola, and that at any moment it could consider new action required in the light of any developments, such as imposing restrictive measures against any offending party.11

The representative of New Zealand while noting that there had been some positive progress of a limited nature, stated that a pro-active Security Council using the various tools at its disposal under Chapter VI of the Charter, was the best response to the current situation. He stated that his Government was pleased at the report of the Secretary-General which noted progress in the area of mine clearance, where New Zealand had made a serious commitment. However, mine clearance had not been without its problems and the key to the future would be the integration of the programme into the work of UNAVEM III. Regarding the draft resolution, he believed that it would be a mistake to try to put pressure on the parties by establishing an artificially short time-period for the mandate. In his view, the best way to signal a determination to keep up the pressure was by insisting on regular review periods within the mandate. He requested that the draft resolution take a firm and even-handed approach to both of the parties in Angola and a firm approach on the question of mine clearance and that it reinforce the importance of the human rights component in the United Nations presence.¹²

Several other speakers spoke calling on both parties to adhere to the Lusaka Protocol and to the timetable for its full implementation, underlining the importance of UNITA implementing all commitments particularly the quartering of its troops, noting positive actions by the Government of Angola, calling on both parties to cooperate with UNAVEM III and humanitarian agencies and agreeing to support the extension of the mandate of UNAVEM III. Some speakers called on UNITA to immediately release all prisoners, for both parties to cooperate in demining activities and for UNAVEM III radio to be given access to the airwaves. Some speakers also noted that international assistance would be forthcoming only if both parties provided proof of their will for peace. Some speakers also expressed concern about the financial situation of UNAVEM and called on Member States to pay their assessed contributions.¹³

At the 3629th meeting of the Security Council, held on 8 February 1996 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President, in accordance with the decision taken at the 3628th meeting, invited the representative of Angola to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting the Council again included in its agenda the report of the Secretary General dated 31 January 1996 on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission, pursuant to Security Council resolution 1008 (1995).¹⁴

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 26-27.

¹² Ibid., pp. 29-30.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 6-7 (Honduras); pp. 7-8 (Germany); p. 8 (China); p. 9 (Republic of Korea); p. 13 (Poland); pp. 14-15 (Egypt); pp. 15-16 (Guinea-Bissau); pp. 16-18 (Indonesia); pp. 18-19 (Botswana); pp. 19-20 (Chile); pp. 22-23 (Zimbabwe); pp. 23-24 (Brazil); p. 25 (Lesotho); pp. 27-28 (South Africa); pp. 28-29 (Tunisia); and pp. 30-31 (Zambia).

 $^{^{14}}$ S/1996/75; see also the 3628th meeting in the present chapter.

At the same meeting, the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations¹⁵ and to several revisions made to the text. The draft resolution, as orally revised, was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1045 (1996), which reads:

The Security Council,

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

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 31 January 1996,

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

Reiterating the importance it attaches to the full implementation by the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola of the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions,

Deeply concerned at delays in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and the lack of steady progress towards lasting peace,

Concerned at the deteriorating humanitarian situation in many parts of Angola and, in particular, at the lack of security guarantees and freedom of movement for the personnel of humanitarian organizations,

Emphasizing the importance of the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the Angolan national economy and its vital contribution to durable peace,

Recalling its resolution 976 (1995) of 8 February 1995 which stated, inter alia, the expectation that United Nations Angola Verification Mission III would complete its mission by February 1997,

Noting that one half of the duration of the mission, as envisaged in resolution 976 (1995), has already elapsed, while implementation of the Lusaka Protocol is seriously behind schedule,

Noting also the agreement between the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola of 21 December 1995, and welcoming the efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the three observer States to the Angolan peace process to facilitate the establishment of a revised timetable for implementing the tasks in the agreement between the two parties at Bailundo of 9 January 1996, *Welcoming* the efforts by Member States, the Organization of African Unity and the international community as a whole to promote peace and security in Angola,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General of 31 January 1996;

2. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III until 8 May 1996;

3. Expresses deep concern at the numerous delays in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, reminds the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola of their obligations to consolidate the peace process, and, in this regard, urges them to maintain an effective ceasefire, conclude their military talks on integration of the armed forces, undertake active engagement in the demining process and commence the integration of personnel of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola into administrative and governmental institutions in furtherance of the objective of national reconciliation;

4. Welcomes the positive steps taken by the Government of Angola in implementing its commitments, in particular the cessation of offensive operations, the withdrawal of its troops from offensive positions in the vicinity of quartering areas of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, the release of all prisoners registered by the International Committee of the Red Cross, the beginning of the quartering of the rapid reaction police and the termination of contracts of expatriate personnel as agreed;

5. *Expresses the expectation* that the Government of Angola will continue its progress with the goal of implementing fully its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol, including quartering of the rapid reaction police, deployment to barracks of the Angolan Armed Forces, the repatriation of expatriate personnel as agreed and the drawing up of a programme for disarming the civilian population;

6. Expresses deep concern at the slow pace of quartering and disarming troops of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, notes the public commitment by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to quarter its troops in an expeditious and comprehensive fashion, and reiterates its conviction that the quartering of troops, as the first step in the transformation of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to a legitimate political party, is a crucial component of the peace process;

7. Urges the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to proceed immediately with the orderly, largescale and verifiable movement of its troops to the quartering areas at Vila Nova, Lunduimbali, Negage and Quibaxe, without further interruption, in strict adherence to the new timetable agreed by the parties on 9 January 1996, and in full cooperation with the Mission;

8. *Calls upon* the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, following completion of this initial quartering, to proceed immediately with the orderly

¹⁵ S/1996/86.

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movement of all its troops to the other quartering areas and to conclude all quartering within the period of the renewed mandate;

9. Also calls upon the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to extend full cooperation to the Mission and the Joint Commission at all levels, including the exchange of military information as required by the Lusaka Protocol;

10. *Further calls upon* the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to release all remaining prisoners;

11. *Calls upon* the two parties, in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, to ensure the freedom of movement of people and goods throughout the country;

12. Also calls upon the two parties, in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, to cooperate fully with humanitarian organizations by granting them all the necessary security guarantees and freedom of movement to facilitate their work;

13. *Reminds* the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola of their obligation to cease the dissemination of hostile propaganda;

14. *Notes* the importance attached to the dissemination of impartial information by UNAVEM Radio, and calls upon the Government of Angola to provide all the facilities necessary for the independent functioning of UNAVEM Radio;

15. Encourages both the President of Angola and the President of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to meet, as soon as possible and thereafter on a regular basis, to promote mutual confidence and achieve the full, fair and speedy implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, including its provisions on national reconciliation and other outstanding issues;

16. *Commends* the Joint Commission for the positive role it continues to play in support of the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol;

17. *Commends also* the efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the personnel of the Mission to facilitate the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol;

18. Urges the international community to continue to provide the assistance necessary to facilitate the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the Angolan national economy, provided that the two parties meet their obligations under the Lusaka Protocol;

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

20. Urges all States, in particular those neighbouring Angola, to facilitate the process of national reconciliation in Angola and to take steps in their territory to facilitate full implementation of the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol;

21. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report by 7 March, 4 April and 1 May 1996 on the progress made by the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola in taking concrete steps towards meeting the goals and timetable agreed between them, and to keep the Council fully informed on developments in the situation on the ground, so that the Council may respond accordingly;

22. *Expresses its readiness*, in the light of recommendations by the Secretary-General and developments in Angola, to consider any further measures;

23. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 24 April 1996 (3657th meeting): statement by the President

At the 3657th meeting of the Security Council, held on 24 April 1996 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Chile), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting, the Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General dated 4 April 1996 on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission pursuant to Security Council resolution 1045 (1996).¹⁶

In his report, the Secretary-General observed that that the progress achieved in the period covered by the report was limited and had not fulfilled the hopes generated by the meeting between the President of Angola and Mr. Savimbi on 1 March. Much remained to be done to fulfil the tasks that the two sides had agreed to undertake in accordance with the then adjusted timetable; implementation was once again behind schedule. He underlined that complete and fully verifiable quartering by UNITA of its troops was the key element, and the results so far were inadequate. He called on the Government and UNITA to implement in good faith, and within the agreed timeframe, the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol, as well as the crucial agreements reached at Libreville concerning the completion of the quartering process, the formation of the new armed forces and the establishment of a government of national unity and reconciliation.

At the same meeting, the President made the following statement on behalf of the Council:¹⁷

¹⁶ S/1996/248 and Add.1.

¹⁷ S/PRST/1996/19.

The Security Council has considered the report of the Secretary-General of 4 April 1996 on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III pursuant to paragraph 21 of Council resolution 1045 (1996) of 8 February 1996.

The Council notes that some progress has been achieved during the past two months in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, although it has been limited and has not fulfilled the hopes generated by the meeting between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi in Libreville, on 1 March 1996. The Council stresses the importance it attaches to the full implementation of the Protocol. The Council reminds President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi of their commitments and urges them to take the necessary actions to move the peace process forward.

The Council notes that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola has quartered more than 20,000 of its troops, but expresses concern over delays in the quartering of troops and urges the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to move expeditiously to achieve full quartering of its troops. The Council expresses concern about the quality of weapons surrendered by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola and urges it to fulfil its commitment to turn over all of its arms, ammunition and military equipment as the quartering process continues. It reiterates that the quartering process is a crucial component of the peace process and stresses the need for quartering to be credible and fully verifiable. The Council expresses its concern at the statements made by Mr. Savimbi on 13 and 27 March 1996. In this context, the Council urges all Angolan leaders to consider carefully the effect of public statements on the climate of confidence necessary to nurture the peace process. It also urges the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to release all remaining prisoners.

The Council recognizes with satisfaction the progress by the Government of Angola in the implementation of its commitments under the Lusaka Protocol and the current timetable, and encourages the Government to continue this progress. The Council emphasizes the importance of completion of the calendar of actions for April, including, the continuation of the pull-back of government forces from areas near the quartering sites of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, the return of the rapid Reaction police to barracks, the resolution of the question of amnesty for officials of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola and the adoption of a plan to disarm the civilian population, as well as the quartering of troops of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola. The Council encourages the two parties to complete the integration of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola into the Angolan Armed Forces.

The Council also encourages the Government to grant the Mission the requisite facilities for the establishment of an independent United Nations radio.

The Council stresses its concern at the extensive presence of landmines throughout Angola and expresses support for the efforts of the United Nations, the Government and non-governmental organizations to address this problem. The Council urges the Government and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to destroy their stockpiles of anti-personnel landmines. It encourages them to make a meaningful public gesture towards destruction of landmines which could have a positive effect on public confidence and the free circulation of people and goods.

The Council notes with concern credible reports of continuing purchases and delivery of weapons to Angola and considers that such actions are contrary to paragraph 12 of resolution 976 (1995) of 8 February 1995 and undermine confidence in the peace process. The Council reaffirms the obligation of all States to implement fully the provisions of paragraph 19 of resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993.

The Council emphasizes that the ultimate responsibility for restoring peace rests with the Angolans themselves. The Council reminds the parties that extension of the mandate of the Mission will be based, to a large part, on progress by the two parties towards meeting the goals set by the Lusaka Protocol.

The Council condemns the incident on 3 April 1996 which resulted in the death of two Mission personnel, the wounding of a third, and the death of a humanitarian assistance official, and reiterates the importance it attaches to the safety and security of Mission and humanitarian assistance personnel. The Council notes the cooperation offered by the Angolan Government and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola with the investigation by the Mission of this deplorable incident.

The Council reiterates its gratitude to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, the staff of the Mission, and the three observer countries whose unflagging service to the cause of peace has been outstanding. The Council will continue to monitor the situation in Angola closely and requests the Secretary-General to continue to keep it informed of progress in the Angolan peace process.

Decision of 8 May 1996 (3662nd meeting): resolution 1055

At the 3662nd meeting of the Security Council, held on 8 May 1996 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (China), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting the Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General dated 30 April 1996 on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission pursuant to Security Council resolution 1045 (1996).¹⁸

¹⁸ S/1996/328.

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In his report, the Secretary-General observed that progress in implementing the Lusaka Protocol had been disappointingly slow and many of the tasks which the parties had agreed to carry out remained unfulfilled. The quartering of UNITA troops had virtually stalled and paragraph 8 of Security Council resolution 1045 (1996) remained largely unfulfilled. The repeated failure of the UNITA leadership to honour its commitments had reinforced the doubts about its good faith; further procrastination could not be justified and, if continued, could bring about the collapse of the whole peace process, with consequent interruption of international aid Angola required for the reconstruction, rehabilitation and demining. Other areas of acute concern were the delays in reaching agreement on the incorporation of UNITA personnel into the joint armed forces and the formation of the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation by mid-July 1996. In light of the unsatisfactory state of affairs, he recommended that the mandate of UNAVEM III be extended for a period of two months.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.¹⁹ The President then drew the attention of the Council to a letter dated 8 May 1996 from Angola addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the text of the "Amnesty Law".²⁰

The representative of Angola reiterated his full and unconditional commitment to peace and reconciliation and his Government's support for the UNAVEM III and the Lusaka Protocol. He stated that at the current pace, and if no additional measures were taken to convince UNITA to accelerate the demobilization, quartering would not be completed on schedule. Since the Government wanted to preserve the hope for a positive outcome of the peace process, he requested the Security Council to take diplomatic measures to persuade UNITA to live up to its commitments so that all could jointly move towards peace, progress, democracy and the well-being of all Angolans. He noted that the Government of Angola had completed many essential tasks, with the aim of creating an environment of confidence, including producing a revised text of the law of amnesty. He

stated that even though UNITA had not met the deadlines or troop-level goals for demobilization, they were ready to move forward with the immediate integration of UNITA troops into the Angolan Armed Forces. He informed the Council that they had undertaken joint military missions with UNAVEM III and with UNITA personnel to verify that FAA forces had not occupied areas vacated by UNITA, had found solutions to the concerns expressed by UNITA related to its presence in the Lundas, the country's diamond region, and had reiterated their invitation to Mr. Savimbi to join the Government as a Vice-President. He noted that they had announced their full support for the initiative promoted by the United States and 30 additional Governments with a view to banning the use of land mines. All of those steps demonstrated the Government's commitment to peace and national reconciliation. With regard to a time limit, he urged the Security Council to agree that if UNITA had not met the targets for the conclusion of the national armed forces and the demobilization of UNITA, the timing and numbers for which had been established by the draft resolution, the United Nations should move quickly to review the situation, to meet directly with the head of UNITA, to emphasize the urgency of the situation and to implement the measures contained in resolution 864 (1993).²¹

The representative of Italy spoke on behalf of the European Union and the associated countries.²² He expressed the European Union's deep concern over the slow pace of the quartering of UNITA troops. He called on the Government of Angola to fully comply with its own obligations under the Lusaka Protocol by continuing the withdrawal of its forces to the nearest barracks and by completing the quartering of the rapid reaction police under UNAVEM monitoring. The European Union appealed to both parties to undertake without delay the disarmament of the civilian population and to show better cooperation with the civilian police component of UNAVEM III. Noting that the slow progress in demining activities was also of great concern, he stated that the parties needed to cooperate fully in the first place by destroying their stockpiles of landmines, by allowing UNAVEM III and the mine clearance companies to operate unhindered

¹⁹ S/1996/336.

²⁰ S/1996/340.

²¹ S/PV.3662, pp. 2-4.

²² Ibid., p. 4 (Bulgaria, Cyprus, Hungary, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania and Slovakia).

and by transmitting all the information they had available on the location of minefields. Graduates of the mine clearance courses run by the United Nations should be promptly employed in operations in the field. In the light of the various acts of aggression against United Nations personnel and other international officials, he also called on all parties to renew their commitment to guarantee the security of such personnel, who were working on behalf of the entire country. He welcomed the decision of the Secretary-General to instruct his Special Representative to give priority to human rights issues. Noting that two months was an unusually brief mandate for the largest peacekeeping operation of the United Nations, he stated that many uncertainties still existed, particularly in relation to the pledges made by the leadership of UNITA. He expressed the belief that compliance with the commitments undertaken in the Lusaka Protocol would be ensured only by constant international pressure and stated that the European Union fully backed all diplomatic efforts aimed at preserving the spirit of Lusaka, and was directly committed to the objective of a long-lasting peace in Angola.²³

Speaking before the vote, the representative of Honduras stated that there were clear delays in meeting the successive timetables agreed by the parties and that particularly UNITA needed to accelerate the quartering of its troops, in accordance with the provisions of Council resolution 1045 (1996). He stated that it was necessary that an end be put to hostile propaganda and for the Government of Angola to facilitate the establishment of a United Nations radio to help in confidence-building and in national reconciliation. He stated that they would vote in favour of the draft resolution, although, taking into account the fact that many tasks remain pending in the peace process in Angola, they would have preferred a longer period of time to make it possible for UNAVEM to fully accomplish its mission.24

The representative of the Russian Federation stated that his Government, as a member of the troika of observers, had spared no effort to attain the goal of lasting peace and stability. He stated that the obstructionist policy of UNITA in quartering and disarming its troops was of particular concern and that the UNITA leadership had again failed to comply with its obligations and to quarter its troops by 8 May, in accordance with Security Council resolution 1045 (1996). Also, no decision had yet been made in respect of UNITA representation in the integrated command of the Angolan Armed Forces, which had hampered the creation of a unified army and the demobilization of those soldiers who would like to return to a normal life. Given the security guarantees offered to UNITA, they deemed inadmissible any linkage between the quartering and disarming process and other matters that were sometimes pushed artificially to the fore. They expected that the Government of Angola would likewise fulfil the tasks incumbent on it in this plan of action. He maintained that one important component of the peace process requiring complementary efforts from both Angola parties was their speedy completion of negotiations on the entire complex of military questions. He stated that the draft resolution established the appropriate controls for monitoring the compliance of the Angolan parties with the agreed plans and contained a stern warning on the inadmissibility of delay in the peace process, which was already far behind schedule.25

Several other speakers, speaking both before and after the vote, praised the progress that had been made in the peace process, expressed concern over the slow pace at which it was progressing, particularly the fact that the quartering and disarming of UNITA troops was not being completed as scheduled; called on both parties to cooperate with and ensure the safety of UNAVEM III and United Nations and international personnel; called on the parties to complete the remaining steps including the integration of UNITA soldiers into the FAA, disarmament of the civilian population and the establishment of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation; and urged them to use the two-month extension of the mandate to deal with all outstanding issues. Several speakers underlined the importance of mine clearance, and called for an acceleration of efforts with the active cooperation of the Angolan parties. Several speakers also underlined the importance of economic development and urged the international community to

²³ Ibid., pp. 4-5.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 11-12.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 12-13.

provide the necessary assistance in order to reconstruct the Angolan economy.²⁶

At the same meeting the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1055 (1996), which reads:

The Security Council,

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

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General dated 30 April 1996,

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

Reiterating the importance it attaches to the full and timely implementation by the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola of the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions,

Recognizing that although some progress has been made towards consolidating the peace process, the overall pace has been disappointingly slow,

Noting with concern the repeated delays in the implementation of successive timetables agreed to by the two parties, in particular the quartering of troops of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola and the completion of talks on military issues regarding the integration of the armed forces,

Taking note that five months have elapsed since the first troops of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola arrived in quartering areas, and expressing concern that prolonging the stay of troops in quartering areas puts strains on United Nations resources and on discipline within the ranks of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola,

Noting the agreement reached between the President of Angola and the President of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola in Libreville on 1 March 1996 on the formation of the unified armed forces by June 1996 as well as the establishment of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation between June and July 1996,

Recalling its resolution 976 (1995) of 8 February 1995 which stated, inter alia, the expectation that the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III would complete its mission by February 1997,

Emphasizing the need for adequate security for all United Nations and other international personnel, and awaiting the results of the investigation of the deaths on 3 April 1996 of two military observers of the Mission and a humanitarian assistance official,

Underlining the need for respect for human rights, and urging the Angolan parties to give greater attention to preventing and investigating incidents of human rights abuse,

Expressing concern at the extensive presence of landmines throughout Angola, and emphasizing the need for the political will to speed up demining efforts to enable the free circulation of people and goods and to restore public confidence,

Stressing the importance of the demilitarization of Angolan society, including the disarmament of the civilian population and the demobilization and social reintegration of ex-combatants,

Reiterating the importance of the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the Angolan national economy and its vital contribution to a durable peace,

Welcoming the efforts by Member States, in particular the three observer States to the Angolan peace process, the Organization of African Unity and the international community as a whole to promote peace and security in Angola,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General of 30 April 1996;

2. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III until 11 July 1996;

3. *Expresses profound regret* at the overall slow pace of implementation of the peace process which is far behind schedule;

4. *Notes with deep concern* the failure of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to complete the quartering of all its troops by 8 May 1996, in accordance with resolution 1045 (1996) of 8 February 1996;

5. *Reiterates* that quartering and disarming of troops of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola are crucial components of the peace process, which are fundamental to its success, and stresses that further procrastination cannot be justified and, if continued, could bring about the collapse of the whole peace process;

6. *Notes* the recent progress in the quartering of troops of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, and calls upon the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to fulfil by June 1996 its obligation to complete the credible, uninterrupted and fully verifiable quartering of its troops and to turn over to the Mission all arms, ammunition and military equipment;

7. *Calls upon* the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to release unconditionally and without further delay all remaining prisoners, in accordance with its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol;

²⁶ Ibid., p. 6 (Egypt); p. 8 (Botswana); pp. 9-10 (Republic of Korea); pp. 10-11 (United Kingdom); pp. 13-14 (Guinea-Bissau); after the vote: pp. 14-15 (United States); pp. 15-16 (Chile); pp. 16-17 (France); and pp. 19-20 (China).

8. Underlines the importance of the completion of the talks on military issues regarding the integration of the troops of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola into the Angolan Armed Forces and the formation of a joint military command, and urges the two parties to resolve the remaining issues by 15 May 1996, as agreed in the Joint Commission's calendar of actions for May;

9. *Welcomes* the proclamation by the National Assembly of Angola of amnesty arrangements, as agreed in Libreville, for offences resulting from the Angolan conflict, in order to facilitate the formation of a joint military command;

10. Urges the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to abide strictly by their obligations under the Lusaka Protocol as well as the commitments entered into in Libreville, on 1 March 1996, including the selection of the troops of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola for incorporation into the Angolan Armed Forces and the completion of the formation of the unified armed forces by June 1996;

11. Also urges the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to take all necessary steps for the deputies of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to take their places in the National Assembly for the beginning of the controlled movement of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola troops out of quartering areas in accordance with the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol, for the incorporation of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola personnel into the State administration, the Angolan Armed Forces and the national police, for the orderly transition of demobilized troops to civilian life, for moving constitutional issues forward in a spirit of national reconciliation, and for the formation of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation by July 1996;

12. *Encourages* the President of Angola and the President of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to meet at the earliest opportunity within Angola to resolve all remaining issues;

13. *Welcomes* the progress made by the Government of Angola in quartering the rapid reaction police;

14. Urges the Government of Angola to continue to pull back its forces from areas near the quartering sites of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola and to complete the return of the rapid reaction police to barracks under the monitoring of the Mission in accordance with the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol;

15. *Notes* the intention of the Joint Commission to study the plan for the disarmament of the civilian population, and urges the parties to begin its implementation without delay;

16. *Reminds* the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola of their obligation to cease the dissemination of hostile propaganda;

17. *Calls upon* the Government of Angola to provide the requisite facilities for the establishment of an independent United Nations radio;

18. Also calls upon the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to signal their commitment to peace by destroying their stockpiles of landmines and to begin this process through joint public action;

19. *Reaffirms* the obligation of all States to implement fully the provisions of paragraph 19 of resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993, and reiterates that continuing acquisition of weapons would be contrary to paragraph 12 of resolution 976 (1995) of 8 February 1995 and would undermine confidence in the peace process;

20. Notes with concern reports that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola has impeded, on occasion, the work of the Mission, and reminds the parties, in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, to extend full cooperation to the Mission and the Joint Commission at all levels;

21. *Demands* that all parties and others concerned in Angola take all necessary measures to ensure the safety of United Nations and international personnel and premises and guarantee the safety and freedom of movement of humanitarian supplies throughout the country;

22. *Commends* the Joint Commission and the Armed Conflict Prevention Group for the positive role they continue to play in support of the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol;

23. *Commends also* the efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the personnel of the Mission to facilitate the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol;

24. Urges Member States to provide the assistance necessary to facilitate the demobilization and social reintegration of ex-combatants;

25. Urges the international community to continue to provide the assistance necessary to facilitate the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the Angolan national economy, provided that the two parties meet their obligations under the Lusaka Protocol;

26. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report by 1 July 1996 on the progress made towards meeting the goals and timetable agreed between the two parties and to keep the Council fully informed on a regular basis on developments in the situation on the ground, in particular by providing a comprehensive briefing by 17 May 1996 on whether the two parties have fulfilled the tasks they have specified in the Joint Commission's calendar of actions for May to be carried out by 15 May 1996;

27. *Declares* that it will place special emphasis, during its future discussion of the mandate of the Mission, on the progress demonstrated by the parties;

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28. *Reiterates its readiness*, in the light of recommendations by the Secretary-General and the state of affairs in Angola, to consider any further measures;

29. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

The representative of Germany stated that by extending the mandate, the international community had underlined its readiness to promote the peace process. However, both parties in Angola had to be reminded that the lack of progress since the last extension of the mandate of UNAVEM had given rise to serious doubts as to the will for peace. Therefore, all means needed to be deployed to make clear to both parties to the conflict what would be the consequences in the event of a further stagnation of the peace process. He stated that there would be no United Nations peacekeeping operation in Angola after February 1997. The Government of Germany had provided shelters and water treatment equipment for the assembly sites. He stated that the Government of Germany attached particular importance to the question of mine clearance, and deplored the fact that the efforts of UNAVEM still encountered obstruction, especially by UNITA. He reiterated a call for a complete end of arms deliveries to Angola, stating that any further purchases of arms could only raise suspicions concerning the respective commitment to the peace process. He stated that finally, the question of good governance and economic reform had to be addressed.27

The representative of Poland stated that despite some positive developments the parties in Angola remained well behind their agreed schedule. He stated that they were particularly anxious about the degree of compliance by UNITA with the obligation to quarter its troops, the lack of final agreement between the parties on the formation of the Angolan Armed Forces and the formation of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation. He also expected them to respect the UNAVEM III mandate and to guarantee the security and safety of its personnel, as well as of all the international personnel working in their country. Finally, the Polish delegation supported the idea of holding an open debate on the situation in Angola before the current UNAVEM III mandate expired, in order to assess the progress made by the parties and to discuss related issues, including the future of UNAVEM III.²⁸

Decision of 11 July 1996 (3679th meeting): resolution 1064 (1996)

At the 3679th meeting of the Security Council held on 11 July 1996 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (France), with the consent of the Council, invited the representatives of Algeria, Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Malawi, Mozambique, Portugal, Tunisia, South Africa, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zimbabwe, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting the Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission pursuant to Security Council resolution 1055 (1996).²⁹

In his report, the Secretary-General observed that though the pace of implementation of the Lusaka Protocol had improved somewhat, the parties had not fulfilled the time frame agreed upon. Continuing delays in the quartering of UNITA troops, the high number of desertions from the quartering areas, the unsatisfactory quality and quantity of weapons and ammunition handed over, the failure to quarter UNITA police personnel and the incomplete withdrawal of FAA from forward positions all required urgent corrective actions if the peace process was to retain credibility. The picture was no more reassuring on the political front, as the parties had yet to take a number of steps towards the formation of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation. It was also essential that the question of the post of Vice-President to be occupied by UNITA should be expeditiously resolved. He noted that the demobilization and socio-economic reintegration of former combatants was another essential precondition for lasting peace in Angola. He stated that the continued involvement of UNAVEM III, particularly at the stage of the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, remained essential. Therefore, he recommended that its mandate be extended for three months, until 11 October 1996. He had also initiated contingency planning for the phased downsizing of its military component as soon as the quartering process

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 17-18.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 18-19.

²⁹ S/1996/503.

had been successfully concluded and the incorporation of UNITA troops into FAA and the formation of the unified armed forces had reached an advanced stage.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.³⁰

At the same meeting the President also drew the attention of the Council to the text of a note verbale dated 26 June 1996 from Angola addressed to the Secretary-General,³¹ transmitting a letter from the President of Angola to the Secretary-General asking that he send to Angola a Security Council mission, by the end of the current month, with the aim of evaluating the process and leaving UNITA with recommendations that advise it against taking any actions that might lead to new delays in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and that might provoke disturbances for the UNAVEM III peace mission.

The Vice-Minister without Portfolio of Angola underlined some of the achievements of the Government in implementing the Lusaka Protocols, but stated that in spite of those efforts, the process had moved forward slowly and the achievement could have been more significant with greater cooperation from UNITA. The main obstacle was the quality of UNITA forces and of the materiel sent to the quartering areas. It was therefore, incumbent upon the Council and UNAVEM III to take action that would help improve performance in the quartering process. He stated that they were also concerned by the proliferation of armed elements under UNITA command. He stated that by 30 July 1996 the Government should have re-established control over all areas controlled by UNITA, which by then should become a legal political party, with members participating in the Government. He also underlined that it was essential for Angola's neighbours to suspend any negative actions that might reduce the chances of success. The constant violations of Angolan territory by illegal aliens and by foreign enterprises were an issue that needed to be considered by the Sanctions Committee of the Council. Noting that paragraph 19 of resolution 864 (1993) clearly called on Member States to maintain a posture conducive to peace in their country, refraining from actions that might violate the security of any nation, he appealed to the Council to act in accordance with its high responsibilities in that area. He also appealed to the international community for assistance in the social reintegration of soldiers being demobilized and the economic rehabilitation of the hardest-hit areas. As the process neared its conclusion, he called on the Security Council to send a special mission to Angola to assess the peace process and to recommend measures appropriate to the situation, before declaring the Lusaka Protocol fully implemented. He stated that they agreed to the extension of the mandate of UNAVEM III for another three months.³²

The representative of Portugal stated that they were pleased to note some positive developments which had taken place, however the pace of implementation was too slow and he, therefore, appealed to the parties to take the necessary steps to achieve a lasting peace. He stated that despite the progress in quartering UNITA personnel, it was urgent that the process be completed in accordance with the Joint Commission time table and the handing over of heavy military equipment. It was also important to continue the withdrawal of Angolan armed forces to barracks, and intensify efforts at demining. As a member of the troika of observer countries of the peace process he stated that the possibility of a meeting at the earliest opportunity between the President of Angola and the head of UNITA was encouraging. He stated that while Portugal encouraged all efforts aimed at transforming UNITA into a political party, they also looked forward to concrete measures leading to the formation of a Government of Unity and National Reconciliation. He reiterated his belief that national reconciliation could only be achieved through the full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz" and of the Lusaka Protocol.33

Several other speakers spoke, both before and after the vote, welcoming the progress made in implementing the Protocol, expressing concern over the delayed quartering of UNITA and its reluctance to hand over better-quality and heavy weapons and participation in the Government, appealing to donors for support for demobilization and reintegration, calling on the President of Angola and the leader of UNITA to meet to resolve all outstanding differences

³⁰ S/1996/536.

³¹ S/1996/494.

³² S/PV.3679, pp. 2-5.

³³ Ibid., pp. 5-6.

and stating their support for the extension of the mandate of UNAVEM III.³⁴

At the same meeting the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1064 (1996), which reads:

The Security Council,

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

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 27 June 1996,

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

Reiterating the importance it attaches to full and timely implementation by the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola of the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions,

Noting with approval the recent progress made towards consolidating the peace process, but reiterating that the overall pace has been slow,

Reminding the parties that if the peace process is to succeed they must show greater readiness to implement in good time their commitments and to act in the spirit of flexibility and compromise,

Welcoming the successful conclusion of military talks between the two parties, which paves the way for the formation of the unified armed forces,

Noting the agreement reached between the President of Angola and the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola on the establishment of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation,

Emphasizing the necessity for adequate security for all United Nations and other international personnel,

Underlining the need for respect for human rights, and urging the Angolan parties to give greater attention to preventing and investigating incidents of human rights abuse,

Noting with approval the progress made towards free circulation of people and goods, and emphasizing the importance of continuation of demining efforts to make that free circulation possible and to restore public confidence,

Stressing the importance of the demilitarization of Angolan society, including disarmament of the civilian population and the demobilization and social reintegration of ex-combatants,

Reiterating the importance of the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the Angolan national economy and its vital contribution to a durable peace,

Welcoming the efforts by Member States, in particular the three observer States to the Angolan peace process, the Organization of African Unity, and the international community as a whole to promote peace and security in Angola,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General of 27 June 1996;

2. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III until 11 October 1996;

3. *Acknowledges* the recent progress in consolidation of the peace process, but expresses regret that its implementation is still behind schedule;

4. *Commends* both parties for the adoption of the framework agreement on military matters and for beginning the incorporation of military personnel of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola into the Angolan Armed Forces, and expresses its satisfaction with the positive role of the Joint Commission and the armed conflict prevention group in support of the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol;

5. Welcomes the efforts of both parties in lifting checkpoints and opening major routes, emphasizes the importance of full completion of such efforts to ensure the free circulation of people and goods, stresses the importance of extending State administration throughout the country, and encourages the Government of Angola to use units of the newly integrated military forces to improve the security situation;

6. Welcomes also the progress made so far by the registration of over 52,000 troops of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola in quartering areas, and calls upon the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to complete the credible and fully verifiable quartering of all its troops, in accordance with the timetable of the Joint Commission, and hand over to the Mission all arms, in particular heavy weapons, ammunition and military equipment, without which the quartering process will not be complete;

7. *Reiterates* that quartering and disarming of troops of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola are crucial components of the peace process which are fundamental to its success;

8. Urges the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to make available for duty, as agreed by the

³⁴ Ibid., before the vote: pp. 6-8 (Algeria); pp. 8-9 (Algeria); pp. 9-10 (Brazil); p. 10 (South Africa); pp. 10-12 (United Republic of Tanzania); p. 12 (Tunisia), pp. 13-14 (Zimbabwe); p. 15 (Cape Verde); pp. 15-16 (Germany); pp. 16-17 (Egypt); pp. 17-18 (Botswana); pp. 18-20 (Chile); pp. 20-21 (Republic of Korea); pp. 21-22 (China); pp. 22-23 (Italy); pp. 23-24 (Guinea-Bissau); pp. 24-25 (Russian Federation); p. 25 (United Kingdom); pp. 25-26 (Honduras); pp. 26-28 (Indonesia) and pp. 28-29 (Poland); after the vote: pp. 29-30 (United States) and pp. 30-31 (France).

Joint Commission, the Generals and other high ranking military officers designated to enter the Angolan Armed Forces, as well as the officials of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola designated to take up posts in the State administration at the national, provincial and local levels;

9. Commends the Government of Angola for the promulgation of the Amnesty Law, for the quartering of the rapid reaction police, and for the continuing withdrawal of the Angolan Armed Forces to barracks, and urges the Government to take the required corrective measures regarding the withdrawal movements, as agreed with the Mission, and to reach agreement with the Mission on remaining withdrawal operations;

10. *Welcomes* the launching of the programme for the disarmament of the civilian population by the Government of Angola, and stresses the need for its full and effective implementation;

11. Notes the closing of eight out of fifteen quartering areas of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola for the induction of additional troops, requests the Government of Angola to prepare a programme for phased demobilization and social reintegration of ex-combatants, and calls upon both parties and the international community to extend their full cooperation and support to that end;

12. Urges the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to take all necessary steps for completion of the formation of the national armed forces, in particular the establishment of integrated headquarters, for the planned movement of troops of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola out of quartering areas in accordance with the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol and for the orderly transition of demobilized troops to civilian life;

13. Also urges the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to take all necessary steps for all elected members of Parliament to take their seats in the National Assembly, for moving constitutional issues forward in a spirit of national reconciliation, for the formation of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and for the incorporation of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola personnel into the State administration, the Angolan Armed Forces and the national police;

14. *Encourages* the President of Angola and the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to meet at the earliest opportunity within Angola to resolve all remaining issues;

15. *Notes* the progress made in the area of demining, encourages both parties to intensify their demining efforts, and stresses the need for continued commitment to peace by destruction of stockpiles of landmines;

16. Notes also the reduction in the intensity and frequency of hostile propaganda, and reminds the parties of their obligation to cease the dissemination of all hostile propaganda

with a view to promoting a spirit of tolerance, coexistence and mutual trust;

17. Urges the Government of Angola to provide the requisite facilities for the establishment of the independent United Nations radio, and also urges the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to finalize the transformation of its radio station Vorgan into a non-partisan station;

18. *Reaffirms* the obligation of all States to implement fully the provisions of paragraph 19 of resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993, and notes with concern that the failure by States, in particular those neighbouring Angola, to do so is inconsistent with the peace process and undermines economic recovery;

19. *Reiterates* that continuing acquisition of weapons would be contrary to paragraph 12 of resolution 976 (1995) of 8 February 1995 and would undermine confidence in the peace process;

20. Condemns the use of mercenaries;

21. Demands that all parties and others concerned in Angola take all necessary measures to ensure the safety of United Nations and other international personnel and premises and to guarantee the safety and freedom of movement of humanitarian supplies throughout the country, and reminds the parties to extend full cooperation to the Mission at all levels;

22. *Strongly urges* Member States to provide promptly the financial resources necessary to facilitate the demobilization and social reintegration of ex-combatants through the United Nations consolidated inter-agency appeal for Angola;

23. Urges the international community to fulfil expeditiously its pledges to provide assistance to facilitate the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the Angolan national economy and the resettlement of displaced persons, stresses the importance of such assistance at this time in order to consolidate the gains in the peace process, and calls upon the two parties to meet their obligations under the Lusaka Protocol in order to create the necessary stability for economic recovery;

24. *Commends* the efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, and Mission personnel, and expresses confidence in their abilities to continue to facilitate the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol;

25. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report by 1 October 1996 on the progress made towards meeting the goals and timetable agreed between the two parties and to keep the Council fully informed on a regular basis on developments in the situation on the ground, in particular by providing a comprehensive briefing by the third week of August on whether the two parties have fulfilled the task of forming the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation;

26. *Declares* that it will place special emphasis, during its future discussion of the mandate of the Mission, on the progress demonstrated by the parties;

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27. *Reminds* the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola of its resolution 976 (1995) which stated, inter alia, the expectation that the Mission would complete its mission by February 1997;

28. *Reiterates* its readiness, in the light of recommendations by the Secretary-General and the state of affairs in Angola, to consider any further measures;

29. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 11 October 1996 (3703rd meeting): resolution 1075 (1996)

By a letter dated 7 October 1996 addressed to the President of the Security Council,³⁵ Zimbabwe informed the Council that the summit meeting of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) had selected a five-man team composed of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe (Chairman) to proceed to New York in order to participate in the debate on the peace process in Angola and, therefore, had requested a meeting of the Security Council to consider the critical situation in Angola on Thursday, 10 October 1996.

At its 3702nd meeting, held on 10 October 1996, the Council included the letter and the progress report of the Secretary-General dated 4 October 1996 on UNAVEM III in its agenda.³⁶ After the adoption of the agenda, the President (Honduras), with the consent of the Council, invited the representatives of Algeria, Angola, Brazil, Burundi, Cape Verde, Costa Rica, Cuba, India, Lesotho, Mali, Portugal, Tunisia, Zambia and Zimbabwe, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

In his report, the Secretary-General observed that while the ceasefire was holding, the lack of significant progress in the peace process was a source of particular concern and the continuing delays, particularly on the part of UNITA, were no longer acceptable. He stated that the failure of the leader of UNITA to attend the SADC summit held at Luanda was unfortunate as his participation in the summit would have provided a good opportunity for a meeting on Angolan soil with the President of Angola to resolve key outstanding issues. He underlined that if UNITA genuinely felt that their leader, Mr. Savimbi, could not assume a vicepresidential post, it was incumbent on it to make a meaningful counter-proposal as soon as possible. He maintained that unless the donor community provided indispensable the additional resources, the demobilization and reintegration process would come to a halt and he urged that they provide the required support and fulfilled the pledges made at the 1995 Brussels Round Table Conference. Despite the fact that the date envisaged for the completion of the mandate of UNAVEM III was fast approaching, he stated that it would be possible for UNAVEM III to fulfil most of its mandated tasks by February 1997. It was therefore his intention to initiate the downsizing of the Mission, although further troop reductions would be made in accordance with the progress achieved in implementing the remaining provisions of the Lusaka Protocol. He would present a detailed schedule for the drawdown of military units, as well as recommendations regarding the role the United Nations should play in Angola to consolidate the peace process in his next report. He recommended that unless serious progress was made, the Council should consider only a short extension of the mandate, so that it could keep the situation under close review.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to identical letters dated 1 October 1996 from the representative of Angola addressed to the Secretary-General and to the President of the Security Council informing the Council of difficulties in implementing the Lusaka Protocol,³⁷ including the rejection by the leader of UNITA of the post of Vice-President, and calling on the Council to impose sanctions on UNITA; and a letter dated 10 October 1996 from the representative of Zimbabwe addressed to the President of the Security Council,³⁸ transmitting the communiqué of the Summit of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security, held on 2 October 1996.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe, speaking as the Chairman of the SADC ministerial delegation to the Security Council, stated that the Heads of State of the members of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security had met in Luanda with the intention of giving a fresh impetus to the Angola peace process and had invited the UNITA leader, who, however, had decided not to turn up. It was a matter of

³⁵ S/1996/832.

³⁶ S/1996/827.

³⁷ S/1996/822.

³⁸ S/1996/841.

Chapter VIII. Consideration of questions under the responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security

great disappointment to them that Angola was no nearer peace than the last time the Council met, and instead delays in meeting the targets laid out in Security Council resolution 864 (1993) were not only undermining the peace process, but were threatening to unravel the gains made thus far. While the Government of Angola had taken a number of positive steps, including launching the programme for the disarmament of the civilian population ahead of schedule, UNITA had dismally failed to honour its commitments. Moreover, the Secretary-General's report had clearly revealed that UNITA had been obstructing the deployment of UNAVEM III by hindering the movement of personnel and aircraft. He maintained that the no-peace no-war state in Angola was undermining the stability of the region as a whole and it was time the Security Council exercised its authority in a clear and decisive manner to salvage the Angolan peace process and restore the credibility of the United Nations. He stated that if UNITA did not comply with the commitment it had voluntarily undertaken, then the following additional measures would be taken against it: all UNITA bank accounts would be frozen; its office would be closed and no new ones allowed to open; the non-issuance of visas to UNITA leaders and personnel; and the limitation of trips to Bailundo or Andulo to peace process-related missions. Those measures should come into force within 30 days of the adoption of a resolution, which, inter alia, contained the above provisions, unless UNITA fully complied with the Lusaka Protocol.39

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Angola stated that the situation in Angola was characterized by a serious crisis of confidence, which was the result of systematic delays caused by UNITA. Fundamental measures, including the return of UNITA members to the National Assembly, had been postponed due to lack of cooperation. He stated that the Government had already fulfilled all its duties as envisaged in the Lusaka Protocol, except those related to the disarming of the civilian population, and those could not be accomplished unless tasks State administration was restored in those areas under UNITA control. He stated that the refusal of the leader of UNITA to accept the vice-presidency and to take part in the SADC summit was clear evidence that his designs differed from those of the Government and the

international community. His Government felt that the time had come to exert greater pressure to compel UNITA to carry out the areas of the Lusaka Protocol still pending. He reminded the Council that one of the pressure mechanisms, adopted in Security Council resolution 864 (1993), provided for the application of sanctions against UNITA but had never been fully applied. He stated that it was the time for the Council to apply the second package of sanctions under paragraph 26 of Council resolution 864 (1993), since only by exerting effective pressure would they succeed in forcing UNITA to abide by Security Council decisions.⁴⁰

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mozambique stated that although the ceasefire continued to hold, he was concerned with the slow pace of implementation of major provisions of the Lusaka Protocol by UNITA. Moreover, restrictions imposed by them on mine clearance and road rehabilitation activities would only delay the undertaking of the needed humanitarian relief operations. He noted that the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security had expressed deep regret over the absence of the leader of UNITA from the meeting and had made a strong appeal for UNITA to fulfil its commitments. He maintained that peace in Angola was a regional concern and that continued instability there had prevented the country from contributing to the implementation of projects envisaged by their Community and had hindered regional efforts at creating a favourable environment for investment. He expressed his belief that in order to ensure the expeditious implementation of the "Acordos de Paz" and all relevant Council resolutions, the Council needed to send a strong message to UNITA.41

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Botswana stated that persistent obstruction by UNITA of the activities of UNAVEM III, their policies of procrastination and their reluctance to honour their commitments under the Lusaka Protocol had cast a shadow of doubt on UNITA's will for peace. He encouraged the Government of Angola and UNITA to hold high-level talks aimed at resolving the outstanding issues and putting the peace process back on track and expressed his hope that the leader of UNITA would respond positively to their invitation to attend the next

³⁹ S/PV.3702, pp. 2-4.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 5-6.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 7.

meeting of SADC on the situation in Angola. He maintained that a continuation of the current stalemate could only lead to a new outbreak of hostilities, which would pose a serious threat to peace and stability in southern Africa. The time had come for the Council and the international community to send a firm message that return to hostilities would not be tolerated. He stated that Botswana was convinced that the Council should be prepared to impose on UNITA the measures set out in paragraph 26 of Security Council resolution 864 (1993) and call for the vigorous and strict implementation of the measures outlined in part B of that resolution.⁴²

The representative of the United States stated that they were very troubled to find the peace process nearly at a standstill and he urged UNITA to avail itself of the security of the few remaining months of the mission of UNAVEM III to rapidly complete their commitments, particularly taking their place in the Government, and integrating their senior generals and soldiers in the Angolan army. He stated that the continued commitment of the United States to the success of the peace process was evidenced by the fact that the Secretary of State would visit Luanda next week.⁴³

The representative of China stated that like the SADC countries, they were deeply disturbed by the impasse in the Angola peace process, particularly the delay by UNITA in participating in the formation of Government of National Unity and unified armed forces, and the rejection of the vice-presidency offered to the leader of UNITA. He stated that by doing so UNITA had not only reneged on its own commitments but had harmed the restoration of trust between the two parties. He stated that the Chinese delegation was ready to consider favourably a further extension of the UNAVEM III mandate, and he hoped that the two parties, particularly UNITA, would seize the opportunity by taking concrete measures to redouble their efforts for peace, so that a durable peace would soon reign in Angola and in the whole of southern Africa.44

The representative of the Russian Federation stated that many key provisions of the Lusaka Protocol

had not yet been fulfilled. The events of the last three months had shown that responsibility for the situation lay primarily with UNITA. The time had come to send UNITA an extremely clear signal on the international community's readiness to take harsh measures to combat attempts to obstruct the peace process. He stated that the draft resolution to be adopted by the Security Council needed to set forth a strict time frame for the compliance of UNITA with a specific list of the most urgent tasks to be carried out to help strengthen trust between the two Angolan parties, and to give a fresh impetus to the peace process. They also needed to issue a clear warning to the leaders of UNITA that if they undermined the implementation of that timetable, the Security Council would very soon consider again imposing additional sanctions against UNITA. He expressed the support of his delegation for the short two-month period of UNAVEM III. He also expressed agreement with the views in the report of the Secretary-General on an orderly and phased downsizing of the United Nations Mission, bearing in mind further progress in the implementation of the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol.45

The representative of Portugal stated that they were concerned over the absence of significant progress in the implementation of the peace process and urged UNITA to integrate its Generals and soldiers in the Angolan armed forces and to proceed with the return to the National Assembly. He also noted with concern the increasing number of desertions in the quartering areas and reports that such desertions were organized. He stated that at such a crucial stage of the process, the Security Council should, in the absence of substantial progress on the remaining military and political issues to be resolved, be prepared to consider the imposition of measures. However. the implementation of such measures should be decided upon only after a further evaluation of the situation by the Council following the next report of the Secretary-General.46

Several other speakers spoke, expressing concern over the lack of progress in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol by UNITA, criticizing the refusal of the leader of UNITA to attend the SADC summit and their lack of cooperation with UNAVEM III, and

⁴² Ibid., pp. 8-9.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 9-10.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 10-11.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 17-18.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 24-25.

stating their support for the short-term extension of the mandate. Several speakers also endorsed consideration of the proposals made by the SADC summit regarding possible sanctions against UNITA.⁴⁷

The President then adjourned the meeting.48

When the Council resumed its consideration of the item at its 3703rd meeting, on 11 October 1996, the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution,⁴⁹ prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations. The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1075 (1996), which reads:

The Security Council,

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

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 4 October 1996,

Welcoming the Summit of the Southern African Development Community Organ on Politics, Defence and Security, which took place in Luanda on 2 October 1996, and noting the communiqué issued at that time,

Welcoming also the ministerial delegation of the Southern African Development Community Organ on Politics, Defence and Security to the Security Council to participate in its consideration of the situation in Angola,

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

Reiterating the importance it attaches to full implementation by the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola of the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions,

Underlining the need for respect for human rights, and stressing the need for the Angolan parties to give greater attention to preventing incidents of human rights abuse and investigating alleged human rights violations,

Emphasizing the importance of a continued and effective United Nations presence in Angola with a view to fostering the peace process and advancing the full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz" and the Lusaka Protocol,

Welcoming the efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and personnel of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III, the three observer States to the Angolan peace process, the Organization of African Unity, the Southern African Development Community, and the international community as a whole, and encouraging them to continue their efforts to promote peace and security in Angola,

1. *Welcomes* the report of the Secretary-General of 4 October 1996;

2. *Expresses deep concern* at the lack of significant progress in the peace process over the past three months;

3. *Expresses concern* that the protracted delay in the beginning of the demobilization of personnel of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola from the quartering areas has set the process behind schedule so that progress will be made more difficult by the onset of the rainy season;

4. Stresses that it is imperative that the personnel of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola be moved rapidly from the quartering areas, in the light of the strains which their prolonged presence in quartering areas is placing on the political process, on morale in the camps and on United Nations finances, and in the light of the need to reintegrate expeditiously into the civilian community those not selected for incorporation into the Angolan Armed Forces;

5. *Emphasizes* that continuing delays and unfulfilled promises, in particular on the part of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, in implementing the successive timetables for the completion of key military and political issues are no longer acceptable;

6. *Welcomes* the efforts of the Government of Angola to implement the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol, and encourages the Government of Angola to continue making progress in that direction;

7. Acknowledges as positive steps the arrival in Luanda of generals of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola for duty in the Angolan Armed Forces, the registration of over 63,000 troops of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola in quartering areas, the surrender of additional heavy weapons in September, the selection of approximately 10,000 troops of the União Nacional para a

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 11-12 (Indonesia); pp. 12-13 (Italy); pp. 13-15 (Guinea-Bissau); pp. 15-16 (Germany); pp. 16-17 (Republic of Korea); pp. 18-19 (United Kingdom); pp. 19-20 (Egypt); pp. 20-21 (France); pp. 21-22 (Chile); pp. 22-23 (Poland); p. 23 (Honduras); pp. 25-26 (Nigeria); pp. 26-27 (Zambia); pp. 27-28 (Tunisia); pp. 28-29 (Ireland on behalf of the European Union and associated and aligned countries: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia, and Iceland and Norway); pp. 30-31 (India); pp. 31-32 (Malaysia); pp. 32-33 (Algeria), pp. 33-34 (Brazil); pp. 34-35 (Cape Verde); pp. 35-36 (Costa Rica); pp. 36-37 (Malawi); pp. 37-38 (Nicaragua); pp. 38-40 (Burundi); pp. 40-41 (Cuba); pp. 41-42 (Mali); and pp. 42-43 (Lesotho).

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 43.

⁴⁹ S/1996/844.

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Independência Total de Angola for incorporation into the Angolan Armed Forces, the beginning of the demobilization of under-age personnel on 24 September 1996 and the submission by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola of its proposal regarding the special status of its leader;

8. Decides to extend the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III until 11 December 1996;

9. Welcomes the Summit of the Southern African Development Community Organ on Politics, Defence and Security, which took place in Luanda on 2 October 1996, regrets the failure of the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to attend the Summit and seize the opportunity for a more rapid advancement of the process, and expresses support for the continuing efforts of the heads of State and Government of the Southern African Development Community to accelerate the peace process in Angola;

10. Urges the President of Angola and the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to meet at the earliest opportunity in Angola to resolve all outstanding issues;

11. Expresses the expectation that the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola will, without delay and in a spirit of mutual cooperation, uphold strictly their obligations under the Lusaka Protocol and the commitments they entered into at the meeting between the President of Angola and the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola in Libreville on 1 March 1996;

12. Expresses deep disappointment with the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola for delaying the full implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, underlines the importance it attaches to the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola fulfilling its commitments, reaffirmed at its Third Extraordinary Congress held at Bailundo from 20 to 27 August 1996, to complete its transformation from an armed opposition to a political party, and, to this end, calls upon the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola immediately to fulfil the following tasks enumerated in the Document" "Mediation formulated by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in consultation with the representatives of the observer States and called for by the Lusaka Protocol:

(*a*) To complete substantially the selection of 26,300 soldiers of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola for incorporation into the Angolan Armed Forces;

(b) To stem the flow of deserters from quartering areas and to continue to return those soldiers who have deserted;

(c) To register in the quartering areas policemen of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola who have remained in the areas vacated by the military forces of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola;

(d) To dismantle all command posts of the military forces of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola;

(e) To issue a formal, written declaration that all soldiers of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola have been quartered and that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola has no more weapons and military equipment in its possession, in order to remove any obstacles to the extension of State administration throughout Angola;

(f) To cooperate fully with the Mission and the Joint Commission in the extension of State administration throughout Angola;

(g) To make available other generals and high-ranking military officers for duty in the Angolan Armed Forces, as well as the officials of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola designated to take up posts in the State administration at the national, provincial and local levels;

(h) To return all elected deputies to the National Assembly;

(*i*) To cease interference with United Nations aircraft flights and with mine-clearing activities;

(*j*) To cooperate in good faith with the Government of Angola to finalize the transformation of its radio station into a non-partisan station;

(*k*) To complete the training of personnel of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola for the protection of its leaders;

(1) To establish the free circulation of people and goods;

13. Expresses its readiness to consider the imposition of measures, including, those specifically mentioned in paragraph 26 of resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993, unless, by 20 November 1996, the Secretary-General has reported that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola has made substantial and genuine progress in fulfilling its tasks in the "Mediation Document" and its commitments under the Lusaka Protocol;

14. *Welcomes* the continuation of the programme for the disarmament of the civilian population by the Government of Angola, and stresses the need for its full and effective implementation, including disarmament of the Civilian Defence Corps;

15. Urges the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to take all necessary steps for completion of the formation of the Angolan Armed Forces, in particular the establishment of integrated headquarters, for the planned and orderly movement of personnel of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola from the quartering areas in accordance with the Lusaka Protocol, for the orderly transition of demobilized troops to civilian life, for all elected members of Parliament to take their seats in the National Assembly, for constitutional issues to move forward in the spirit of national reconciliation, for the formation of a Government of Unity and National Reconciliation, and for the incorporation of the personnel of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola into the Government, the military, and the Angolan national police, without the imposition of undue qualifications;

16. Reiterates its concern over the acquisition of weapons contrary to paragraph 12 of resolution 976 (1995) of 8 February 1995, which undermines confidence in the peace process;

17. *Reaffirms* the obligation of all States to implement fully the provisions of paragraph 19 of resolution 864 (1993), calls upon all States to take the necessary actions to implement the provisions of paragraphs 19 to 25 of resolution 864 (1993) vigorously and strictly, and expresses deep concern that the failure by States, especially those neighbouring Angola, to do so is inconsistent with the peace process and undermines economic recovery;

18. *Demands* that all parties and others concerned in Angola take all necessary measures to ensure the safety of United Nations and other international personnel and premises and to guarantee the safety and freedom of movement of humanitarian supplies throughout the country;

19. *Condemns* the actions by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola with regard to United Nations aircraft flights on 8, 15 and 21 September 1996, and reminds the parties to extend full cooperation to the Mission at all levels;

20. Expresses regret for the casualties caused to Mission troops by landmines, expresses serious concern about interference by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola with mine-clearing activities, calls upon both parties to intensify their demining efforts, and stresses the need for continued commitment to peace by destruction of stockpiles of landmines;

21. *Strongly urges* Member States to provide promptly the financial resources necessary to facilitate the demobilization and social reintegration of ex-combatants through the United Nations consolidated inter-agency appeal for Angola;

22. Urges the international community to fulfil expeditiously its pledges to provide assistance to facilitate the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the Angolan national economy and the resettlement of displaced persons, and stresses the importance of such assistance at this time in order to consolidate the gains in the peace process;

23. Notes the intention of the Secretary-General to initiate the downsizing of military forces of the Mission by the end of December 1996 pursuant to resolution 976 (1995) which stated, inter alia, the expectation that the Mission would complete its mission by February 1997, and to submit recommendations regarding the role the United Nations should continue to play in Angola to consolidate the peace process,

24. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report by 20 November 1996 and by 1 December 1996 on the progress made towards consolidating the peace process in Angola;

25. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 11 December 1996 (3722nd meeting): resolution 1087 (1996)

At the 3722nd meeting of the Security Council, held on 11 December 1996 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included in its agenda the progress report of the Secretary-General on UNAVEM III dated 2 December 1996, submitted pursuant to resolution 1075 (1996).⁵⁰ Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Italy), with the consent of the Council, invited the representatives of Angola, Brazil, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Portugal, Sao Tome and Principe, South Africa, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

In his report, the Secretary-General observed that while substantial progress had been made in carrying out the major tasks outlined in Security Council resolution 1075 (1996), implementation continued to proceed often only after increased pressure had been applied on the parties. He stated that it was certainly possible and indeed important for the parties to carry out all their obligations in the consolidated mediation timetable before the expiration of the present mandate of UNAVEM III on 11 December 1996. This would enable his Special Representative to concentrate on resolving the key outstanding political issues. He appealed to the Government and UNITA to resolve the issue of the return of UNITA deputies to the National Assembly, to establish the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation, and to reach agreement on the special status of the leader of the largest opposition party before 1 January 1997. He informed the Council that the withdrawal of four military units had been initiated, and as they approached the end of the twoyear period foreseen in resolution 976 (1995) for the completion of the operation, he intended to plan for the gradual and progressive withdrawal of the Mission. He

⁵⁰ S/1996/1000.

recommended that the withdrawal of UNAVEM III military units resume in February 1997, with a view to a complete drawdown within a period of six to seven months. He expressed his belief that a rapid reaction force should be retained, unless the political and security conditions permitted a more expeditious drawdown. In order to conclude the implementation of the tasks contained in the Lusaka protocol, a continued presence of the United Nations would be required after February 1997, and he stated that he would make recommendations on the tasks, mandate and size of a follow-up presence after the withdrawal of the bulk of the Mission's formed military units. He recommended that the present mandate of UNAVEM III be extended until 28 February 1997.

At the same meeting the Council had before it a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations,⁵¹ on the basis of the draft resolution submitted by Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States.

At the same meeting, the President further drew the attention of the Council to a letter dated 11 December 1996 from the representative of Angola addressed to the President of the Security Council,⁵² transmitting a communiqué which refers to the Presidential decrees nominating the nine Generals of UNITA to various posts in the Angolan Armed Forces, in accordance with the declaration issued by the leadership of UNITA.

The representative of Angola stated that substantial progress in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol had led them to believe that they were now very close to the conclusion of its implementation. He informed the Council that the Vice-Minister without Portfolio had signed the official appointment of the nine UNITA generals. He also noted their concern with the reintegration of the demobilized soldiers into civilian society, and they were making an enormous financial effort to ensure not only the reintegration of the demobilized soldiers but also to finance the costs of transporting them, their weapons and the UNITA soldiers to the quartering areas. He therefore appealed to all donor nations to honour their commitments resulting from the September 1995 Brussels Round Table Conference.⁵³

The representative of Portugal welcomed the fact that UNITA had made a formal declaration on the quartering of its troops and the delivery of its armaments and other materiel and that the Government of Angola had incorporated the nine Generals. Nevertheless, several important provisions of the Lusaka Protocol remained unfulfilled. He stated that they looked forward to firm initiatives from the Government UNITA towards and national reconciliation and hoped to see the establishment of Government of National Unity soon. He stated that they favoured the phased withdrawal of UNAVEM III following the recommendations of the Secretary-General; however, it was crucial that the pace of withdrawal be determined by the progress achieved in the different phases of the process. Finally, he stressed the urgency of making the necessary financial resources available for the demobilization and social reintegration of ex-combatants.54

Speaking before the vote, the representative of the Russian Federation noted that a major success had been achieved in the announcements that UNITA had finished the quartering of all its military personnel and the Government of Angola had incorporated the nine UNITA generals into the Armed Forces, thus opening up the opportunity to focus on the outstanding political questions. Regarding the approaching expiry of the mandate of UNAVEM III and its withdrawal, they were in favour of the process being thought through carefully, implemented gradually and sufficiently flexibly, without unjustified delays, but also on the basis of the real status of the peace process. In that context, his delegation felt that it would be useful for the Council, before the end of February 1997, to send its mission to Angola, which would allow them to draft and adjusted strategy and tactics for UNAVEM III in its final phase and to define a position on the basic parameters for a continued United Nations presence in that country.55

The representative of the United States stated that they were gratified that the stern warning contained in resolution 1075 (1996) had been heeded and significant

⁵¹ S/1996/1026.

⁵² S/1996/1029.

⁵³ S/PV.3722, pp. 2-3.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 3-4.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 10.

progress had been made. Despite those advances, the military tasks remained incomplete and they found themselves once again considering how to urge or compel the parties to act swiftly in meeting their obligations. In particular, they were concerned that the quartering camps remained full of UNITA troops, even though many had been selected for integration in the Angolan Armed Forces or demobilization. He stated that while the success of the quartering process was owed in large measure to the presence of the neutral international military forces of UNAVEM III at the camps, the time had come for the camps to close and UNAVEM to begin withdrawing. He called on the Government and UNITA to deploy integrated units to the former areas occupied by UNITA.⁵⁶

Several other speakers spoke, both before and after the vote, stating their support for the draft resolution, the phased withdrawal of UNAVEM III, depending on the progress made in the peace process, and a follow-up force upon the full implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, and calling on the parties to fulfill their remaining commitment and form the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation as quickly as possible. Several speakers called on the international community to support demobilization and reintegration efforts. Some speakers also supported the idea of sending a Security Council mission to Angola to assess the situation.⁵⁷

At the same meeting the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1087 (1996), which reads:

The Security Council,

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

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 2 December 1996,

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

Reiterating the importance it attaches to full implementation by the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola of the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions,

Reminding the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to uphold strictly, without delay, their obligations under the Lusaka Protocol and the commitments they entered into in Libreville and Franceville, Gabon,

Underlining the need for respect for human rights, and stressing the need for the Angolan parties to give greater attention to preventing incidents of human rights abuse, investigating alleged human rights violations and punishing those found guilty by due process of law,

Welcoming the efforts of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and personnel of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III, the three observer States to the Angolan peace process, the Organization of African Unity, Southern African Development Community and the international community as a whole, and encouraging them to continue their efforts to promote peace and security in Angola,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General of 2 December 1996;

2. *Expresses concern* at the overall slow pace of the peace process, but notes some positive steps in its implementation;

3. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III until 28 February 1997;

4. Approves the recommendation of the Secretary-General to resume withdrawal of formed military units of the Mission during February 1997, as set forth in paragraphs 30 through 32 of his report of 2 December 1996, with the understanding that the pace of withdrawal will be commensurate with progress achieved in the quartering areas, in demobilization and in the extension of State administration, and that the first phase of withdrawal will begin on schedule in February 1997;

5. Authorizes the Secretary-General to commence the gradual and progressive withdrawal of formed military units of the Mission from individual quartering areas prior to February 1997 and to accelerate the withdrawal schedule subsequently, if former combatants vacate the quartering areas in accordance with the Lusaka Protocol and other factors are conducive to withdrawal, without putting at risk the successful completion of the peace process;

6. Stresses that both parties must immediately begin to cooperate on integrating selected officers and troops of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola into the Angolan Armed Forces and on demobilizing those remaining in the quartering areas, and underlines the need for the Government

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 13-14.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 4-5 (Botswana); pp. 5-6 (China); p. 6 (United Kingdom); pp. 7-8 (Poland); pp. 8-9 (Egypt); pp. 9-10 (Indonesia); p. 11 (Chile); pp. 11-12 (Republic of Korea); pp. 12-13 (Guinea-Bissau); p. 13 (Honduras). After the vote: pp. 15-16 (Zimbabwe); pp. 16-17 (Namibia); p. 18 (Brazil); pp. 18-19 (Zambia); pp. 20-21 (Mozambique); pp. 21-22 (United Republic of Tanzania); pp. 22-23 (Lesotho); pp. 23-24 (South Africa); pp. 24-25 (Malawi); and p. 25 (Sao Tome and Principe).

of Angola to make available all necessary funds it has pledged and to speed up the processing of demobilization certificates and other administrative matters;

7. *Reminds* Member States that the need has now become urgent for the financial resources necessary to facilitate the demobilization and social reintegration of ex-combatants through the United Nations consolidated inter-agency appeal for Angola;

8. *Calls upon* the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to cooperate with the Government of Angola in its immediate task of creating integrated Angolan Armed Forces and police units which would begin, in the spirit of the Lusaka Protocol and monitored by the Mission, the gradual, orderly and peaceful extension of State administration into areas formerly occupied by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola;

9. Urges the Government of Angola to avoid offensive military operations which go beyond those strictly necessary for the restoration and maintenance of law and order in the areas formerly occupied by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola;

10. *Recalls* the need for the President of Angola and the President of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to meet inside Angola at the earliest opportunity, and calls upon both parties to move rapidly on the political steps towards national reconciliation, including the assumption of their posts by the deputies and officials of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, followed by the establishment of a Government of Unity and National Reconciliation prior to 31 December 1996;

11. Urges the two parties to reach agreement on the special status of the President of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola as the President of the largest opposition party before 31 December 1996, without linkage of that issue to the formation of a Government of Unity and National Reconciliation;

12. Calls upon the President of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to travel to Luanda for the creation of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and thereafter to maximize the amount of time spent in Luanda in order to enhance confidence in the country's democratic institutions and the irreversibility of the peace process;

13. Welcomes the continuation of the programme for the disarmament of the civilian population by the Government of Angola, and stresses the need for its full and more effective implementation, including disarmament of the Civilian Defence Corps;

14. *Reiterates its concern* over the acquisition of weapons contrary to paragraph 12 of resolution 976 (1995) of 8 February 1995, while the peace process is under way;

15. *Reaffirms* the obligation of all States to implement fully the provisions of paragraph 19 of resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993, calls upon all States to take the necessary actions to implement the provisions of paragraphs 19 to 25 of resolution 864 (1993) vigorously and strictly, and expresses deep concern that the failure by States, especially those neighbouring Angola, to do so is inconsistent with the peace process and undermines economic recovery;

16. Demands that all parties and others concerned in Angola take all necessary measures to ensure the safety of personnel and premises of United Nations and other international bodies, including non-governmental organizations, and to guarantee the safety and freedom of movement of humanitarian supplies throughout the country;

17. *Calls upon* both parties to intensify their demining efforts, reiterates the need for continued commitment to peace by destruction of stockpiles of landmines monitored and verified by the Mission, and expresses support for various United Nations demining activities in Angola, including plans aimed at enhancing national demining capacity;

18. Urges the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to remove all illegal checkpoints that constitute obstacles to the free circulation of people and goods throughout the country;

19. Urges the international community to fulfil expeditiously its pledges to provide assistance to facilitate the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the Angolan national economy and the resettlement of displaced persons, and stresses the importance of such assistance at this time in order to consolidate the gains in the peace process;

20. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue planning for a follow-on United Nations presence along the lines described in paragraph 33 of his report of 2 December 1996, which would include military observers, police observers, a political component, human rights monitors and a Special Representative, with the aim of maintaining a limited United Nations presence in Angola, and to report thereon no later than 10 February 1997;

21. *Expresses its readiness* to consider, in that context, the possibility of sending a Security Council mission to Angola before the expiry of the mandate of the Mission;

22. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of Mauritius stated that UNITA was responsible for the protracted process of implementation, since they could only be induced to take significant measures when the situation was due to be renewed by the Council. While his delegation welcomed the adoption of the resolution, it held the view that the Council should seriously consider applying some of the measures against UNITA envisaged in resolution 1075 (1996), notwithstanding unverified declaration of UNITA to the effect that it had quartered all its troops and surrendered all military equipment.⁵⁸

Decision of 30 January 1997 (3736th meeting): statement by the President

At the 3736th meeting of the Security Council, held on 30 January 1997 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Japan), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Angola, at her request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting, the President made the following statement on behalf of the Council:⁵⁹

The Security Council expresses its deep concern at the delay in the formation of a Government of National Unity and Reconciliation as a result of the failure of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to meet the timetable established by the Joint Commission in the context of the Lusaka Protocol.

The Council also notes with concern the slow pace of implementation of the remaining military aspects of the peace process, in particular, the demobilization and integration of soldiers of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola into the Angolan Armed Forces.

The Council takes note of the conclusions of the meeting of the Joint Commission on 23 January 1997, according to which the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola agreed to postpone the inauguration of the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation beyond 25 January 1997, the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola agreed to ensure that all of its National Assembly deputies and its designated members of the future Government of National Unity and Reconciliation would be in Luanda on 12 February 1997, and the Government of Angola agreed to set a date for the inauguration of the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation immediately following the arrival of the deputies of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

The Council calls upon the parties to implement this agreement strictly and to form the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation without any linkages and without further delay. Failure to implement this agreement could jeopardize the peace process and lead the Council to consider appropriate measures, as indicated in relevant Council resolutions, against those responsible for the delays.

The Council emphasizes that the ultimate responsibility for restoring peace rests with the Angolans themselves. The

Council reminds the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola and the Government of Angola that the international community can only provide assistance if progress is achieved in the peace process and that it will consider a United Nations presence in Angola after the expiration of the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III in this context.

The Council expresses its appreciation to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the three observer countries for their efforts to assist the parties in Angola in advancing the peace process.

The Council will continue to monitor closely the implementation of the agreement of the Joint Commission.

The Council will remain seized of the matter.

Decision of 27 February 1997 (3743rd meeting): resolution 1098 (1997)

At the 3743rd meeting of the Security Council, held on 27 February 1997 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Kenya), with the consent of the Council, invited the representatives of Algeria, Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, the Netherlands, South Africa and Tunisia, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

The Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General on UNAVEM III dated 7 February 1997 pursuant to Security Council resolution 1087 (1997).⁶⁰ In his report, the Secretary-General observed that despite encouraging developments, new delays and difficulties had arisen, especially in connection with the future status of the leader of UNITA, and the pace of implementation of the remaining military and political tasks, owing mainly to the lack of cooperation of UNITA, had been slow and disappointing. If the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation was formed before the expiration of the mandate of UNAVEM III on 28 February 1997, he recommended to the Security Council that the mandate of UNAVEM be extended for a two-month period, with the understanding that it would proceed with the transition towards an observer mission. If the UNITA National Assembly members and officials failed to arrive in Luanda by 12 February and the new Government is not formed, he would recommend that the Council extend the mandate of

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 19-20.

⁵⁹ S/PRST/1997/3.

⁶⁰ S/1997/115.

UNAVEM for one month, until 31 March 1997. After that, the Council might wish to consider appropriate steps to address the situation. He stated that the planned withdrawal of United Nations military units needed to take into account the situation on the ground, and he reiterated his appeal to the international community for contributions to the demobilization and reintegration programmes.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.⁶¹

The Vice-Minister without Portfolio of Angola stated that advances in the peace process to date would not have been possible without action by the Security Council, which had employed various means of pressure, including, in resolution 864 (1993), enforcement measures against UNITA. However, exerting further pressure on UNITA continued to be necessary because of the excessive delays in the application of the Lusaka accord. He reiterated that the formation of the Government and the swearing in of members of parliament needed to take place unconditionally, without any linkages and within the legal framework defined by the accords, and other agreements that were valid for the peace process. Regarding the end of the mandate of UNAVEM III, he noted that some tasks would continue to require the assistance of the United Nations, such as the extension of State administration, completion of the formation of the Angolan Armed Forces, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, and demining. In conclusion, he stated his support for the draft resolution.62

Speaking before the vote, the representative of the Russian Federation expressed concern that the peace process was proceeding with difficulty, constantly encountering new obstacles because of the lack of due cooperation on the part of UNITA. The Russian delegation agreed with the conclusion of the report of the Secretary-General that the Council needed to send the Angolan parties, and particularly UNITA, a clear-cut signal on the inadmissibility of further delays in resolving military and other issues and in establishing the Government of National Unity. He expressed his country's support for the option proposed by the Secretary-General to extend the mandate of UNAVEM III until 31 March 1997, with the clear-cut warning that if the Government had not been established by then because of procrastination on the part of UNITA, the Council would have to consider taking appropriate and concrete measures with regard to that organization. He stated that the draft resolution submitted for consideration by the Security Council was adequate to the task.⁶³

The representative of Portugal pointed out that significant tasks in both military and political aspects of the peace process remained unfulfilled and were behind schedule. Since the publication of the report of the Secretary-General, no significant moves had been made in the selection and incorporation of UNITA personnel into the Angolan Armed Forces, in the closure of quartering areas, in the process of demobilization and in the extension of State administration throughout the entire territory of Angola. UNITA bore a special responsibility to demonstrate its commitment to the full implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, without attempting to establish new conditions or linkages. He noted that the complexity of the issues in the Angolan peace process required some flexibility on the part of the international community. At a time when UNAVEM III should be completing its mission, he recognized that the United Nations needed to continue its current mandate in support of the progress. He fully agreed that the pace of the planned withdrawal of formed military units needed to take into account the situation on the ground, and not lose sight of the fact that the United Nations was playing a vital role in bringing peace to Angola.64

The representative of the United States stated that as they considered the extension of the UNAVEM III mandate, they needed to confront the reality that the time-tables agree to and the actions promised by the parties in Angola to advance the peace process had not been fulfilled. In addition, the camps established as an interim measure in demobilizing the forces of UNITA were still full, even though the UNAVEM III forces that protect those camps were scheduled to be withdrawn. The draft resolution provided only for a one month extension, during which the remaining

 $^{^{61}}$ S/1997/162.

⁶² S/PV.3743, pp. 3-4.

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 4-5.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 8.

personnel of UNAVEM III would continue to perform their missions while the withdrawal continued, and the Security Council would review its involvement in the Angolan peace process. He expressed their deep concern with the primary role of UNITA in the failure of the time-table for the unity Government, and observed that the draft resolution noted the readiness of the Council to consider the imposition of further measures if the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation was not formed by 20 March. Reaffirming the presidential statement of 7 February 1997,⁶⁵ he also warned the parties against any involvement in the conflict in Zaire.⁶⁶

Several other speakers spoke, supporting the one month extension of the mandate of UNAVEM III, expressing concern over the failure to form the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation and calling on UNITA to cooperate in the process without any linkages or further delays, and agreeing that a follow-up mission to UNAVEM II would have an important role in promoting reconciliation and reconstruction. Several speakers stated their support for considering the imposition of measures, including those mentioned in paragraph 26 of resolution 864 (1993), if UNITA failed to cooperate in the peace process.⁶⁷

At the same meeting the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1098 (1997), which reads:

The Security Council,

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

Recalling the statement by its President of 30 January 1997,

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

Reiterating the importance it attaches to full implementation by the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola of the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and the relevant Security Council resolutions,

Deeply concerned at the second delay in the formation of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation, as a result of the failure of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to meet the timetable established by the Joint Commission, in the context of the Lusaka Protocol,

Concerned at the continued delay in the implementation of the remaining political and military aspects of the peace process, including the selection and incorporation of soldiers of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola into the Angolan Armed Forces, and demobilization,

Stressing that it is imperative for the parties, in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, to take urgent and decisive steps to fulfil their commitments in order to ensure the continued involvement of the international community in the peace process in Angola,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General dated 7 February 1997,

1. *Welcomes* the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General of 7 February 1997;

2. *Decides* to extend the mandate of United Nations Angola Verification Mission III until 31 March 1997;

3. Urges the Government of Angola and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to solve the remaining military and other issues and to establish, without further delay, the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation, and requests the Secretary-General to report by 20 March 1997 on the status of the formation of this Government;

4. *Expresses its readiness*, in the light of the report referred to in paragraph 3 above, to consider the imposition of measures, including those specifically mentioned in paragraph 26 of resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993;

5. *Stresses* that the good offices, mediation, and verification functions of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, in close collaboration with the Joint Commission, remain essential for the successful completion of the Angolan peace process;

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

⁶⁵ S/PRST/1997/5, p. 1.

⁶⁶ S/PV.3473, pp. 12-13.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 5 (Japan); p. 7 (Republic of Korea); pp. 5-6 (United Kingdom); pp. 6-7 (Egypt); pp. 8-9 (Sweden); p. 9 (Chile); pp. 9-10 (China); pp. 10-11 (Guinea-Bissau); pp. 11-12 (Costa Rica); and pp. 13-14 (Kenya). After the vote: p. 14 (France); pp. 14-15 (Malawi); pp. 15-16 (Mozambique); pp. 17-18 (Cape Verde); p. 18 (Namibia); pp. 19-20 (Lesotho); pp. 20-21 (South Africa); pp. 21-22 (Algeria); pp. 22-23 (Brazil); pp. 23-24 (Tunisia); pp. 24-25 (the Netherlands on behalf of the European Union and associated and aligned countries: Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Iceland and Norway); and pp. 25-26 (Mali).

Decision of 21 March 1997 (3755th meeting): statement by the President

At its 3755th meeting, held on 21 March 1997 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Security Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General on UNAVEM III pursuant to Security Council resolution 1098 (1997) by which the Council had requested him to report by 20 March 1997 on the status of the formation of the Government.⁶⁸

In his report, the Secretary-General observed that despite determined and intensive efforts, the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation had not yet been established, owing primarily to the failure of UNITA to send all of its officials to Luanda as previously agreed. The delays were having a negative impact on the implementation of major aspects of the peace process, including the normalization of State administration and the demobilization of excess UNITA personnel. Since the patience of the international community was wearing thin, he had decided to visit Angola from 22 to 25 March 1997 with the intention of making a first-hand assessment of the situation and impressing upon the parties the need to establish the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation without any further delay. During the visit, he would also consult his Special Representative, the representatives of the observer States and other Governments concerned on ways and means of injecting new vigour into the peace process.

At the same meeting, the President (Poland) made the following statement on behalf of the Council:⁶⁹

The Security Council takes note of the report of the Secretary-General of 19 March 1997 and once again expresses its deep concern that the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation has not yet been established, owing primarily to the failure of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to send all of its officials to Luanda as previously agreed. The Council reminds the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola of its obligations in accordance with the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol and subsequent agreements between the two parties.

The Council expresses its full support for the Secretary-General in his mission to Angola to assess the situation and impress upon the parties the need to establish the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation without any further delay. It calls upon the parties, in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, and the Observer States and to use the occasion of the visit of the Secretary-General to install the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation.

The Council remains actively seized of the matter and recalls that, in accordance with resolution 1098 (1997) of 27 February 1997, it will consider the imposition of measures, including those specifically mentioned in paragraph 26 of resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993, against the party responsible for the failure to form the Government of unity and National Reconciliation. The Council, following the next report of the Secretary-General, will also consider the role of the United Nations in Angola after the expiration of the current mandate of United Nations Angola Verification Mission III on 31 March 1997 on the basis of the progress made by the parties to full implementation of their commitments under the "Acordos de Paz" and the Lusaka Protocol, as well as their obligations under the relevant Council resolutions.

Decision of 31 March 1997 (3759th meeting): resolution 1102 (1997)

At the 3759th meeting of the Security Council, held on 31 March 1997 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Poland), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Angola, at her request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

The Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General on UNAVEM III dated 25 March 1997, submitted pursuant to resolution 1098 (1997).⁷⁰

In his report, the Secretary-General observed that while there had been little progress towards the implementation of the remaining aspects of the Lusaka Protocol the meetings held with the President of Angola and the leader of UNITA had given rise to expectations that new vigour could be injected into the peace process. The resolution of the future status of the UNITA leader and his promise to send to Luanda the rest of the UNITA National Assembly deputies and designated officials were encouraging signs. In the meantime, given the uncertainty concerning the exact date for the inauguration of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation, he recommended that the Security Council consider extending the mandate of UNAVEM III for two weeks only, until 15 April 1997.

⁶⁸ S/1997/239.

⁶⁹ S/PRST/1997/17.

⁷⁰ S/1997/248.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations,⁷¹ which was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1102 (1997), which reads:

The Security Council,

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

Recalling the statements by its President of 30 January and 21 March 1997,

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

Reiterating the importance it attaches to full implementation by the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola of the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and the relevant Security Council resolutions,

Stressing that it is imperative for the parties to take urgent and decisive steps to fulfil their commitments in order to ensure the continued involvement of the international community in the peace process in Angola,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 25 March 1997,

1. *Commends* the efforts of the Secretary-General during his recent visit to Angola to move the peace process forward;

2. Welcomes the arrival in Luanda, although after considerable delay in the implementation of the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol, of the deputies of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola and officials of the future Government of Unity and National Reconciliation, in accordance with subsequent agreements between the two parties;

3. Welcomes also the decision by the Government of Angola, as announced by the Joint Commission, to install the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation on 11 April 1997;

4. *Calls upon* both parties to form the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation on that date;

5. Also calls upon both parties to remove all remaining obstacles to the peace process and to implement without further delay the remaining military and political aspects of the peace process, in particular the incorporation of soldiers of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola into the Angolan Armed Forces, demobilization, and normalization of State administration throughout the national territory;

⁷¹ S/1997/262.

6. Decides to extend the mandate of United Nations Angola Verification Mission III until 16 April 1997, and requests the Secretary-General to report by 14 April 1997 on the status of the installation of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation;

7. Also decides that, in accordance with resolution 1098 (1997) of 27 February 1997, it remains ready to consider the imposition of measures, including those specifically mentioned in paragraph 26 of resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993, if the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation is not installed by 11 April 1997;

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

Decision of 16 April 1997 (3769th meeting): resolution 1106 (1997)

At the 3767th meeting of the Security Council held on 16 April 1997 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Portugal), with the consent of the Council, invited the representatives of Angola, Argentina, Brazil, Cameroon, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, the Netherlands, Peru, Qatar, South Africa, Uruguay, and Zimbabwe, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

The Council included in its agenda the progress report of the Secretary-General dated 14 April 1997 on UNAVEM III pursuant to Security Council resolution (1997) on the status of the installation of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation.⁷²

In his report, the Secretary-General informed the Council that on 8 April 1997 the National Assembly had enacted into law the text on the special status of the leader of UNITA and on 11 April, the Government of Unity and National Reconciliations was inaugurated. It was attended by Heads of State and Government, and the leader of UNITA sent a special message which was read out by the UNITA vice-president. He observed that these developments were very encouraging and an essential step forward in the peace process and expressed his hope that the meeting between the President of Angola and the leader of UNITA would soon take place. However, much remained to be done, including the normalization of State administration throughout the whole country, completing the formation of the unified armed forces and police, demobilization of excess UNITA military personnel,

⁷² S/1997/304.

determining the status of UNITA radio and the security detachment of the leader of UNITA, the disarmament of the civilian population, and the dismantling of illegal command posts and checkpoints. He stated that he was convinced that the international community needed to remain engaged in Angola until the full implementation of the Lusaka Protocol was achieved. Since the unity Government had been inaugurated, he recommended that the Security Council approve the extension of the mandate of UNAVEM III until 30 June 1997, on the understanding that the operation would proceed with the transition towards an observer mission. He further recommended that the observer mission, to be known as the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA), be formally established on 1 July 1997. In addition to the completion of the remaining military tasks, the Observer mission would focus on political, police and human rights aspects, as well as on humanitarian and public information programmes aimed at supporting the national reconciliation process.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.⁷³

The representative of Angola stated that the inauguration of the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation, and the return of UNITA members to Parliament finally occurred, allowing for the first time the beginnings of the normal operation of the democratic institutions that were put in place after the general elections of 1992. There were however important tasks still to be accomplished. He appealed to the international community to continue to render its valuable support and recalled that it was time to speed up the implementation of the programme of community rehabilitation and national reconciliation adopted during the Brussels Round Table Conference. He stated that the draft resolution contained important requirements for the completion of the Angolan peace process. The pertinent recommendations in paragraph 9 of the Secretary-General's report, regarding the phased and gradual withdrawal of the contingent of UNAVEM III, as well as those in operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution, were proof of the sincerity and responsibility with which the Angolan peace process had proceeded. $^{74}\,$

The representative of the Russian Federation noting that the peace process had ascended to a new level, expressed concern about the situation of the political and particularly the military aspects of the Lusaka Protocol. They attached particular importance to the appeal contained in the draft resolution before the Council to fulfil the remaining aspects of the peace process precisely and promptly and promoting their implementation to be the most important part of the mandate of UNAVEM III. As military and political questions were tackled, and as the military contingent of the Verification Mission would be withdrawn, it would be possible to undertake transitional measures for a United Nations presence beyond 30 June 1997. On the whole, his delegation could support the proposals of the Secretary-General in that regard, and would be prepared, in the context of the competencies the Council, to consider any specific of recommendations he might present later.75

The representative of the United Kingdom stated that the new Government deserved full support. He expressed agreement with the Secretary-General's recommendation that UNAVEM III should continue to provide operational support to the mine clearance programme, on a cost-reimbursable basis from the Department of Humanitarian Affairs, until the end of June. He expressed concern about reports of Angolan involvement in the conflict in Zaire and stated that Angola needed to refrain from any action that would exacerbate conflict in Zaire. He stated that the international community needed to remain in Angola until the goal of full implementation of the peace reached and agreements was support the recommendation to extend the mandate of UNAVEM III to 30 June 1997 and to deploy a United Nations observer mission thereafter. He attached particular importance to the human rights element of it and to the mission having powers to investigate alleged abuses, as well as to the civilian police and public information programmes.76

The representative of the United States congratulated the former Government and UNITA for

⁷³ S/1997/316.

⁷⁴ S/PV.3767, pp. 2-4.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 4.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 7.

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the formation of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and other recent events. However, more needed to be done, and the highest priority was the rapid induction of selected former UNITA personnel into the armed forces and police, and the demobilization of the others, and then the extension of State administration to all parts of the country. He strongly encouraged the president of UNITA, to take advantage of the special position now legally established for him by meeting frequently with the President of Angola, and he hoped that the first meeting would occur at the earliest opportunity. He maintained that the international community still had an important role to play in supporting the process of national reconciliation and reconstruction. By renewing the mandate of UNAVEM III until 30 June 1997, they were signaling their intention to assist the parties to complete the remaining tasks of the peace process and he listed a number of areas where Angola needed international support. Noting the persistent reports of Angolan involvement in the conflict in Zaire, he called upon all Angolans to put an immediate halt to such actions and to give their full support to the international effort left by the United Nations/OAU Representative, to reach a negotiated settlement to the conflict on the basis of the United Nations five-point peace plan.77

Several other speakers spoke, welcoming the formation of the Angolan Government of Unity and National Reconciliation; calling on both parties to cooperate in fully implementing the Lusaka Protocol; and expressing support for their extension of the mandate of UNAVEM III and further adjustments in light of the gradual development of the situation in Angola, including a possible follow-on mission.⁷⁸

The Council resumed its consideration of the item at its 3769th meeting, held on 16 April 1997. The President (Portugal), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Botswana, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The representative of Cameroon, speaking as the representative of the Chairman of the OAU, congratulated the parties on the formation of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation, but noted that there was much that needed to be done. He stated that the international community and all who had played some part in the establishment of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation had a moral and political obligation to stay engaged in the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. The full implementation of the Lusaka Protocol was the objective to be achieved, and they needed to persevere in the task and encourage the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation to resolve all pending issues.⁷⁹

The representative of the Netherlands, speaking on behalf of the European Union and the associated and aligned countries, welcomed the inauguration of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation, but noted that much remained to be done.80 The European Union had provided significant political, financial, material, and personnel support for demining activities in Angola, and hoped that the planned transfer for the responsibility for mine-clearance from UNAVEM III to UNDP would take place soon. He Secretary-General's concurred with the recommendation for the extension of the mandate of UNAVEM III and the transition towards an observer mission. He stated that they attached particular importance to the deployment of human rights officers and of police observers, who would monitor compliance with the peace accords, including freedom of movement throughout the country.81

The representative of Portugal welcomed the developments in the political situation but noted that being close to peace did not translate into a consolidated peace. He expressed his country's readiness to maintain its assistance programmes, as long as they resulted from the will of the Angolan Government, and he therefore welcomed the United Nations consolidated inter-agency appeal for Angola. The Government of Portugal agreed with the recommendation of the Secretary-General that the

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 13.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 5 (China); pp. 5-6 (Japan); pp. 6-7 (Republic of Korea); pp. 7-8 (Poland); pp. 8-9 (France); pp. 9-10 (Guinea-Bissau); pp. 10-11 (Egypt); and pp. 11-12 (Kenya).

⁷⁹ S/PV.3769, pp. 8-9.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 11 (Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia, and Iceland and Norway).

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 11.

Council should approve the extension of the mandate of UNAVEM until 30 June 1997.⁸²

The representative of Angola, replying to the speculation regarding the alleged official involvement of the Government of Angola in the Zaire conflict, stated that from the beginning of the civil unrest in Zaire, the Government of Angola had pleaded for its rapid resolution and appealed very strongly to the parties involved to choose the negotiating table as a means to settle their differences. He strongly rejected the reports suggesting Angolan interference in the internal affairs of Zaire.⁸³

Several other speakers spoke, welcoming the formation of the Angolan Government of Unity and National Reconciliation; calling on both parties to cooperate in fully implementing the Lusaka Protocol; expressing support for their extension of the mandate of the mandate of UNAVEM III and further adjustments in light of the gradual development of the situation in Angola, including a possible follow-on mission.⁸⁴

At the same meeting the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1106 (1997), which reads:

The Security Council,

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

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

Reiterating the importance it attaches to fill implementation by the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola of the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and the relevant Security Council resolutions,

Expressing its satisfaction with the recent progress in the peace process, including the approval by the Angolan National Assembly of the special status for the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola as the Leader of the Largest Opposition Party and the seating of the deputies of

the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola in the National Assembly on 9 April 1997,

Reiterating that the ultimate responsibility for the completion of the peace process rests with the Angolans themselves,

Having considered the reports of the Secretary-General of 7 February and 14 April 1997,

1. *Warmly welcomes* the inauguration on 11 April 1997 of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation;

Strongly urges the parties, acting through the 2. Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and with the continued support of the Joint Commission, to complete without delay the remaining military aspects of the peace process, including the incorporation of soldiers the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola into the Angolan Armed Forces, and demobilization, and the selection and incorporation of personnel of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola into the Angolan National Police, as well as to move ahead with the political tasks, in particular the normalization of State administration throughout the national territory; in this context, considers that a meeting between the President of Angola and the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola within the territory of Angola would contribute to this process of national reconciliation, and expresses the hope that such meeting will take place;

3. *Welcomes* the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General of 14 April 1997;

4. Decides to extend the mandate of United Nations Angola Verification Mission III until 30 June 1997 to assist in the implementation of these remaining tasks, with the understanding that the Mission will begin, as appropriate, to proceed with the transition towards an observer mission as described in section W of the report of the Secretary-General of 7 February 1997, using resources already provided or allocated to the Mission for the period ending 30 June 1997;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to complete the withdrawal of military units of the Mission as scheduled, taking into account progress in the remaining relevant aspects of the peace process;

6. *Expresses its intention* to consider the establishment of a follow-on United Nations presence, bearing in mind the reports of the Secretary-General of 7 February and 14 April 1997, which would succeed the Mission, and requests the Secretary-General to submit for its consideration, no later than 6 June 1997, a report containing his recommendations regarding the structure, specific goals and cost implications of such a mission;

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

⁸² Ibid., pp. 16-17.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 17.

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 2-3 (Sweden); pp. 3-4 (Costa Rica); pp. 4-5 (Malawi); pp. 5-6 (Brazil); p. 6 (South Africa); pp. 6-7 (Uruguay); pp. 7-8 (Mozambique); pp. 9-10 (Argentina); pp. 10-11 (Lesotho); p. 12 (Zimbabwe); pp. 12-13 (Qatar); pp. 13-14 (Peru); p. 14 (Botswana); and pp. 14-15 (Chile).

Decision of 30 June 1997 (3795th meeting): resolution 1118 (1997)

At the 3795th meeting of the Security Council held on 30 June 1997 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Russian Federation), with the consent of the Council, invited the representatives of Angola, Argentina, Brazil, Lesotho, Mauritius, Mozambique, the Netherlands, Zambia and Zimbabwe at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

The Council included in its agenda the progress report of the Secretary-General dated 5 June 1997 on UNAVEM III pursuant to Security Council resolution 1106 (1997) on his recommendations regarding the structure, specific goals and cost implications of an observer mission in Angola to succeed UNAVEM III.⁸⁵

In his report, the Secretary-General observed that events in Angola since March 1997 had generally been moving in a positive direction. However, the recent tensions in the northern part of the country had underscored the unsettled situation prevailing in some areas of the country. The process of extension of State administration to the areas formerly under UNITA control was proceeding at a slow pace and had given rise to some incidents, including one in which officials were attacked by a local UNITA crowd in an apparently organized protest. Moreover, the psychological and political barriers between the parties were still wide, and, in this connection, the holding of the long-overdue meeting between the President of Angola and the leader of UNITA could accelerate the peace process. He stated that the demobilization of tens of thousands of troops and their reintegration into civil society remained one of the most crucial challenges under the Lusaka Protocol. He once again urged the donor community to provide the urgently needed assistance to IOM for the demobilization programmes. To consolidate the gains made thus far in the peace process, a continued, but scaled-down presence of the United Nations would be required. Therefore, after the expiration of the mandate of UNAVEM III on 30 June 1997, he recommended the establishment, as of 1 July 1997, of a new operation to be known as the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola/Missão de Observação das Nações Unidas em Angola and gave

details on its mandate and organizational structure. He stated that the performance of the new mission and its components would be measured against specific indicators, such as the completion of the demobilization process, the incorporation of ex-UNITA combatants into the Angolan Armed Forces and the Angolan National Police, the integration of UNITA personnel in all levels of State administration and other essential tasks. In view of the magnitude of those tasks, he recommended that the new mission be established for a period of seven months until 1 February 1998, after which it would be gradually drawn down in accordance with plans which he would submit by the end of the year.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.⁸⁶

The representative of the Netherlands spoke on behalf of the European Union and the associated and aligned countries.87 He stated that the Council would be adopting a draft resolution creating MONUA, which would take over from UNAVEM III. MONUA was the result of positive developments, including the formation of a Government of National Unity and Reconciliation, the participation of UNITA deputies in the National Assembly and the beginning of the normalization of Government administration. Recent developments in the Democratic Republic of the Congo⁸⁸ had increased tensions in Angola, and he stated that both sides needed to cooperate with the United Nations and grant full access to all areas under their control. The European Union believed that an early meeting within the national territory between the President of Angola and the leader of the largest opposition party would contribute significantly to easing political tension. It would also resolve the precarious military situation in the border area between Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The transformation of the UNITA radio station into a non-partisan broadcasting facility and the

⁸⁵ S/1997/438 and Add.1.

⁸⁶ S/1997/498.

⁸⁷ S/PV.3795, p. 2 (Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia and Norway).

⁸⁸ By a communication dated 20 May 1997, the Secretariat was informed by the Member State known formerly as "Zaire" that the name of the State had been changed on 17 May to "Democratic Republic of the Congo".

transformation of UNITA into a political party were other remaining political aspects to be completed. He stated that MONUA would have an important role to play in the field of human rights, which was still a reason for concern in Angola. It was also a concern that the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees considered the conditions for the return of refugees and demobilized soldiers unfavourable. It was important that more funds be made available, both for demobilization and for the Office's repatriation programmes.⁸⁹

The representative of Angola stated that the Lusaka Protocol had entered its final stage, although much still remained to be done. He noted that both the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and Parliament were now working normally, although their impact on the peace process might be affected if all pending military and political matters were not resolved due to the lack of cooperation from UNITA. UNITA continued to hold significant amounts of weapons and forces that were never reported to the UNAVEM III, many of those forces were providing support to the regime in the former Republic of Zaire. Those forces needed to be disarmed, confined to quarters and demobilized. The country's north-eastern areas had in recent times seen a massive influx of people coming from the former Republic of Zaire, including former Zairian soldiers and former Rwandan Hutu militias, and he stated that the Government had felt compelled to take appropriate measures to keep the country's borders from being violated. The Government was working in collaboration with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to resolve the problem. Taking into account that the military items of the peace process were still pending, his delegation reiterated his country's proposal to defer temporarily the withdrawal of the Blue Helmets, until the fundamental tasks, especially the military one, were completed. He pledged his country's full cooperation and support to MONUA and stated its support for the draft resolution, although it would prefer some improvements in its contents.90

The representative of Portugal stated that MONUA was the right response to the current situation in Angola, and would permit the United Nations to remain engaged in the fragile process. On the other hand, the Angolans had to get the message that they needed to seize the opportunity to consolidate peace. He expressed his hope that the long-awaited meeting inside Angola between the President of Angola and the leader of UNITA would take place as soon as possible. He stated that the different components of MONUA would play a crucial role in the important stage of the peace process. In particular, the monitoring of human rights and humanitarian aspects would have a longterm effect on the type of post-war society that would emerge in Angola. In that context, he stated that they fully supported the strengthening of the police component of MONUA as well as its political assistance for promotion of tolerance and national reconciliation. Regarding the military aspects, he agreed with the Secretary-General that the pace of withdrawal needed to be dictated by the situation in Angola and the progress in consolidating peace rather than by external budgetary constraints.91

The representative of France stated that the formation of a Government of national unity and the participation of UNITA in political life marked a decisive turning point on the path of reconciliation. He noted that the events in the former Zaire had had repercussions in Angola and a shock wave had once again "swept the Angolan parties onto the path of confrontation". Escalation had been avoided due to the completion of important stages. However, tensions had shown that the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol were still being flouted, primarily by UNITA, which still retained significant military strength. UNITA needed to abide by its obligations and understand that only participation in political life could provide it with prospects for the future.⁹²

The representative of the United Kingdom expressed support for withdrawing UNAVEM III and establishing a follow-on United Nations observer mission. He agreed that the operation should retain a military element while demobilization continued and he also welcomed the increased capacity for monitoring and investigating human rights abuses. Despite the important progress in the peace process, he was concerned at the slow pace of extending State administration and at the continuing mood of mistrust

⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 2-3.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 4-6.

⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 10-11.

⁹² Ibid., p. 11.

between the parties. He noted that in recent weeks military clashes had jeopardized the peace process, and his Government was concerned at the build-up of military forces in northern Angola. He hoped that the remaining United Nations military presence would be given full access to areas which they wished to investigate and underlined that attacks by UNITA against the staff of UNAVEM II were totally unacceptable. He agreed that there was an urgent need to complete the demobilization process without further delay.⁹³

The representative of China expressed concern about the outbreak of military conflicts in some parts of the country and the failure to complete the demobilization of UNITA military personnel. He stressed that practice had proved that only when there was a peaceful and stable environment could efforts be concentrated on economic and social development. He hoped that the Government of Angola and UNITA would seize the historic opportunity to complete the pending tasks in the political and military fields and achieve national reconciliation to pave the way for national reconstruction and development. While the settlement of the Angolan question would ultimately rest with the Angolan people themselves, the international community also had the responsibility to promote the peace process in Angola and facilitate Angola's efforts at national reconciliation. The peace process was at a critical juncture and was in dire need of vigorous support from the international community, including the United Nations. Therefore he supported in principle the Secretary-General's recommendations to establish MONUA. At the same time, he maintained, that, as a principle, the Security Council should not get involved in matters that fell within the terms of reference of other United Nations bodies. China had different views regarding certain of the functions that the Council would be authorizing for MONUA. China therefore had reservations on certain provisions of the draft resolution. However, in order to help bring about peace and development in Angola at an early date, and considering the desires of Angola and other parties concerned, his delegation would vote in favour of the draft resolution.94

The representative of the United States stated that they were pleased to join with other members of the Security Council in support of the draft resolution, which inaugurated a new phase in United Nations involvement in Angola's peace process. The United States called on the Government of Angola and on UNITA to complete the process of peace and national reconciliation. He urged the Government of Angola to exhibit restraint as the peace process entered its final phase, noting that they were concerned by troop movement and ceasefire violations in the north-eastern provinces, and he called on the Government of Angola to desist immediately from unilateral military actions outside the Lusaka framework. Procedures for the normalization of Government control were clearly defined in the Lusaka Protocol and needed to be followed. He also expressed his belief that agreement regarding national symbols would contribute to the national reconciliation process. He urged UNITA fully and immediately to complete the political and military tasks it had agreed to in Lusaka. He stated that his delegation understood the security concerns of UNITA and intended to stay engaged in ensuring that both parties abided by their mutual security guarantees, but it was long overdue for UNITA to disarm and demobilize its armed elements and come into the mainstream of a peaceful political process.95

The representative of the Russian Federation stated, as a member of the troika of observers and a troop contributor, that the draft resolution to be adopted by the Security Council on the transition from UNAVEM III to MONUA was of significant importance for achieving the goals of peace process. The draft resolution was specifically targeted, focusing the attention of the Angolan parties on the priority political and military questions of the settlement that they needed to resolve. Of particular concern was the tense situation in the north-eastern region that had arisen as a result of the penetration into the territory of Angola of armed soldiers of UNITA, the former Rwanda Government Forces and the former Zairian army and of attempts by UNITA to achieve significant military potential. He attached particular significance to the provisions of the draft resolution concerning the unimpeded extension throughout the national territory of the country of the State administration and the demand that UNITA immediately provide complete

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 11-12.

⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 19-20.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 20.

information regarding all armed personnel under its control for the purpose of verification, disarmament and demobilization, in accordance with the Lusaka Protocol. He stated that the draft resolution provided both an opportunity for effective monitoring of the course of the peace process and also for the adjustments necessary for the planned schedule of withdrawal of United Nations troops from Angola.⁹⁶

Several other speakers while stating their support for the draft resolution and the formation of MONUA, also expressed concern over reports of serious clashes. They noted the progress in the peace process and the contributions of UNAVEM III, and underlined the need to promptly complete all outstanding tasks. Some speakers also urged the President of Angola and the leader of UNITA to meet and cooperate on the remaining issues.⁹⁷

At the same meeting the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1118 (1997), which reads:

The Security Council,

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

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

Recognizing the successful contribution of United Nations, Angola Verification Mission III to the restoration of peace and the process of national reconciliation on the basis of the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions,

Recognizing also that the formation of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation provides a strong basis for the process of national reconciliation,

Emphasizing the need for the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to implement without further delay the remaining political and military tasks of the peace process,

Expressing its concern about the recent increase in tensions, especially in the northeastern provinces, and the

attacks by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola on Mission posts and personnel,

Reiterating that the ultimate responsibility for the completion of the peace process rests with the Angolan people themselves,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 5 June 1997,

1. *Welcomes* the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General;

2. Decides to establish, as of 1 July 1997, the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola with the objectives, mandate, and organizational structure recommended by the Secretary-General in section VII of his report;

3. Also decides, with the expectation of full completion of the mission by 1 February 1998, that the initial mandate of the Observer Mission will extend until 31 October 1997, and requests the Secretary-General to report on the situation by 15 August 1997;

4. Further decides that the Observer Mission will assume responsibility for all components and assets of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III remaining in Angola, including formed military units, to deploy as appropriate until they are withdrawn;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue to take into account the situation on the ground and progress in completing the remaining relevant aspects of the peace process in implementing the scheduled withdrawal of United Nations military units and to report thereon in the context of the review requested in paragraph 3 above;

6. *Calls upon* the Government of Angola to apply mutatis mutandis to the Observer Mission and its members the agreement concluded on 3 May 1995 between the United Nations and the Government of Angola on the status of the United Nations peacekeeping operation in Angola and requests the Secretary-General to confirm urgently that this has been done;

7. Endorses the recommendation of the Secretary-General that the Special Representative continue to chair the Joint Commission, as established under the Lusaka which has proved to be a vital conflict resolution and implementation mechanism;

8. *Calls upon* the Government of Angola and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to cooperate fully with the Observer Mission and to ensure the freedom of movement and the safety of its personnel;

9. Strongly urges the Government of Angola and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to complete the remaining political aspects of the peace process, including the normalization of State administration throughout the national territory according to a timetable and procedures agreed upon by both parties within the context of the

⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 20-21.

⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 3-4 (Brazil); pp. 6-7 (Mozambique); pp. 7-8 (Lesotho); pp. 8-9 (Argentina); pp. 9-10 (Mauritius); pp. 12-13 (Kenya); pp. 13-14 (Republic of Korea); p. 14 (Chile); pp. 14-15 (Poland); pp. 15-16 (Guinea-Bissau); pp. 16-17 (Japan); pp. 17-18 (Sweden); pp. 18-19 (Egypt); p. 19 (Costa Rica); pp. 21-22 (Zimbabwe); and pp. 22-23 (Zambia).
Joint Commission, the transformation of the radio station of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola into a non-partisan broadcasting facility, and the transformation of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola into a political party;

10. Also strongly urges the Government of Angola and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to complete without delay the remaining military aspects of the peace process, including the registration and demobilization of all remaining military elements. The elimination of all obstacles to the free circulation of people and goods and the disarmament of the civilian population;

11. Appeals in the strongest terms to both parties to refrain from any use of force which could obstruct the full implementation of the peace process;

12. *Calls upon* the Government of Angola to notify the Observer Mission of any troop movements, in accordance with the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol;

13. Demands that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola provide to the Joint Commission without delay complete information regarding all armed personnel under its control, including the security detachment of the Leader of the Largest Opposition Party, the so-called "mining police", armed personnel of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola returning from outside the national boundaries, and any of its other armed personnel not previously reported to the United Nations, in order for them to be verified, disarmed and demobilized in accordance with the Lusaka Protocol and agreements between the parties in the context of the Joint Commission;

14. *Expresses the hope* that the issues now delaying the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol may be resolved through a meeting, within the national territory, between the President of Angola and the Leader of the Largest Opposition party;

15. Urges the international community to provide assistance to facilitate the demobilization and social reintegration of ex-combatants, the resettlement of displaced persons and the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the Angolan national economy in order to consolidate the gains in the peace process;

16. *Expresses its appreciation* to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the United Nations Angola Verification Mission III personnel for assisting the parties in Angola in implementing the peace process;

17. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 23 July 1997 (3803rd meeting): statement by the President

At the 3803rd meeting of the Security Council held on 23 July 1997 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Sweden), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting, the President made the following statement on behalf of the Council:⁹⁸

The Security Council expresses its deep concern at recent destabilizing actions in Angola, in particular the failure of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to comply with resolution 1118 (1997) of 30 June 1997 and its continued efforts to restore its military capabilities. The Council considers the information submitted by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to the Joint Commission on 21 July 1997 with regard to the strength of its armed forces, the extension of state administration and the activities of its radio station Vorgan to be neither complete nor credible.

The Council condemns the mistreatment of the personnel of the United Nations and international humanitarian organizations in areas under the control of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, as well as the harassment of personnel of the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola in the exercise of their functions. Those actions by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola are unacceptable and contrary to its commitments under the Lusaka Protocol and to Council resolutions. In this regard, the Council fully supports the joint statement by the Observer Mission and the representatives of the three Observer States issued on 14 July 1997.

The Council notes with concern that the increasing tension in the northern part of the country is rapidly spreading to the central and southern provinces, with very dangerous implications for the implementation of the remaining tasks of the peace process, including those referred to in Council resolution 1118 (1997). The Council calls upon both parties to refrain from any use of force, in accordance with their commitments under the Lusaka Protocol.

The Council also calls upon both parties to continue to work closely with the Joint Commission, and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, to cooperate fully with the Observer Mission and to ensure the freedom of movement and the safety of its personnel, as well as of international humanitarian organizations.

The Council reiterates its belief that the long-awaited meeting within the territory of Angola between the President of Angola and the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola could contribute greatly to the reduction of tension and to the process of national reconciliation.

The Council notes with concern reports from the Observer Mission that unauthorized aircraft have landed in territory under

⁹⁸ S/PRST/1997/39.

the control of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola. In this context, the Council calls upon all States to comply fully with paragraph 19 of resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993.

The Council reaffirms its readiness to consider the imposition of measures, inter alia, those specifically mentioned in paragraph 26 of resolution 864 (1993), unless the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, takes irreversible and concrete steps immediately to fulfil its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol. These steps should include demilitarization of all its forces, transformation of its radio station Vorgan into a non-partisan broadcasting facility and full cooperation in the process of the normalization of state administration throughout Angola. The Council requests the Secretary-General to keep it fully informed on the implementation of those tasks and to assess their fulfilment by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola in his report to be submitted by 15 August 1997 in accordance with resolution 1118 (1997).

The Council will continue to monitor closely the situation in Angola and will remain seized of the matter.

Decision of 28 August 1997 (3814th meeting): resolution 1127 (1997)

At the 3814th meeting of the Security Council, held on 28 August 1997 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (United Kingdom), with the consent of the Council, invited the representatives of Angola, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Guinea, Lesotho, Luxembourg, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting, the Council included in its agenda the progress report of the Secretary-General dated 13 August 1997 on MONUA pursuant to paragraph 3 of Security Council resolution 1118 (1997).⁹⁹

In his report the Secretary-General observed that the peace process was experiencing some of the most serious difficulties since the signing of the Lusaka Protocol. Both parties bore a heavy responsibility for the future of the peace process and needed to refrain from any action that might lead to renewed fighting. However, he stated that it was obvious that the current state of affairs was mainly the result of delays by UNITA in implementing its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol, including the true transformation of UNITA into a political party. He reiterated that the international community expected a credible and unconditional implementation of those obligations. He hoped that the Council would continue to exercise its authority and take all necessary steps to ensure full compliance with its decisions, including with the provisions of its resolution 1118 (1997) and the presidential statement of 23 July 1997.100 It was his intention, with the concurrence of the Security Council, to further postpone the withdrawal of the United Nations military units from Angola and to retain in the country up to 2,650 military personnel until the end of October 1997. In taking that step, he had considered the prevailing precarious situation in Angola and the expressed wish of the Government of Angola to maintain a sizeable United Nations presence until the demobilization process was over.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution submitted by Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States.¹⁰¹

At the same meeting, the President also drew the attention of the Council to revisions to be made in the text of the draft resolution.¹⁰² He further drew the attention of the Council to a letter dated 31 July 1997 from the representative of Brazil addressed to the President of the Security Council,¹⁰³ transmitting the text of a letter dated 28 July 1997 from the Minister for External Relations of Brazil; and a letter dated 20 August 1997 from the representative of Luxembourg addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting the text of the statement by the Presidency of the European Union concerning the peace process in Angola issued on 13 August 1997.¹⁰⁴

The representative of Angola stated that since the signing of the Lusaka Protocol, the framework envisioned under the peace accords had still not been

⁹⁹ S/1997/640.

¹⁰⁰ S/PRST/1997/39.

¹⁰¹ S/ 1997/669.

¹⁰² In the preambular paragraph, the word "of" was added after the word "implementation"; in operative paragraph 4 (a) and (b), the word "adult" was added before the word "members"; and in paragraph 11 (a), the words "of adult members of" was added before the words "their immediate families".

 $^{^{103}}$ S/1997/600.

 $^{^{104}}$ S/1997/658.

fully established, and that there were still two armies: the AAF, and that of UNITA. As a result, tensions had mounted and there had been a serious deterioration of the political and military situation throughout the country. The main military units of UNITA, which were never disarmed and never reported to the United Nations, were undergoing training and being re-equipped. The continuing occupation of portions of the country's territory had enabled UNITA to preserve its military structures and to exploit the natural resources extracted from those areas in order to finance its war. He reiterated that the Angola peace accords and the Lusaka Protocol remained the only valid, legal basis for the settlement of the conflict. He underscored that it was incumbent on the Security Council to shoulder some of the responsibility in resolving the Angolan conflict, since it was the body which the Charter of the United Nations endowed with the authority and the mechanisms for the maintenance of peace and security in the world. The time had come to apply the second package of sanctions, which resolution 864 (1993) provided for. He stated that the Government of Angola fully supported the measures set forth in paragraph 4 of the draft resolution to be voted on, because they firmly believed that it was an effective instrument that would help prevent war and speed up the peace process. As crucial tasks for the consolidation of the process had yet to be fully carried out by the United Nations, they welcomed the Secretary-General's recommendation and the Council's decision to postpone the withdrawal of military units of the United Nations. In conclusion, he stated that the draft resolution had the full support of his Government.105

The representative of Luxembourg spoke on behalf of the European Union and the aligned and associated countries.¹⁰⁶ He stated that despite the efforts the peace process in Angola was continuing to come up against serious difficulties. The European Union was extremely concerned by the persistent tension throughout the country and strongly urged the Government of Angola and UNITA in particular to do their utmost to improve the situation and to refrain from the use of force. He noted that since the adoption

of resolution 1118 (1997) and despite frequent reminders, UNITA had not complied with the demands of the international community. In view of the security situation, the European Union had also endorsed the Secretary-General's proposal that the withdrawal of United Nations military units in Angola be further delayed. The European Union shared the Secretary-General's view that a meeting between the President of Angola and the leader of UNITA would help significantly improve the political atmosphere and advance the process of national reconciliation.¹⁰⁷

Speaking before the vote, the representative of the Russian Federation underscored that a final settlement in Angola had not been realized and there was a real danger that the peace process might be reversed. The deterioration of the situation required very close scrutiny on the part of the Security Council and the Secretary-General, and redoubled efforts on the part of his Special Representative and MONUA, as well as on the part of the troika of observer States, of which the Russian Federation was a part. In the light of the developing situation it was quite justified that there be adjustment to the process of withdrawing the United Nations military contingents from Angola. He stated that the international community was entitled to demand that the Government of Angola, but first UNITA, fully and without further delay carry out the remaining aspects of the peace process and refrain from any further acts that might worsen the situation. This was precisely what guided the Russian Federation in drawing up, together with the other members of the troika, the draft resolution. UNITA bore the main responsibility for the present situation. He stated that UNITA was defying the United Nations and the Security Council, and he expressed his belief that the international community had no choice but to give an appropriate reply. Therefore, the draft resolution contained additional sanctions to be imposed on UNITA. These were precisely targeted and concrete and would not affect those representatives of UNITA who were members of Parliament or the Government or who were cooperating with the Joint Commission. He also noted that provision had been made for deferring the imposition of the sanctions and for the possibility of their being lifted, as well as for the adoption of further sanctions against UNITA if it were

¹⁰⁵ S/PV.3814, pp. 2-5.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p.8: Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic,

Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia and Norway.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 8-9.

to fail to fully and expeditiously fulfil its obligations. 108

The representative of China stated that it was necessary for the Council to take further measures against UNITA in conformity with the will of the Angolan people to ensure smooth progress and the ultimate completion of the Angolan peace process. China had always taken a very prudent approach towards sanctions, however, for the purpose of an early realization of peace in Angola, and as a special case, China did not take exception to the measures contained in the draft resolution before them and would vote in favour of it. Finally, he expressed his hope that UNITA would return to the track of unity and cooperation.¹⁰⁹

The representative of Egypt noted that operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution would oblige all states to deny the families of the leaders of UNITA entry into or transit through their territories, except those officials necessary for the full functioning of the Government of Unity and National reconciliation, the National Assembly and the Joint Commission. Despite their full support for the general thrust of the draft resolution, he expressed Egypt's reservations on including the families of the leaders of UNITA in such measures, since that constituted a breach of a legal norm: nulla poena sine crimine, or no punishment without a crime.110 It was inadmissible to punish families whose only crime was their relationship to those leaders. In addition, that measure might constitute a form of collective punishment, which Egypt strongly rejected in principle. Despite that general reservation the persistence of UNITA in defying the will of the international community, its refusal to abide by the Lusaka Protocol and the Government's approval of the draft text prompted them reluctantly to accept the draft resolution before the Council, provided that it would not constitute a precedent in the annals of Security Council resolutions.111

The representative of Portugal stated that UNITA had to understand that its current behaviour had left the Security Council without other credible options besides the one of imposing additional sanctions, which had been designed to stimulate UNITA to move in the right direction. They still hoped that on 30 September the sanctions would not have to enter into force. Portugal also supported the Secretary-General's proposal to further postpone the withdrawal of the United Nations military units from Angola. In conclusion, he reiterated that the Security Council was giving UNITA another opportunity to abide by the obligations it freely accepted in 1991 and in 1994.¹¹²

The representative of the United States stated that they were gravely concerned that, because UNITA had failed to fulfil some key commitments, the peace process was not moving forward and the possibility of renewed fighting again threatened the people of Angola. He urged UNITA to make use of the period before 30 September to fulfil its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol. If UNITA did not act, the sanctions would take effect and they believed that the sanctions were strong, practical and enforceable. He stated that the United States stood ready to examine further measures by the Council should UNITA fail to respond. He reminded the Government of Angola that it, too, needed to abide by its commitments under the Lusaka Protocol. It needed to exercise restraint and refrain from any action that could lead to a resumption of the hostilities. He underlined that they would view any military offensives against UNITA as a reason to propose that the Council discontinue sanctions against UNITA. The Government needed to make every effort to bring the remainder of UNITA into the mainstream of Angolan society, allowing it to play its legitimate role as a democratic opposition party and giving full participation to those UNITA officials in the Unity Government. They called on the President of Angola and the leader of UNITA to meet as soon as possible within Angola. He expressed agreement with the Secretary-General's recommendations that some MONUA military units remain in the country. However, at their reduced strength, these military units could no longer ensure their own security should hostilities resume and would not be able to separate warring factions. If UNITA did not heed the call for complete demobilization, the withdrawal of the remaining MONUA military units should resume.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 15-16.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 20-21.

¹¹⁰ This reservation was also expressed by Costa Rica; see S/PV.3814, p. 23.

¹¹¹ S/PV.3814, pp. 21-22.

¹¹² Ibid., pp. 24-25.

¹¹³ Ibid., pp. 25-26.

The representative of France stated that UNITA bore the principal responsibility for the difficulties encountered in the peace process. He stated that the provisions of the draft resolution had been carefully defined. That applied to the modalities for the implementation of possible sanctions. It also applied to the mechanism for the lifting of those sanctions, should they be imposed; they would be lifted on the basis of specific criteria, respect for which the Secretary-General would have to assess. He reiterated the consistent position of France, which wanted the sanctions to be time-bound, with a set duration, and wanted the question of their extension to be decided by the Security Council. It was the hope of France that UNITA would take advantage of the time allowed it to meet its obligations. In fact, their objective was not to impose coercive measures but rather to give every chance to peace and national reconciliation in Angola and to prevent any action that might lead to a resumption of fighting.114

The representative of the United Kingdom stated that UNITA was clearly not doing what it agreed to do in 1994, which was to transform itself from a military organization into a legitimate opposition party. He was very concerned by the military tensions in Angola. Both UNITA and the Government had contributed to those, and his Government was not about to apportion blame. But he did think both parties needed to make every effort not to resort to military measures. In that respect, he expressed his belief that a meeting between the President of Angola and the leader of UNITA could help to lower the political temperature and make a positive contribution to the peace process.¹¹⁵

Several other speakers spoke, expressing concern over recent developments in Angola, condemning the actions of UNITA which threatened the peace process and calling on them to complete all their outstanding obligations, and expressing support for the recommendations of the Secretary-General and the draft resolution. Several speakers called for a meeting between the President of Angola and the leader of UNITA, in the country, to take place as soon as possible. Several other speakers expressed extreme concern at reports of the planting of new mines in certain parts of the country.¹¹⁶

At the same meeting the draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form, was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1127 (1997), which reads:

The Security Council,

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

Recalling the statement by its President of 23 July 1 1997, in which the Council expressed its readiness to consider the imposition of measures on the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, inter alia, those specifically mentioned in paragraph 26 of resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993,

Emphasizing the urgent need for the Government of Angola and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to complete without further delay the implementation of their obligations under the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol, and the relevant Security Council resolutions,

Expressing its grave concern at the serious difficulties in the peace process, which are mainly the result of delays by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola in the implementation of its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol,

Expressing its firm commitment to preserve the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 13 August 1997,

Strongly deploring the failure by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to comply with its obligations under the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and with relevant Security Council resolutions, in particular resolution 1118 (1997) of 30 June 1997,

Α

1. Demands that the Government of Angola and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola complete fully and without further delay the remaining aspects of the peace process and refrain from any action which might lead to renewed hostilities;

¹¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 26-27.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 27.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 5-6 (Malawi); pp. 6-7 (Brazil); pp. 7-8 (Argentina); pp. 9-10 (Lesotho); pp. 10-11 (Mozambique); pp. 11-12 (Zimbabwe); pp. 12-13 (Canada); pp. 13-14 (South Africa); p. 14 (Guinea); p. 16 (Japan); pp. 16-17 (Sweden); pp. 17-18 (Poland); p. 18 (Republic of Korea); pp. 18-19 (Kenya); pp. 19-20 (Guinea-Bissau); pp. 22-23 (Costa Rica); and pp. 23-24 (Chile).

2. Demands also that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola implement immediately its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol, including demilitarization of all its forces, transformation of its radio station Vorgan into a non-partisan broadcasting facility and full cooperation in the process of the normalization of State administration throughout Angola;

3. Demands further that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola provide immediately to the Joint Commission, as established under the Lusaka Protocol, accurate and complete information with regard to the strength of all armed personnel under its control, including the security detachment of its leader, the so-called "mining police", its armed personnel returning from outside the national boundaries, and any of its other armed personnel, not previously reported to the United Nations, in order for them to be verified, disarmed and demobilized in accordance with the Lusaka Protocol and agreements between the parties in the context of the Joint Commission, and condemns any attempts by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to restore its military capabilities;

В

Determining that the resulting situation in Angola constitutes a threat to international peace and security in the region,

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

4. Decides that all States shall take the necessary measures:

(a) To prevent the entry into or transit through their territories of all senior officials of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola and of adult members of their immediate families, as designated in accordance with paragraph 11 (a) below, except those officials necessary for the full functioning of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation, the National Assembly, or the Joint Commission, provided that nothing in the present paragraph shall oblige a State to refuse entry into its territory to its own nationals;

(b) To suspend or cancel all travel documents, visas or residence permits issued to senior officials and adult members of their immediate families of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, as designated in accordance with paragraph 11 (a) below, with the exceptions referred to in subparagraph (a) above;

(c) To require the immediate and complete closure of all offices of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola in their territories;

(d) With a view to prohibiting flights of aircraft by or for the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, the supply of any aircraft or aircraft components to the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola and the insurance, engineering and servicing of aircraft of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola,

(i) To deny permission to any aircraft to take off from, land in, or overfly their territories if it has taken off from or is destined to land at a place in the territory of Angola other than one on a list supplied by the Government of Angola to the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993), which shall notify Member States;

(ii) To prohibit, by their nationals or from their territories or using their flag vessels or aircraft, the supply of or making available in any form, any aircraft or aircraft components to the territory of Angola other than through named points of entry on a list to be supplied by the Government of Angola to the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993), which shall notify Member States;

(iii) To prohibit, by their nationals or from their territories, the provision of engineering and maintenance servicing, the certification of airworthiness, the payment of new claims against existing insurance contracts, or the provision or renewal of direct insurance with respect to any aircraft registered in Angola other than those on a list to be provided by the Government of Angola to the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993), which shall notify Member States, or with respect to any aircraft which entered the territory of Angola other than through a point of entry included in the list referred to in subparagraph (d) (i) above;

5. Also decides that the measures set out in paragraph 4 above shall not apply to cases of medical emergency or to flights of aircraft carrying food, medicine, or supplies for essential humanitarian needs, as approved in advance by the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993);

6. Urges all States and international and regional organizations to stop travel by their officials and official delegations to the central headquarters of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, except for the purposes of travel to promote the peace process and humanitarian assistance;

7. Decides that the provisions of paragraph 4 above shall come into force without any further notice at 0001 Eastern Standard Time on 30 September 1997, unless the Security Council decides, on the basis of a report by the Secretary-General, that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola has taken concrete and irreversible steps to comply with all the obligations set out in paragraphs 2 and 3 above;

8. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit by 20 October 1997, and every ninety days thereafter, a report on the compliance of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola with all the obligations set out in paragraphs 2 and 3 above, and expresses its readiness to review the measures set out in paragraph above if the Secretary-General reports at any time that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola has fully complied with these obligations;

9. *Expresses its readiness* to consider the imposition of additional measures, such as trade and financial restrictions, if the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola does not comply fully with its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol and all relevant Security Council resolutions;

10. Calls upon all States and all international and regional organizations to act strictly in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution, notwithstanding the existence of any rights or obligations conferred or imposed by any international agreement or any contract entered into or any license or permit granted prior to the date of adoption of the present resolution, and also calls upon all States to comply strictly with the measures imposed in paragraphs 19, 20 and 21 of resolution 864 (1993);

11. *Requests* the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993):

(a) To draw up guidelines expeditiously for the implementation of paragraph 4 of the present resolution, including the designation of officials and of adult members of their immediate families whose entry or transit is to be prevented and whose travel documents, visas or residence permits are to be suspended or cancelled in accordance with paragraphs 4 (a) and (b) above;

(b) To give favourable consideration to, and decide upon, requests for the exceptions set out in paragraph 5 above;

(c) To report to the Council by 15 November 1997 regarding the actions taken by States to implement the measures set out in paragraph 4 above;

12. Requests Member States having information on flights prohibited in paragraph 4 (d) above to provide this information to the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993) for distribution to Member States;

13. Also requests Member States to provide to the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993) information on the measures they have adopted to implement the provisions of paragraph 4 above no later than 1 November 1997; particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola cooperate fully with the United. Nations Observer Mission in Angola, stop restricting the verification activities of the Observer Mission, refrain from laying new mines, and ensure the freedom of movement and especially the safety of the Mission and other international personnel;

14. *Reiterates its call* upon the Government of Angola to notify the Observer Mission of any troop movements, in accordance with the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol;

15. *Endorses* the recommendation of the Secretary-General in his report of 13 August 1997 to postpone the withdrawal of the United Nations military units from Angola until the end of October 1997, with the understanding that the plan is for the drawdown to be completed in November 1997, taking into account the situation on the ground and progress in completing the remaining relevant aspects of the peace process, and requests the Secretary-General to report thereon no later than 20 October 1997, including on the schedule for the resumed withdrawal of military personnel;

16. *Reiterates its belief* that the long-awaited meeting within the territory of Angola between the President of Angola and the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola could contribute greatly to the reduction of tensions, to the process of national reconciliation and to the achievement of the goals of the peace process as a whole;

17. *Expresses its appreciation* to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the personnel of the Observer Mission for assisting the parties in Angola in implementing the peace process:

18. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 29 September 1997 (3820th meeting): resolution 1130 (1997)

At the 3820th meeting of the Security Council, held on 29 September 1997 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (United States), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting, the Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General dated 24 September 1997 on MONUA submitted pursuant to paragraph 7 of Security Council resolution 1127 (1997), in which the Council had requested him to report on whether UNITA had taken concrete and irreversible steps to comply with all its obligations set out in paragraphs 2 and 3 of the resolution before the coming into force of the measures specified in paragraph 4 of the resolution.¹¹⁷ The Secretary-General observed that the military situation in Angola had remained relatively calm and stable and the leader of UNITA had assured his Special Representative that UNITA was determined to take further steps to comply with the provisions of the resolution. However, the demilitarization of UNITA forces was not yet complete. MONUA and the observer States considered that the figure claimed by UNITA to be the total of its residual troops remained unconvincing, and that the quality and quantity of weapons and ammunitions surrendered to MONUA by these residual troops were insignificant. At the same time, it must be recognized that some advances had been made towards the

¹¹⁷ S/1997/741.

establishment of a non-partisan FM broadcast facility to replace Radio Vorgan, which had recently made tangible efforts to reduce the level of hostile propaganda. With regard to the normalization of State administration, while a significant number of localities had been handed over, no progress had been registered in the extension of government authority to the five strategically important areas and the overall slow pace of the process continued to raise doubts about the intentions of UNITA. In the circumstances, he was not yet in a position to advise the Security Council that UNITA had taken the necessary steps to comply with all the obligations set out in paragraphs 2 and 3 of its resolution 1127 (1997).

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations¹¹⁸ and to a revision to be made to the text of the draft resolution. The draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form, was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1130 (1997), which reads:

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991 and all subsequent resolutions, in particular resolution 1127 (1997) of 28 August 1997,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General of 24 September 1997, and subsequent information on steps taken by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola,

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

1. *Stresses* the need for the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to comply fully with all the obligations set out in resolution 1127 (1997);

2. Decides that the coming into force of the measures specified in paragraph 4 of resolution 1127 (1997) shall be postponed until 0001 Eastern Standard Time on 30 October 1997;

3. Affirms its readiness to review the imposition of the measures referred to in paragraph 2 above and to consider the imposition of additional measures in accordance with paragraphs 8 and 9 of resolution 1127 (1997);

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

Decision of 29 October 1997 (3827th meeting): resolution 1135 (1997)

At the 3827th meeting of the Security Council, held on 29 October 1997 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Chile), with the consent of the Council, invited the representatives of Angola and Brazil, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting, the Council had before them the report of the Secretary-General dated 17 October 1997 on MONUA, submitted pursuant to paragraph 3 of Security Council resolution 1118 (1997), and to paragraph 8 of Security Council resolution 1127 (1997) in which the Council had requested him to report on the compliance of UNITA with the obligations set out in paragraphs 2 and 3 of that resolution, as well as paragraph 16 requesting him to report on the drawdown of the military personnel of MONUA.¹¹⁹ The Secretary-General observed that since his last report there had been no significant progress in the peace process in Angola. He remained concerned by the very slow pace of the demilitarization of UNITA and the slowdown of the extension of State administration into the areas controlled by UNITA. Unless additional concrete steps were taken to accelerate the implementation of the remaining tasks, including the transformation of Radio Vorgan into a non-partisan broadcasting facility, it would be difficult to say that UNITA had taken all steps necessary to comply with the provisions of Council resolution 1127 (1997). He urged the Government and UNITA to take a number of specific steps that could enhance mutual trust and confidence, including a meeting of the President and the leader of UNITA inside Angola. He also urged the Government to notify MONUA, in accordance with established procedures, of any movements of its troops. In the meantime, reports of the presence of Angolan armed elements in the Republic of the Congo were a source of serious concern. In the circumstances he believed it would be advisable to postpone slightly the withdrawal of United Nations military formed units from Angola and he recommended that the mandate of MONUA be extended for three months, until 31 January 1998.

¹¹⁸ S/1997/750.

¹¹⁹ S/1997/807.

At the same meeting, the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.¹²⁰

The representative of Angola stated that UNITA had yet to fulfil the handover to the Government of all localities under its control, the demilitarization of its remaining troops and the cessation of its hostile anti-Government propaganda. The leadership of UNITA had completely disregarded the urging of the Council and violated its resolutions 1127 (1997) and 1130 (1997). Instead, UNITA, had resorted to manoeuvres aimed at impressing the members of the Council and the international community, with a view to avoiding the entry into force of sanctions as set out in operative paragraph 4 of resolution 1127 (1997). When a new deadline for UNITA to fulfil its obligations had come to an end, what we could conclude was that UNITA had not taken the necessary steps to comply with all the obligations set out in resolution 1127 (1997). Therefore, they could not expect less than immediate application of the measures set forth in paragraph 4 of resolution 1127 (1997), for the good of the people of Angola and to ensure the Council's moral authority.¹²¹

The representative of Brazil stated that while they understood that sanctions needed to be regarded as an instrument of last resort, in the case of Angola, they were convinced that the Security Council was on the correct path in adopting a draft resolution that triggered sanctions, specifically targeted against UNITA.¹²²

The representative of the Russian Federation stated that the UNITA leadership had disregarded the requirements of resolutions 1127 (1997) and 1130 (1997) and had not used the two goodwill pauses offered it by the international community. As a result, at midnight that day the sanctions against UNITA provided for in resolution 1127 (1997) would enter into effect. His delegation hoped that UNITA leadership would draw the correct conclusions and would immediately and fully comply with its commitments, thereby sparing the Council the task of further increasing the sanctions. Given the critical situation, the three-month extension of the mandate of MONUA

and the postponement of the withdrawal of United Nations military formed units was of great significance. On that basis, they would vote for the draft resolution.¹²³

The representative of the United States stated that although the United States had actively pressed the leader of UNITA to meet their obligations under the Lusaka Protocol, but UNITA had not complied and had even taken some backward steps, such as impeding the work of the administrators in areas recently transferred to Government control. They therefore supported the automatic entry into force of the sanctions specified in resolution 1127 (1997). They would vigorously enforce those new measures as well as those measures imposed by resolution 864 (1993) and called on all Member States to do the same. He expressed hope that UNITA would see the imposition of measures as a sign of the international community's determination that UNITA move rapidly to complete the remaining tasks in the peace process. If it did so, the United States stood ready to reconsider the need for sanctions. However, there was a message in the draft resolution for the Government of Angola as well. The draft resolution called on the Government to demonstrate restraint as it implemented the final steps in the peace process. They believed that the peace process could be served by a meeting between the President of Angola and the leader of UNITA within the territory of Angola. He underlined that the United States and other members of Council were gravely concerned by the the Government of Angola's military intervention in the Republic of the Congo, which resulted in the overthrow of a democratically-elected President. That intervention was a violation of the Charters of the United Nations and the OAU. They understood the legitimate security concerns of Angola in Cabinda and its frustration over assistance provided by the Republic of the Congo to UNITA in contravention of existing United Nations sanctions. But military intervention was not an acceptable response. They condemned that intervention and demanded that the Government of Angola immediately withdraw its forces. The Foreign Minister of Angola had made a public commitment to do so by 15 November and they expected that to be honoured, as well as that mercenaries and other

¹²⁰ S/1997/823.

¹²¹ S/PV.3827, pp. 2-3.

¹²² Ibid., pp. 3-4.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 4.

armed groups, including UNITA, also withdraw immediately.¹²⁴

During the course of the debate, several other speakers spoke, regretting that UNITA had not made significant progress in the remaining key tasks of the peace process, noting that it had been given two grace periods to move decisively towards filling its obligations and had not done so thus necessitating the imposition of sanctions. They also stated their support for the recommendations of the Secretary-General on extending the mandate of MONUA and postponing the withdrawal of United Nations military formed units. Most speakers noted that the sanctions were targeted against UNITA to persuade them to fulfil all of its obligations. Several speakers noted that they would consider additional measures if needed and others reaffirmed the importance of holding a meeting between the President of Angola and the leader of UNITA on Angolan territory. Several speakers also stated their grave concern regarding the presence of Angolan armed elements in the Republic of the Congo.125

At the same meeting the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1135 (1997), which reads:

The Security Council,

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

Expressing its firm commitment to preserve the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola,

Stressing the urgent need for the Government of Angola and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to complete without further delay the implementation of their obligations under the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 17 October 1997,

Expressing its deep concern at the lack of significant progress in the peace process in Angola since the report of the Secretary-General of 24 September 1997,

- ¹²⁵ Ibid., pp. 4-5 (United Kingdom); pp. 5-6 (Egypt); p. 6 (Republic of Korea); pp. 6-7 (Sweden); pp. 7-8 (Japan);
 p. 8 (Portugal); pp. 8-9 (Costa Rica); pp. 9-10 (France);
 p. 10 (Kenya); p. 10 (Poland); pp. 10-11(Guinea-Bissau);
 - p. 11 (China); and pp. 12-13 (Chile).

Strongly deploring the failure by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to comply fully with its obligations under the "Acordos de Paz" and the Lusaka Protocol and with relevant Security Council resolutions, in particular resolution 1127 (1997) of 28 August 1997,

Recognizing the important role of the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola at this critical stage of the peace process,

A

1. Decides to extend the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola until 30 January 1998, and requests the Secretary-General to submit a report and recommendations no later than 13 January 1998 on the United Nations presence in Angola after 30 January 1998;

2. Endorses the recommendation of the Secretary-General in his report of 17 October 1997 to postpone the withdrawal of formed military units of the United Nations until the end of November 1997 according to the plan outlined in paragraph 15 of the report, and requests the Secretary-General to report no later than 8 December 1997 on the schedule for the resumed withdrawal of military personnel, taking into account the situation on the ground;

В

3. *Demands* that the Government of Angola and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola complete fully and without further delay the remaining aspects of the peace process and refrain from any action which might lead to renewed hostilities;

4. Demands also that the Government of Angola and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola cooperate fully with the Observer Mission, including by providing full access for its verification activities, and reiterates its call on the Government of Angola to notify the Mission in a timely manner of its troop movements, in accordance with the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol and established procedures;

Determining that the present situation constitutes a threat to international peace and security in the region,

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

5. *Demands* that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola comply immediately and without any conditions with the obligations set out in resolution 1127 (1997), including full cooperation in the normalization of State administration throughout Angola, including in Andulo and Bailundo;

6. Notes that the measures specified in paragraph 4 of resolution 1127 (1997) come into force on 0001 Eastern Standard Time on 30 October 1997 in accordance with paragraph 2 of resolution 1130 (1997) of 29 September 1997, and reaffirms its readiness to review those measures or to

¹²⁴ Ibid., pp. 11-12.

consider the imposition of additional measures in accordance with paragraphs 8 and 9 of resolution 1127 (1997);

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General, in lieu of the reports referred to in paragraph 8 of resolution 1127 (1997), to report by 8 December 1997, and every ninety days thereafter, on the compliance of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola with all the obligations set out in paragraph 5 above;

8. *Requests* Member States to provide to the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993) information on the measures they have adopted to implement the measures specified in paragraph 4 of resolution 1127 (1997) no later than 1 December 1997;

9. *Requests* the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993) to report to the Council by 15 December 1997 regarding the actions taken by Member States to implement the measures specified in paragraph 4 of resolution 1127 (1997);

С

10. *Reiterates its belief* that a meeting in Angola between the President of the Republic of Angola and the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola could facilitate the process of peace and national reconciliation;

11. Urges the international community to provide assistance to facilitate the demobilization and social reintegration of ex-combatants, demining, the resettlement of displaced persons and the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the Angolan economy in order to consolidate the gains in the peace process;

12. *Expresses its appreciation* to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the personnel of the Observer Mission for assisting the parties in Angola in implementing the peace process;

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

Speaking after the vote, the President expressed the Security Council's grave concern regarding the presence of Angolan armed elements in the Republic of the Congo, as reported by the Secretariat. It reaffirmed the statement of its President of 16 October 1997.¹²⁶ It condemned all external interference in the Republic of the Congo, called on all foreign forces, including mercenaries, to withdraw immediately from that country, and stressed the importance of a political settlement, national reconciliation and transitional arrangements leading to the holding of democratic and free and fair elections with the participation of all parties as soon as possible.

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Decision of 27 January 1998 (3850th meeting): resolution 1149 (1998)

At the 3850th meeting of the Security Council, held on 27 January 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (France), with the consent of the Council, invited the representatives of Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

The Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General on MONUA dated 12 January 1998, submitted pursuant to paragraph 1 of Security Council resolution 1135 (1997), in which the Council had requested him to present recommendations on the United Nations presence in Angola after 30 January 1998.127 The Secretary-General observed that while significant progress had no doubt been achieved towards that goal, and the Government and UNITA continued to express their willingness to fulfil their remaining obligations, persistent delays in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol continued to be a source of serious concern. There was a great need for both parties, but in particular UNITA, to display a greater sense of urgency in carrying out the Lusaka agreements and the relevant Security Council resolutions. While the presence of the United Nations in Angola was much needed to implement the remaining provisions of the Lusaka Protocol and to enhance confidence, he believed that the extension of the MONUA mandate should take into account the real commitment of both parties to respect their obligations and to expedite the peace process. In that connection, he welcomed the agreement reached on 9 January 1998 on the new implementation timetable, which envisaged that major progress should be achieved by the end of February 1998 when the UNITA leadership had promised to install itself in Luanda and transfer its two strongholds to the control of State administration. Considering those developments, he recommended that the mandate of MONUA be extended for three months, until 30 April 1998. He also welcomed the ongoing contacts between the two parties concerning the meeting inside Angola of the President of Angola and the leader of UNITA.

¹²⁶ S/PRST/1997/47.

¹²⁷ S/1998/17.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.¹²⁸

The President further drew the attention of the Council to a letter dated 21 January 1998 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council,¹²⁹ transmitting the final timetable for the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, which had been approved by the Joint Commission on 9 January 1998.

The representative of Angola stated that they welcomed the recent positive developments in the peace process, particularly the advance in the normalization of State administration. He stressed that all Security Council resolutions and other decisions must continue to be enforced; restrictive and mandatory measures, particularly those contained in the Council's resolutions 864 (1993), 1127 (1997) and 1135 (1997), needed to be observed by all Member States and strictly monitored by the Committee on sanctions.¹³⁰

The representative of China stated that the peace process in Angola was at a crucial juncture and still needed the firm support of the United Nations, including the Security Council, and considering that the parties concerned in Angola were also requesting the United Nations to continue to play a positive role in the peace process, the Chinese delegation was in favour of extending the mandate of MONUA and would vote in favour of the draft resolution. However, he noted that when the Council adopted resolution 1118 (1997), the Chinese delegation expressed reservations with regard to certain functions of MONUA and that position remained unchanged.¹³¹

The representative of the Gambia stated that the continued presence of MONUA in Angola should not be limited by time bounds, but should rather be measured by the impact made in the implementation of the provisions of the Lusaka peace process. That presence could ensure concentration on the political, economic and social issues and challenges that desperately needed attention in Angola. Not only was that presence essential for the accomplishment of the mandated tasks of MONUA, but it was also necessary for the creation of conditions conducive to the holding of future elections.¹³²

Several other speakers spoke and welcomed the agreement by both parties on a timetable for the completion of the Lusaka Protocol by the end of February; welcomed the progress made in completing the outstanding provisions; supported the recommendations made by the Secretary-General, included for the extension of the mandate of MONUA; and urged the international community to support the peace process. Several speakers stated that despite the progress made, the measures imposed by the Council on UNITA should be maintained in order to ensure the full compliance of UNITA with the commitments it made under the Lusaka Protocol. Several speakers expressed concern over reports that UNITA continued to regroup its military elements in some areas.¹³³

The representative of the United States urged the Government of Angola and UNITA to comply strictly with the timetable for the completion of the remaining tasks of the Lusaka Protocol and, in the spirit of national reconciliation, to exercise restraint and protect the rights of all Angolan citizens as the implementation of the peace process proceeded. As they had stated at the time of the adoption of resolution 1135 (1997), if UNITA moved rapidly to complete the remaining tasks in the peace process, the United States stood ready to reconsider the need for sanctions. He also urged the Government of Angola to withdraw its forces from the Republic of the Congo expeditiously.¹³⁴

At the same meeting the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1149 (1998), which reads:

The Security Council,

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

 $^{^{128}}$ S/1998/62.

¹²⁹ S/1998/56.

¹³⁰ S/PV.3850, pp. 2-3.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 10.

¹³² Ibid., pp. 15-16.

¹³³ Ibid., pp. 4-5 (Mozambique); pp. 5-6 (United Kingdom on behalf of the European Union); pp. 6-7 (Zimbabwe); p. 7 (Namibia); pp. 7-8 (Cape Verde); pp. 8-9 (Costa Rica); pp. 9-10 (Brazil); pp. 10-11 (Sweden); p. 11 (Japan); pp. 11-12 (Russian Federation); pp. 12-13 (Slovenia); pp. 13-14 (Portugal); pp. 14-15 (Kenya); p. 16 (Bahrain); pp. 16-17 (Gabon); and p. 18 (France).

¹³⁴ Ibid., pp. 17-18.

Expressing its firm commitment to preserve the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola,

Having considered with appreciation the report of the Secretary-General of 12 January 1998,

Welcoming the timetable approved by the Joint Commission on 9 January 1998, according to which the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola agreed to complete the remaining tasks of the Lusaka Protocol by the end of February 1998,

Recognizing the important role of the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola at this critical stage of the peace process,

1. Stresses the urgent need for the Government of Angola and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to complete, in accordance with the timetable approved by the Joint Commission on 9 January 1998, the implementation of their obligations under the Lusaka Protocol as well as to complete the implementation of their obligations under the "Acordos de Paz" and relevant Security Council resolutions;

2. *Decides* to extend the mandate of United Nations Observer Mission in Angola, including the military task force as outlined in paragraphs 35 and 36 of the report of the Secretary-General of 12 January 1998, until 30 April 1998;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit no later than 13 March 1998 a comprehensive report, which would also incorporate the report requested in paragraph 7 of resolution 1135 (1997) of 29 October 1997, on the situation in Angola, especially in regard to the implementation of the timetable approved by the Joint Commission, with recommendations regarding the possible reconfiguration before 30 April 1998 of the components of the Mission, referred to in section VII of the report of the Secretary-General of 12 January 1998, as well as preliminary recommendations regarding the United Nations presence in Angola after 30 April 1998;

4. *Stresses* the importance of strengthening the rule of law, including the full protection of all Angolan citizens throughout the national territory;

5. *Requests* the Government of Angola, in cooperation with the Mission, to take appropriate steps, including through its integrated national police and armed forces, to ensure an environment of confidence and safety in which the United Nations and humanitarian personnel may carry out their activities;

6. *Calls upon* the Government of Angola and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to refrain from any action which might undermine the process of normalization of State administration or lead to renewed tensions;

7. Demands that the Government of Angola and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de

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Angola cooperate fully with the Mission, including by providing full access for its verification activities, and reiterates its call upon the Government of Angola to notify the Mission in a timely manner of its troop movements, in accordance with the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol and established procedures;

8. *Reaffirms its readiness* to review the measures specified in paragraph 4 of resolution 1127 (1997) of 28 August 1997 or to consider the imposition of additional measures in accordance with paragraphs 8 and 9 of resolution 1127 (1997) and on the basis of the report referred to in paragraph 3 above;

9. *Reiterates its belief* that a meeting between the President of the Republic of Angola and the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola could facilitate the process of peace and national reconciliation;

10. Urges the international community to provide assistance to facilitate the demobilization and social reintegration of ex-combatants, demining, the resettlement of displaced persons and the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the Angolan economy in order to consolidate the gains in the peace process;

11. *Endorses* the recommendation of the Secretary-General that his Special Representative continue to chair the Joint Commission, as established under the Lusaka Protocol, which has proved to be a vital mechanism for the advancement of the peace process;

12. *Expresses its appreciation* to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the personnel of the Mission for assisting the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to implement the peace process;

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

Decision of 20 March 1998 (3863rd meeting): resolution 1157 (1998)

At the 3863rd meeting of the Security Council, held on 20 March 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Gambia), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

The Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General on MONUA dated 13 March 1998 submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 1149 (1998), requesting him to submit a comprehensive report, which would also incorporate the update requested in paragraph 7 of resolution 1135 (1997) of 29 October 1997, on the implementation of the timetable approved by the Joint Commission on 9 January 1998.¹³⁵ In his report, the Secretary-General observed that while the failure to comply with the 9 January 1998 timetable for the implementation of the remaining tasks of the Lusaka Protocol had resulted in an impasse, largely due to the delaying tactics of UNITA, it was hoped that the adoption of the adjusted timetable would reinvigorate the peace process and urged both parties to abide strictly by the new understanding. He strongly deplored the attacks by UNITA on United Nations personnel in several areas in Angola and underlined that UNITA needed to unconditionally guarantee the safety and security of all international staff that had been assisting the Angolan people in their pursuit of a lasting peace. He reiterated that many of the remaining tasks could be completed swiftly, including the full normalization of State administration throughout Angola and the final resolution of all issues related to the leader of Angola's security detachment. He also underlined that a meeting between the President of Angola and the leader of UNITA might accelerate the peace process. Equally, UNITA leadership needed to move to Luanda, as agreed in the Lusaka Protocol. Regarding MONUA, it would be his intention, subject to security conditions on the ground and to the concurrence of the Security Council, to proceed with its reconfiguration as outlined in the report.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations,¹³⁶ which was voted upon and adopted unanimously as resolution 1157 (1998), which reads:

The Security Council,

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

Expressing its firm commitment to preserve the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 13 March 1998,

Deploring the failure by the União para a Independência Total de Angola to complete the implementation of the remaining tasks of the Lusaka Protocol according to the timetable approved by the Joint Commission on 9 January 1998,

Taking note of the declaration by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola on the complete demilitarization of its forces as of 6 March 1998 and of the declaration by the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation on 11 March 1998 legalizing the status of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola as a political party,

1. Stresses the urgent need for the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to complete immediately and without conditions the implementation of all remaining obligations under the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol, and relevant Security Council resolutions, and demands that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola stop its pattern of delays and linkages;

2. Calls upon the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to complete immediately their obligations in the areas of demobilization of all remaining military elements of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, normalization of State administration throughout the national territory, transformation of Radio Vorgan into a non-partisan broadcasting facility, as well as disarmament of the civilian population;

3. Endorses the planned visit by the Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993 to Angola and other interested countries to discuss the full and effective implementation of the measures specified in paragraph 4 of resolution 1127 (1997) of 28 August 1997 with a view to urging compliance by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola with its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions;

4. *Calls upon* all Member States to implement fully and without delay the measures specified in paragraph 4 of resolution 1127 (1997), reiterates its request that Member States having information on flights and other actions prohibited in paragraph 4 of resolution 1127 (1997) provide this information to the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993), and requests the Secretary-General to report on those violations by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola and certain Member States in the report referred to in paragraph 8 below;

5. *Reaffirms its readiness* to review the measures specified in paragraph 4 of resolution 1127 (1997) or to consider the imposition of additional measures in accordance with paragraphs 8 and 9 of resolution 1127 (1997);

6. Endorses the recommendation of the Secretary-General to resume the gradual downsizing of the military component of the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola before 30 April 1998, with the understanding that the withdrawal of all formed military units, with the exception of one infantry company, the helicopter unit and the signals and medical support units, will be completed as soon as conditions on the ground permit, but no later than 1 July 1998;

7. *Decides* to increase gradually and as needed the number of civilian police observers, giving special emphasis to

¹³⁵ S/1998/236.

¹³⁶ S/1998/236.

their language qualifications, by up to eighty-three, to assist the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to resolve disputes during the normalization of State administration, identify and investigate allegations of abuse, and facilitate the training of the Angolan National Police according to internationally accepted standards, and requests the Secretary-General to keep the modus operandi of the civilian police component under review and to report by 17 April 1998 on whether its tasks can be performed on the basis of a more limited increase in the number of personnel or with a reconfiguration of existing personnel;

8. Takes note of the recommendations contained in section IX of the report of the Secretary-General of 13 March 1998, and requests the Secretary-General to report by 17 April 1998 on the status of the implementation of the peace process, with final recommendations regarding the modalities of the United Nations presence in Angola after 30 April 1998, including the exit strategy and expected termination date of the Mission and the follow-on activities by the United Nations, after the termination of the Mission, to consolidate the peace process and assist in the social and economic recovery of Angola;

9. Strongly condemns the attacks by members of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola on Mission personnel and on Angolan national authorities, and demands that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola immediately stop such attacks, cooperate fully with the Mission and guarantee unconditionally the safety and freedom of movement of Mission and other international personnel;

10. *Calls upon* the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation to continue to give priority to peaceful actions that contribute to the successful conclusion of the peace process and to refrain from any action, including the excessive use of force, which might undermine the process of normalization of State administration or lead to renewed hostilities;

11. Stresses the importance of strengthening the rule of law, including the full protection of all Angolan citizens throughout the national territory;

12. Urges the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to cooperate fully with the National Institute for the Removal of Unexploded Ordnance and provide information on minefields, and urges the international community to continue to provide assistance to the demining programme;

13. *Reiterates its belief* that a meeting between the President of the Republic of Angola and the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola could accelerate the process of peace and national reconciliation, and urges the leadership of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to move to Luanda, as agreed upon in the Lusaka Protocol;

14. *Expresses its appreciation* to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the personnel of the Mission for

assisting the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to implement the peace process;

15. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 29 April 1998 (3876th meeting): resolution 1164 (1998)

At the 3876th meeting of the Security Council, held on 29 April 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Japan), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

The Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General on MONUA dated 16 April 1998 submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 1157 (1998), reporting on the status of the implementation of the peace process, with recommendations regarding the modalities of the United Nations presence in Angola after 30 April 1998.137 In his report, the Secretary-General observed that although the remaining tasks under the Lusaka Protocol were not fully completed by the 31 March 1998 deadline, most of the tasks contained had been carried out, including the promulgation into law of the special status of the leader of UNITA, the appointment of the governors and vice-governors nominated by UNITA, the return of some UNITA senior officials to Luanda, and the termination of Radio Vorgan broadcasts. At the same time, he was concerned at the slow pace of the implementation of the extension of State administration. He regretted that that had not ameliorated the security situation in the country, with the increase in armed attacks and acts of banditry a particular concern. It was also deplorable that the security of MONUA personnel and property was seriously undermined in several areas of Angola and that UNITA continued to impose restrictions on United Nations activities in some regions. He reiterated his recommendations that MONUA continue, with the necessary adjustments, to carry out its activities on the basis of the mandate and structure outlined in previous reports.¹³⁸ Apart from the military component the other substantive components of MONUA should continue their operations until the end of 1998, albeit at a

¹³⁷ S/1998/333.

¹³⁸ S/1998/17 and S/1998/236.

progressively reduced level after September/October 1998. In the meantime, he recommended that the mandate of MONUA be extended for two months, until 30 June 1998.

The Vice-Minister of Territorial Administration of Angola stated that good progress had been made, but there was more to be done, particularly concerning the extension of State administration into all areas of Angola. He was pleased to note that the draft resolution before the Council called on all members of the international community, to implement fully the measures specified in paragraph 4 of resolution 1127 (1997). He reiterated that it remained critical to keep the pressure on UNITA to meet fully and quickly its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol. He reiterated his country's full support for maintaining peace, promoting national reconciliation and rebuilding the country. Furthermore, he wanted to stress that his Government expected to be consulted by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, in order to ensure the full implementation of paragraphs 8 to 12 of the draft resolution, which concerned specifically the structure and tasks to be assigned to MONUA after 30 June 1998.139

The representative of Kenya stated that on the question of the existing sanctions against UNITA, that during his visit to Angola and States of the region, he had found those measures to be working effectively. There was political will on the part of the Member States to ensure compliance with the provisions of the Security Council resolutions. Nevertheless, there were some gaps that needed to be filled by Member States in attempting to fully implement those measures. He maintained that it would be in the interest of the Angolan peace process if those measures were made fully effective.¹⁴⁰

The representative of the United States stated that as the tasks of the Lusaka Protocol were complete, they would reconsider the need for sanctions against UNITA. However, the United States was increasingly concerned that the Government of Angola and UNITA were meeting the letter, but not the spirit, of the Lusaka Protocol.¹⁴¹ In the course of the debate, several speakers spoke and stated that while they were encouraged by the recent progress, they also were concerned with the slow pace of the extension of State administration and at the setbacks in the security situation. They expressed support for the Secretary-General's recommendations to extend the mandate of MONUA and make changes in its structure. Many speakers called for UNITA to cease all attempts to frustrate the work of MONUA and to allow the extension of central administration. Several speakers encouraged the long-delayed meeting between the President of Angola and the leader of UNITA to be held as soon as possible.¹⁴²

At the same meeting the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1164 (1998), which reads:

The Security Council,

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

Expressing its firm commitment to preserve the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 16 April 1998,

Welcoming the recent steps by the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola toward completing the remaining tasks of the Lusaka Protocol including promulgation of the law granting special status to the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, the appointment of the remaining governors and vice-governors nominated by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, agreement on a list of ambassadors nominated by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, cessation of broadcasts by Radio Vorgan and the arrival in Luanda of senior officials of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to prepare for the establishment of the headquarters of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola in the capital,

1. *Calls upon* the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to complete all remaining obligations under the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions, including the

¹³⁹ S/PV.3876, pp. 2-3.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 6-7.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 12-13.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 3 (United Kingdom on behalf of the European Union); p. 4 (Brazil); pp. 4-5 (Portugal); pp. 5-6 (Russian Federation); p. 7 (France); pp. 7-8 (Sweden); pp. 8-9 (Slovenia); pp. 9-10 (Bahrain); p. 10 (China); pp. 10-11 (Gabon); pp. 11-12 (Costa Rica); p. 13 (Gambia); and pp. 13-14 (Japan).

normalization of State administration throughout the national territory as well as disarmament of the civilian population;

2. Strongly reiterates its demand that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola stop its pattern of delays and linkages and cooperate immediately and without conditions in completing the normalization of State administration throughout the national territory, including in particular in Andulo and Bailundo;

3. Takes note of steps taken by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola regarding some of the obligations set out in paragraphs 2 and 3 of resolution 1127 (1997) of 28 August 1997, and reaffirms its readiness to review the measures specified in paragraph 4 of resolution 1127 (1997) or to consider the imposition of additional measures in accordance with paragraphs 8 and 9 of resolution 1127 (1997);

4. Strongly condemns the attacks by members of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola on the personnel of the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola, international personnel and Angolan national authorities, including the police, demands that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola immediately stop such attacks, and urges the Mission to investigate promptly the recent attack in N'gove;

5. *Calls upon* the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to guarantee unconditionally the safety, security and freedom of movement of all United Nations and international personnel;

6. Also calls upon the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation to refrain from any action, including the excessive use of force, which might undermine the process of normalization of State administration or lead to renewed hostilities, and encourages the Government to continue to give priority to peaceful actions that contribute to the successful conclusion of the peace process;

7. Reiterates its belief that a meeting in Angola between the President of the Republic of Angola and the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola could facilitate the successful conclusion of the peace process and accelerate the process of national reconciliation;

8. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the Mission until 30 June 1998;

9. *Reaffirms* paragraph 6 of resolution 1157 (1998) of 20 March 1998, and endorses the recommendation of the Secretary-General to complete the withdrawal of all military personnel, with the exception of one infantry company, the helicopter unit, the signals and medical support units and ninety military observers, no later than 1 July 1998, and in accordance with paragraph 38 of his report of 16 April 1998;

10. *Endorses* the recommendation of the Secretary-General in his report referred to in paragraph 9 above to deploy eighty-three additional civilian police observers, as authorized

by resolution 1157 (1998), following consultations with the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation;

11 Takes note with appreciation of the recommendations of the Secretary-General contained in section IX of his report regarding the beginning of the drawdown of the military observers and civilian personnel of the Mission and the termination of the Mission, and expresses its intention to take a final decision by 30 June 1998 on the mandate, size and organizational structure of the Mission or a follow-on United Nations presence after that date, based on progress in the peace process and in the light of the report referred to in paragraph 12 below;

12. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a report by 17 June 1998 on the status of the peace process, with further recommendations regarding the mandate, size and organizational structure of the Mission or a follow-on United Nations presence after 30 June 1998 and revised estimates of the cost of that United Nations presence;

13. Expresses its appreciation to the Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993) who visited Angola and other interested countries and reinforced the need for full and effective implementation of the measures specified in paragraph 4 of resolution 1127 (1997) in order to achieve compliance by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola with its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions;

14. *Calls upon* all Member States to implement fully and without delay the measures specified in paragraph 4 of resolution 1127 (1997), reiterates its request that Member States having information on flights and other actions prohibited in paragraph 4 of resolution 1127 (1997) provide this information to the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993), and requests the Secretary-General to report on those violations by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola and certain Member States in the report referred to in paragraph 12 above;

15. *Expresses its appreciation* to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the personnel of the Mission for assisting the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to implement the peace process;

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

Decision of 22 May 1998 (3884th meeting): statement by the President

At the 3884th meeting of the Security Council, held on 22 May 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Kenya), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting, the President made the following statement on behalf of the Council:¹⁴³

The Security Council strongly condemns the armed attack in Angola on 19 May 1998 against personnel from the United Nations and the Angolan National Police, in which one person was killed and three people were seriously injured. It demands that the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola guarantee unconditionally the safety and freedom of movement of all United Nations and other international personnel.

The Council strongly deplores the failure by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to complete the implementation of its remaining obligations under the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Council resolutions, especially its failure to cooperate in completing the normalization of State administration throughout the national territory, including in particular in Andulo and Bailundo. It also strongly condemns the confirmed attacks by members of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola on the personnel of the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola, international personnel and Angolan national authorities. The Council expresses its deep concern at the serious abuses committed by the Angolan National Police, particularly in areas recently transferred to State administration, as well as at the recent increase in hostile propaganda. The lack of progress in completing the remaining tasks of the peace process has led to a serious deterioration in the military and security situation in the country. The Council calls upon the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola in the strongest terms to refrain from any action which might lead to renewed hostilities or derail the peace process.

The Council endorses the plan for the completion of the remaining tasks of the Lusaka Protocol by 31 May 1998 that was submitted by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to the Joint Commission on 15 May 1998. The Council demands that the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola fulfil their obligations in accordance with this plan. In this context, the Council reaffirms its readiness to review the measures specified in paragraph 4 of resolution 1127 (1997) of 28 August 1997 and to consider the imposition of additional measures in accordance with paragraphs 8 and 9 of resolution 1127 (1997).

The Council expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, and the personnel of the Mission for their efforts to assist the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to implement their peace process obligations.

143 S/PRST/1998/14.

The Council will remain actively seized of this matter.

Decision of 12 June 1998 (3891st meeting): resolution 1173 (1998)

At the 3891st meeting of the Security Council, held on 12 June 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Portugal), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.¹⁴⁴

He further drew the attention of the Council to a letter dated 12 June 1998 from Portugal addressed to the President of the Security Council,¹⁴⁵ transmitting a press release issued on 2 June 1998 by MONUA, in which the troika of observer States to the Angolan Peace Process deplored continuing delays by UNITA in the conclusion of the extension of State administration.

The representative of Angola stated that his delegation had to once more inform the Council of their concern at the instability in Angola brought about by the destabilizing activities carried out by UNITA, which had significantly damaged the prospects for immediate peace. Those armed activities had to be stopped to prevent another armed confrontation in Angola, which could have catastrophic results. While State administration was already starting to have its effect in areas formerly controlled by UNITA, and the lives of rural population had been slowly returning to normal, all of that was being impeded by obstacles to the free circulation of people and goods and by increasing attacks on villages and towns by UNITA military forces, which did not augur well for the efforts aimed at the full implementation of the Lusaka Protocol.146

During the course of the debate several other speakers spoke, expressing concern at the deterioration in the situation and the increase in armed incidents, including against the United Nations Mission and urging UNITA to fulfil its remaining obligations by the deadline for the automatic imposition of sanctions.

¹⁴⁴ S/1998/504.

¹⁴⁵ S/1998/503.

¹⁴⁶ S/PV.3891, pp. 2-3.

Many speakers praised the constructive attitude of the Government of Angola, while some also urged them to exercise patience and restraint.¹⁴⁷

At the same meeting the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1173 (1998), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991 and all subsequent relevant resolutions, in particular resolution 1127 (1997) of 28 August 1997,

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

Expressing its grave concern at the critical situation in the peace process, which is the result of the failure by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to implement its obligations under the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol relevant Security Council resolutions and the plan for the completion by 31 May 1998 of the remaining tasks of the Lusaka Protocol, which was submitted by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to the Joint Commission on 15 May 1998,

Recalling the statement by its President of 22 May 1998,

Recognizing the steps taken by the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation to fulfil its obligations under the above-mentioned plan to cease the dissemination of hostile propaganda on State-controlled media and to reduce cases of abuse by the Angolan National Police,

Taking note of the statement of 2 June 1998 issued by the Mission regarding the continued existence of non-demobilized forces of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola,

Α

1. Condemns the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, and holds its leadership responsible, for its failure to implement fully its obligations contained in the Lusaka Protocol, relevant Security Council resolutions, in particular resolution 1127 (1997), and the plan submitted by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to the Joint Commission:

2. *Demands* that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola fully cooperate without conditions in the immediate extension of State administration

throughout the national territory, including in particular in Andulo, Bailundo, Mungo and Nharea, and stop any attempts to reverse this process;

3. *Reiterates its demand* that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola complete its demilitarization and stop any attempts to restore its military capabilities;

4. *Demands* that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola cooperate fully with the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola in the verification of its demilitarization;

5. Demands also that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola stop any attacks by its members on the personnel of the Mission, international personnel, the authorities of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation, including the police, and the civilian population;

6. Urges the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation to continue to refrain from any action, including the excessive use of force, which might undermine the process of normalization of State administration, encourages the Government to make use of the personnel of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, as appropriate and in accordance with the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol, in areas to which State administration is extended, and also encourages the Government to continue to give priority to peaceful actions that contribute to the successful conclusion of the peace process;

7. *Calls upon* the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to avoid taking any action which might lead to renewed hostilities or undermine the peace process;

8. *Stresses* the importance of strengthening the rule of law, including the full protection of all Angolan citizens throughout the national territory;

9. *Calls upon* the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to guarantee unconditionally the safety, security and freedom of movement of all United Nations and international personnel;

10. *Requests* the Secretary-General to redeploy Mission personnel immediately and, as appropriate, to support and facilitate the extension of State administration throughout the national territory, including in particular in Andulo, Bailundo, Mungo and Nharea, and calls upon the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to cooperate fully in this regard;

В

Recalling paragraph 9 of resolution 1127 (1997),

Determining that the current situation in Angola constitutes a threat to international peace and security in the region,

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

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 3 (United Kingdom on behalf of the European Union). Before the vote: p. 4 (Brazil); pp. 4-5 (Costa Rica); pp. 5-6 (Russian Federation); p. 6 (China); p. 6 (Sweden); pp. 6-7 (Gambia); p. 7 (Japan); pp. 7-8 (Bahrain); pp. 8-9 (Slovenia); p. 9 (France); pp. 9-10 (United States); p. 10 (Kenya); and pp. 10-11 (Portugal).

Decides that all States, except Angola, in which 11. there are funds and financial resources, including any funds derived or generated from property of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola as an organization or of senior officials of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola or adult members of their immediate families designated pursuant to paragraph 11 of resolution 1127 (1997), shall require all persons and entities within their own territories holding such funds and financial resources to freeze them and ensure that they are not made available directly or indirectly to or for the benefit of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola as an organization or of senior officials of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola or adult members of their immediate families designated pursuant to paragraph 11 of resolution 1127 (1997);

12. *Decides also* that all States shall take the necessary measures:

(a) To prevent all official contacts with the leadership of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola in areas of Angola to which State administration has not been extended, except for those by representatives of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation, of the United Nations and of the Observer States to the Lusaka Protocol;

(b) To prohibit the direct or indirect import from Angola to their territory of all diamonds that are not controlled through the Certificate-of-Origin regime of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation;

(c) To prohibit, upon notification by the Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993 of all Member States of guidelines approved by that Committee, the sale or supply to persons or entities in areas of Angola to which State administration has not been extended, by their nationals or from their territory, or using their flag vessels or aircraft, of equipment used in mining or mining services;

(d) To prohibit, upon notification by the Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993 of all Member States of guidelines approved by that Committee, the sale or supply to persons or entities in areas of Angola to which State administration has not been extended, by their nationals or from their territory, or using their flag vessels or aircraft, of motorized vehicles or watercraft or spare parts for such vehicles, or ground or waterborne transportation services;

13. Decides further that the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993) may authorize, on a case-bycase basis, upon a no-objection procedure, exemptions to the measures specified in paragraphs 11 and 12 above for verified medical and humanitarian purposes;

14. Decides that the measures specified in paragraphs 11 and 12 above shall come into force without further notice at 0001 hours Eastern Daylight Time on 25 June 1998, unless the Security Council decides, on the basis of a report by the Secretary-General, that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola has fully complied by 23 June 1998 with all its obligations under paragraph 2 above;

15. *Expresses its readiness* to review the measures specified in paragraphs 11 and 12 above and in paragraph 4 of resolution 1127 (1997) and terminate them, if the Secretary-General reports at any time that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola has fully complied with all its relevant obligations;

16. Expresses its readiness also to consider the imposition of further additional measures if the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola does not fully comply with its obligations under the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions;

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

18. Also calls upon all States to implement strictly the measures imposed in paragraphs 19 to 21 of resolution 864 (1993) and paragraph 4 of resolution 1127 (1997), as well as to comply with paragraph 6 of resolution 1127 (1997);

С

19. *Requests* the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation to designate, and to notify to the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993), the areas of Angola to which State administration has not been extended;

20. *Requests* the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993):

(a) To draw up guidelines expeditiously for the implementation of paragraphs 11 and 12 above and to consider ways and means for further strengthening the effectiveness of the measures adopted by the Council in its previous resolutions;

(b) To report to the Council by 31 July 1998 regarding the actions taken by States to implement the measures specified in paragraphs 11 and 12 above;

21. *Requests* Member States to provide to the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993), no later than 15 July 1998, information on the measures they have adopted to implement the provisions of paragraphs 11 and 12 above;

22. Also requests Member States having information about any violations of the provisions of the present resolution to provide this information to the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993) for distribution to Member States;

23. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 24 June 1998 (3894th meeting): resolution 1176 (1998)

By a letter dated 24 June 1998 addressed to the President of the Security Council,148 the Secretary-General referred to paragraph 14 of Security Council resolution 1173 (1998), in which the Council had decided that additional measures against UNITA would come into force on 25 June 1998, unless UNITA fully cooperated, by 23 June, in the immediate extension of State administration throughout Angola. He stated that while the leader of UNITA had not set specific dates for the implementation of the extension of State administration in the four strategic localities, the leader had expressed his willingness to cooperate in the normalization of those localities by 30 June 1998. As the President of Angola and the Joint Commission had agreed to that proposal, the Secretary-General recommended to the Security Council to postpone the date of the entry into force of the additional measures against UNITA to 30 June 1998.

At its 3894th meeting, held on 24 June 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Security Council included the letter in its agenda. After the agenda was adopted, the President (Portugal), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.¹⁴⁹ The draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1176 (1998), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991 and all subsequent relevant resolutions, in particular resolution 1173 (1998) of 12 June 1998,

Taking note of the letter dated 24 June 1998 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council,

Determining that the current situation in Angola constitutes a threat to international peace and security in the region,

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

1. *Demands* that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola comply fully and unconditionally with the obligations referred to in resolution 1173 (1998);

2. Decides that, notwithstanding paragraph 14 of resolution 1173 (1998), the measures specified in paragraphs 11 and 12 of resolution 1173 (1998) shall come into force without further notice at 0001 hours Eastern Daylight Time on 1 July 1998, unless the Security Council decides, on the basis of a report by the Secretary-General, that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola has fully complied with all its obligations under paragraph 2 of resolution 1173 (1998);

3. *Requests* the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993), notwithstanding paragraph 20 (b) of resolution 1173 (1998), to report to the Council by 7 August 1998 regarding the actions taken by States to implement the measures specified in paragraphs 11 and 12 of resolution 1173 (1998);

4. *Requests* Member States, notwithstanding paragraph 21 of resolution 1173 (1998), to provide to the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993), no later than 22 July 1998, information on the measures they have adopted to implement the provisions of paragraphs 11 and 12 of resolution 1173 (1998);

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

Decision of 29 June 1998 (3899th meeting): resolution 1180 (1998)

At the 3899th meeting of the Security Council, held on 29 June 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Portugal), with the consent of the Council, invited the representatives of Angola and Mali, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting the Deputy Secretary-General, the President of the Security Council, and the representatives of Angola and Mali made expressions of sympathy in connection with the deaths of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Angola and his colleagues in MONUA.¹⁵⁰

The Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General on MONUA dated 17 June submitted pursuant to paragraph 12 of Security Council resolution 1164 (1998).¹⁵¹ The Secretary-General observed that the situation in Angola had continued to

¹⁴⁸ S/1998/566.

¹⁴⁹ S/1998/569.

¹⁵⁰ S/PV.3899, pp. 2-3.
¹⁵¹ S/1998/524.

deteriorate quickly and had become critical. That deterioration was attributable, for the most part, to the failure of UNITA to fulfil its obligations and to implement the well-balanced plan which his Special Representative had offered to the parties on 15 May. Some of the statements reportedly made by the leader of UNITA could only increase the very serious concern of the international community. In a meeting the UNITA leader reportedly told his supporters that the impositions of additional sanctions would be considered as an attack again UNITA, to which it should be "ready to respond", and as a result he "would not be able" to hand over Bailundo and Andulo to the Government. At the same time, the President of Angola had stated that it was still possible to save the Angola peace process and that his Government would continue, until the end of June, to work with the international community to seek a peaceful solution. The Secretary-General recommended that if the demands contained in Security Council resolution 1173 (1998) were duly implemented, that the mandate of MONUA be extended for two months, and that the strength of MONUA be maintained at the present level. However, should it become clear that there was no political will to complete the peace process expeditiously, he intended to resume the withdrawal of United Nations troops in accordance with resolution 1164 (1998) and to stop the deployment to Angola of the additional police observers whose presence was intended to enhance confidence between the parties and to consolidate the deployment of MONUA throughout the country. It would also become necessary in such a situation to review the United Nations involvement in Angola.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.¹⁵² The draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1180 (1998), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991 and all subsequent relevant resolutions, in particular resolution 1173 (1998) of 12 June 1998 and resolution 1176 (1998) of 24 June 1998,

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

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 17 June 1998,

Expressing concern in the strongest terms at the critical situation in the peace process, which is the result of the failure by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to complete its obligations under the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol, and relevant Security Council resolutions, including in particular its obligation to cooperate fully and without conditions in the immediate extension of State administration throughout the national territory,

Expressing its grave concern at the deterioration of the security situation in Angola as a result of the reoccupation by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola of localities where State administration was recently established, attacks by armed elements of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, new minelaying activity, and banditry,

Noting with deep concern cases of serious abuse by some elements of the Angolan National Police, and stressing the importance of strengthening the rule of law, including the full protection of all Angolan citizens throughout the national territory,

Recognizing the important role of the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola at this critical stage of the peace process,

1. Welcomes the recommendations of the Secretary-General in paragraph 44 of his report of 17 June 1998, and decides to extend the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola until 15 August 1998;

2. Decides to resume the withdrawal of the military component of the Mission in accordance with paragraph 9 of resolution 1164 (1998) of 29 April 1998 as soon as conditions permit;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to reconsider the deployment of the additional civilian police observers authorized under paragraph 10 of resolution 1164 (1998), taking into account conditions on the ground and progress in the peace process;

4. Also requests the Secretary-General to submit a report, as necessary, but no later than 7 August 1998, with recommendations regarding the involvement of the United Nations in Angola, taking into account the safety and freedom of movement of Mission personnel and the status of the peace process;

5. *Reiterates its demand* that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola immediately stop any attacks by its members on Mission personnel, international personnel, the authorities of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation, including the police, and the civilian population, and calls again upon the Government and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to guarantee

¹⁵² S/1998/577.

unconditionally the safety and freedom of movement of all United Nations and international personnel;

6. Demands that the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola cooperate fully with the Mission in providing full access for its verification activities, including the verification of the full demilitarization of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, and reiterates its call upon the Government to notify the Mission in a timely manner of its troop movements, in accordance with the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol and established procedures;

7. *Calls upon* the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to refrain from the laying of new mines;

8. *Expresses its appreciation* to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the personnel of the Mission for assisting the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to implement the peace process;

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

Decision of 13 August 1998 (3916th meeting): resolution 1190 (1998)

At the 3916th meeting of the Security Council, held on 13 August 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Slovenia), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

The Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General on MONUA dated 7 August 1998, submitted pursuant to paragraph 4 of Security Council resolution 1180 (1998) giving recommendations regarding United Nations involvement in Angola.¹⁵³ The Secretary-General observed that there had been no improvement in the already deplorable situation and that the country continued to drift towards full-fledged hostilities. He informed the Council that he had decided to send his Special Envoy to Angola, who would assess the various aspects of the situation and advise him on the possible course of action. After his mission was completed, he would be in a better position to make recommendations about the future role of the United Nations in Angola. In the meantime, he recommended that the Security Council extend the

mandate of MONUA for one month until 15 September 1998.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution submitted by Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States.¹⁵⁴

He further drew the attention of the Council to a letter dated 7 August 1998 from the Acting Chairman of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 864 (1993) concerning the situation in Angola addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting a report of the Committee.¹⁵⁵

The representative of Angola stated that the peace process was taking a serious and dangerous turn owing to the progressive and rapid deterioration of the security situation. UNITA, instead of fulfilling its commitments and obligations, had chosen to launch armed attacks with a view to occupying additional territory. It had reoccupied 90 localities where State administration had already been normalized. This pattern of violations not only cast serious doubts on its commitment to the full implementation of the Lusaka Protocol but had led them to believe that it was a strategy to provoke chaos, hoping to create an environment for UNITA to assume power in Angola by force. Stronger action was needed to force UNITA to stop such barbaric actions. The Angolan Government, as a member of the United Nations family, was entitled to receive the necessary support from the United Nations in order to prevent a new escalation of the war. Therefore, he believed that in order to be more effective, the existing sanctions needed to be coupled with other measures likely to tighten the isolation of the military wing of UNITA.156

Several other speakers stated their support for the extension of the mandate of MONUA, and called on UNITA to fulfil all its outstanding obligations and put an end to the violence against MONUA and the Government and people of Angola. Most speakers welcomed the appointment of the new Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the

¹⁵³ S/1998/723.

¹⁵⁴ S/1998/749.

¹⁵⁵ S/1998/728.

¹⁵⁶ S/PV.3916, pp. 2-3.

dispatch of the Under-Secretary-General and the Special Envoy.¹⁵⁷

At the same meeting the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1190 (1998), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991 and all subsequent relevant resolutions, including resolutions 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993, 1127 (1997) of 28 August 1997 and 1173 (1998) of 12 June 1998,

Reaffirming also its firm commitment to preserve the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola,

Strongly deploring the deteriorating political and security situation in Angola, which is primarily the result of the failure by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to complete its obligations under the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions,

Taking note of recent positive steps to restore confidence in the peace process,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 6 August 1998,

1. Welcomes the decision by the Secretary-General to dispatch a Special Envoy to assess the situation in Angola and advise on a possible course of action, and requests the Secretary-General to submit, no later than 31 August 1998, a report with recommendations regarding the future role of the United Nations in Angola;

2. *Expresses its intention* to review the recommendations referred to in paragraph 1 above and to consider appropriate actions;

3. Decides to extend the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola until 15 September 1998, and takes note of the considerations specified in paragraph 38 of the report of the Secretary-General of 6 August 1998 regarding the deployment of the Mission throughout the country;

4. *Calls upon* the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola in the strongest terms to refrain from any steps which could further exacerbate the present situation;

5. *Demands* that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola comply immediately and without

conditions with its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol and with relevant Security Council resolutions, in particular the complete demilitarization of its forces and full cooperation in the immediate and unconditional extension of State administration throughout the national territory, in order to prevent a further deterioration of the political and security situation;

6. Demands also that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola cease its reoccupation of localities where State administration was established and stop attacks by its members on civilians, authorities of the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation, including the police, and United Nations and international personnel;

7. Calls upon the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to cease hostile propaganda, refrain from laying new mines, stop forced conscriptions and renew efforts towards national reconciliation, including by implementing confidencebuilding measures, such as the reactivation of the joint mechanisms in the provinces and the disengagement of military forces on the ground;

8. *Calls upon* the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation to ensure that the Angolan National Police refrain from practices inconsistent with the Lusaka Protocol and to respect the legal activities of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola as a political party in accordance with the Lusaka Protocol;

9. Demands that the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola cooperate fully with the Mission in providing full access for its verification activities and guarantee unconditionally the safety and freedom of movement of all United Nations and international personnel, including those providing humanitarian assistance;

10. *Expresses its firm belief* that a meeting in Angola between the President of the Republic of Angola and the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola could provide momentum to the peace process;

11. Calls upon Member States to implement fully the relevant provisions of resolutions 864 (1993), 1127 (1997) and 1173 (1998);

12. Welcomes the appointment of a new Special Representative to Angola, and urges the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to cooperate fully with him in promoting peace and national reconciliation;

13. *Encourages* the Secretary-General to continue his personal engagement in the peace process;

14. *Expresses its appreciation* to the personnel of the Mission;

15. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 3-4 (Brazil); p. 4 (United Kingdom); pp. 4-5 (Portugal); p. 5 (Sweden); pp. 5-6 (Costa Rica); pp. 6-7 (China); p. 7 (Gambia); pp. 7-8 (Japan); p. 8 (France); pp. 8-9 (Russian Federation); p. 9 (Gabon); pp. 9-10 (Bahrain); pp. 10-11 (Kenya); p. 11 (United States); and pp. 11-12 (Slovenia).

Decision of 15 September 1998 (3925th meeting): resolution 1195 (1998)

At the 3925th meeting of the Security Council, held on 15 September 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Sweden), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

The Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General on MONUA dated 7 September 1998 submitted pursuant to paragraph 1 of Security Council resolution 1190 (1998).¹⁵⁸ In his report, the Secretary-General observed that the situation had continued to deteriorate and both parties seemed to be preparing themselves for a confrontation. The conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo had brought a new dimension to the crisis and complicated the situation further, as evidenced by the involvement of Angolan military units in that country. In addition, the decision to suspend the UNITA members of the Government and the National Assembly raised doubts about the prospects for national reconciliation. He believed that the international community should give the Angolan parties an additional chance to return to the peace process and to allow his new Special Representative to explore with the parties effective ways and means of overcoming the current difficulties. On that basis, he proposed that the mandate of MONUA be extended until 31 January 1999, on the understanding that the Security Council would conduct a comprehensive review of the situation by the end of November 1998. If at that time there had been no substantial progress towards full compliance by the parties with their respective obligations it would be incumbent on the Council to take the necessary action and a reduction of MONUA would be accelerated with a view to closing it down by early February 1999. However, if decisive progress was made by the parties by the end of November, MONUA would be allowed to carry out its mandate.

At the same meeting, the President drew the attention of the Council to identical letters dated 11 September from the representative of Angola addressed to the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General,¹⁵⁹ respectively, transmitting a

letter dated 10 September 1998. By the letter, the President of Angola informed the Council that the leader of UNITA, Mr. Savimbi, had again launched a military campaign all over the national territory and had hardened his positions against the Angolan Government, the Troika of Observers and the United themselves. This was an unequivocal Nations demonstration that the leader of UNITA no longer considered the Lusaka Protocol a valid instrument for the establishment of peace in Angola and he expressed his belief that diplomatic means would no longer have any effect on Mr. Savimbi's position. Given the facts, the Government of Angola had decided to break its dialogue with Mr. Savimbi. He also informed the Council that the countries of southern Africa had reached the same conclusions as the Angolan Government and believed that Mr. Savimbi and his military forces were a serious and continuous threat to peace in the subregion as well as in Central Africa; therefore, it was necessary to unite means, actions and forces in the region so as to combat and neutralize the war machine of UNITA. However, a large group of UNITA political and military leaders had broken away from their leader, whom they had removed from the leadership of the party, and created a Renovation Committee that had provisionally assumed the mandate position until the party held its Congress. The Renovation Committee had decided to assume the position of interlocutor with the Government, the troika of observers and the Special Representative in the peace process. The Angolan Government had decided to recognize the UNITA Renovation Committee as the only legitimate interlocutor for the conclusion of the Lusaka Protocol and requested that the Security Council support their position.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution submitted by Kenya, Portugal, the Russian Federation, Slovenia and the United States.¹⁶⁰ The draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1195 (1998), which reads:

The Security Council,

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

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

¹⁵⁸ S/1998/838.

¹⁵⁹ S/1998/847.

¹⁶⁰ S/1998/850.

Taking note of the letter dated 10 September 1998 from the President of the Republic of Angola to the Secretary-General,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 7 September 1998,

1. Emphasizes that the primary cause of the crisis in Angola and of the current impasse in the peace process is the failure by the leadership of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to comply with its obligations under the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions, and demands that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola comply immediately and without conditions with its obligations, in particular the complete demilitarization of its forces and full cooperation in the immediate and unconditional extension of State administration throughout the national territory;

2. *Demands* that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola withdraw immediately from territories it has occupied through military action;

3. *Reiterates its full support* for the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol;

4. Demands that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola transform itself into a genuine political party through the dismantling of its military structure, and, in the context of the full implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, strongly urges the Angolan authorities to reconsider their decision to suspend the participation of members of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola in the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation and in the National Assembly;

5. Calls upon Member States to implement fully the relevant provisions of resolutions 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993, 1127 (1997) of 28 August 1997 and 1173 (1998) of 12 June 1998;

6. Strongly urges the Government of Angola, the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola and States in the region to reject military action, to pursue dialogue to resolve the crisis and to refrain from any steps which could exacerbate the current situation;

7. Reiterates its support to the Secretary-General for his personal engagement in the peace process, and urges the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to cooperate fully with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and with other relevant initiatives by Member States to seek a peaceful resolution of the crisis;

8. Decides to extend the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola until 15 October 1998 and to assess the overall situation and take action on the future role of the United Nations in Angola on the basis of a report and recommendations to be submitted by the Secretary-General no later than 8 October 1998;

9. Endorses the decision of the Secretary-General to instruct the Mission to adjust its deployment on the ground, as needed, to ensure the safety and security of Mission personnel, and demands that the Government of Angola and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola guarantee unconditionally the safety and freedom of movement of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and all United Nations and international humanitarian personnel, including those providing humanitarian assistance;

10. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 15 October 1998 (3936th meeting): resolution 1202 (1998)

At the 3936th meeting of the Security Council, held on 15 October 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (United Kingdom), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

The Council had before it the report of the Secretary-General on MONUA dated 8 October 1998, submitted pursuant to paragraph 8 of Security Council resolution 1195 (1998).¹⁶¹ In his report, the Secretary-General noted that the most significant negative development was the breaking by the Government of all contacts with UNITA and their recognition of the leadership of UNITA Renovation Committee. Although some UNITA members in the National Assembly and the Government of Unity and National Reconciliation had disassociated themselves from the leader of UNITA, the UNITA leadership in Andulo had insisted that it remained the legitimate partner in the peace process, thus creating a conflicting situation over the representation of UNITA in the Joint Commission and preventing that important body from effectively carrying out its duties. He observed that while the international community had agreed that UNITA bore the primary responsibility for the crisis, a political settlement remained the most viable means to restore normalcy. To that end, it was important to keep the door to dialogue open. Accordingly, he had instructed his Special Representative to maintain contacts with all concerned, old parties and new. In view of those considerations, he recommended that the Security Council extend MONUA for another short period of up six weeks, in order to give his Special to

¹⁶¹ S/1998/931.

Representative an additional opportunity to revive the stalled peace process. If after the expiration of the proposed extension the pattern of UNITA non-compliance with those obligations continued, he would have no alternative for the Council but to propose an immediate readjustment of the United Nations presence. On the humanitarian side, special urgent measures would need to be taken to enable the humanitarian operations to perform their tasks in accordance with internationally accepted principles.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.¹⁶²

At the same meeting, the President further drew the attention of the Council to a letter dated 5 October 1998 from South Africa addressed to the President of the Security Council,¹⁶³ transmitting the final communiqué and the statement on Angola of the Summit of Heads of State or Government of the Southern African Development Community on 13 and 14 September 1998. He also drew the attention to a letter dated October 1998 from Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States addressed to the Secretary-General,¹⁶⁴ transmitting a statement issued on 24 September 1998 by the Troika Foreign Ministers of the Observer States to the Lusaka Protocol and another letter dated 24 September 1998 to Jonas Savimbi, leader of UNITA. He further drew the attention to a letter dated 1 October 1998 from Austria addressed to Secretary-General,165 transmitting a statement on Angola by the Presidency of the European Union; and a letter dated 12 October 1998 from Angola addressed to the President of the Security Council,166 giving a brief chronology of the events since 1992 showing that responsibility for the consecutive failures of the Angolan peace process fell uniquely and exclusively on Mr. Jonas Savimbi, leader of UNITA.

At the same meeting, the representative of Angola stated that the suspension of the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol was attributable to the non-compliance of the leader of UNITA, Jonas Savimbi, with the commitments of UNITA to fulfilling its side of the bargain. The forces of Mr. Savimbi had struck police detachments, attacked civilians, and occupied townships and other communities in areas where State administration had been restored. Armed actions had occurred in diamond-producing areas in the northern and central part of the country, with the support of Banyamulengue rebels and Rwandan and Ugandan contingents concentrated there after having fled the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The representatives informed the Council that on 2 September 1998, a core team made up of UNITA officers and personnel had issued a manifesto and ousted Mr. Savimbi from the UNITA leadership and had ratified their commitment to the Lusaka Protocol. The Government of Angola had encouraged and supported this provisional leadership of UNITA in its efforts for peace. That public position taken by his Government represented the end of the dialogue with Jonas Savimbi, and consequently, he was no longer the UNITA interlocutor in exchanges with the Angolan Government and the various Government agencies. The decision made by the UNITA Renovation Committee, which had changed its name to the UNITA Provisional Political Committee, was supported not only by the Government but also by the Heads of State or Government of the Southern African Development Community at their summit meeting held on 13-14 September in Mauritius. They considered Mr. Savimbi a war criminal and a threat to the peace of all member countries and the region in general, and a similar position had been adopted at the Central summit in September. The Angolan African Government believed that the Security Council could not afford to remain indifferent to non-compliance with its pertinent

resolutions by certain member countries. The Council needed to adopt severe sanctions against States that failed to honour its decisions. It was equally important to move for more expeditious and proactive measures by the Sanctions Committee. It was also important that the Council and the international community support the provisional leadership of UNITA-Renovada by strengthening its leadership role, not only to diminish Jonas Savimbi's influence on his military forces but also to de-escalate the state of war in Angola. With specific reference to the extension of the Mission, the Government of Angola ratified its support for the extension of MONUA to December 1998 and then its

 $^{^{162}}$ S/1998/952.

¹⁶³ S/1998/915.

¹⁶⁴ S/1998/916. ¹⁶⁵ S/1998/919

^{105 5/1998/919.}

 $^{^{166}}$ S/1998/944.

gradual phasing out and total withdrawal from Angola.¹⁶⁷

At the same meeting the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1202 (1998), which reads:

The Security Council,

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

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

Reiterating the validity of the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions as the fundamental basis of the peace process,

Reaffirming its resolution 1196 (1998) of 16 September 1998,

Taking note of the statement by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the three Observer States to the Lusaka Protocol and of their letter dated 24 September 1998 to the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola,

Welcoming regional efforts in support of the peace process in Angola,

Noting the call on the international community, particularly countries and leaders who have an influence on the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, to persuade the rebel movement to rededicate itself to the path of peace and reconstruction in Angola as a matter of urgency, that was contained in the Final Communiqué of the Summit of the Heads of State or Government of the Southern African Development Community adopted on 14 September 1998,

Taking note of the establishment of UNITA-Renovada,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 8 October 1998,

1. Reiterates that the primary cause of the crisis in Angola and of the current impasse in the peace process is the failure by the leadership of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to comply with its obligations under the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions, and demands that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola comply immediately and without conditions with its obligations, in particular the complete demilitarization of its forces and full cooperation in the immediate and unconditional extension of State administration throughout the national territory; 2. *Demands* that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola withdraw immediately from territories it has reoccupied through military action;

3. *Stresses* that there can be no military solution to the conflict in Angola, and calls upon the Government of Angola and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to seek a political settlement;

4. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola until 3 December 1998;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue to adjust the deployment and force structure of the Mission, as needed, in accordance with security conditions and its ability to implement its mandate in support of the peace process, and to prepare further contingency plans;

6. *Emphasizes* that the extension of the mandate of the Mission provides the Special Representative of the Secretary-General with an additional opportunity to revive the stalled peace process, and strongly urges the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to take advantage of this period to transform itself into a genuine political party and to secure a legitimate and constructive role in the Angolan political process;

7. *Reiterates its full support* for the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol and for the reactivation of the Joint Commission;

8. *Calls upon* the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to cooperate fully with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, including by facilitating his contacts with all those key to the peace process in order to convey, inter alia, the demands reiterated in the present resolution;

9. *Encourages* the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to coordinate his efforts with regional and subregional organizations in order to bring about a solution within the framework of the Lusaka Protocol;

10. Reiterates its concern over the safety and security of Mission personnel, and demands that the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola guarantee unconditionally the safety and freedom of movement of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and all United Nations and international humanitarian personnel, including those providing humanitarian assistance, throughout the territory of Angola;

11. Stresses the importance of strengthening the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the full protection of all Angolan citizens throughout the national territory, in particular representatives and members of all political parties;

12. Expresses its deep concern at the continued deterioration of the humanitarian situation, especially the significant increase in the number of internally displaced persons, which now totals 1.3 million people, and the lack of access by humanitarian organizations to vulnerable groups;

¹⁶⁷ S/PV.3936, pp 2-3.

13. Calls upon Member States to implement fully the measures imposed on the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola contained in the relevant provisions of resolutions 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993, 1127 (1997) of 28 August 1997 and 1173 (1998) of 12 June 1998, and expresses its readiness to consider appropriate reinforcing steps;

14. *Requests* the Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993) to investigate reports that the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola travelled outside Angola in violation of resolution 1127 (1997) and that forces of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola received military training and assistance as well as arms from outside Angola in violation of resolution 864 (1993);

15. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a comprehensive report no later than 23 November 1998 which will enable the Security Council to consider the future role of the United Nations in Angola and to make recommendations regarding ways of improving the implementation of the measures referred to in paragraph 13 above;

16. Expresses its deep concern at the crash of the Russian civilian aircraft in the Malanje region of Angola, which resulted in the loss of human lives, calls upon the Government of Angola to carry out without delay a thorough investigation of the causes of the crash, requests the Mission to assist as appropriate, and insists that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola cooperate fully with these efforts;

17. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 3 December 1998 (3951st meeting): resolution 1213

At the 3951st meeting of the Security Council, held on 3 December 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Bahrain), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Angola, at her request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

The Council had before them the report of the Secretary-General on MONUA dated 23 November 1998, submitted pursuant to paragraph 15 of Security Council resolution 1202 (1998),¹⁶⁸ In his report, the Secretary-General observed that the overall political, military and security situation in the country had further deteriorated. The dialogue between the Government and Mr. Savimbi and UNITA had ceased. The joint mechanisms, including the Joint Commission, were not functioning and preparations for

a military showdown continued. As a result MONUA was, in fact, unable to carry out most of its mandated tasks and the prospects for reactivating the peace process looked bleak. The Secretary-General informed the Council that his Special Representative was still unable to establish direct contact with Mr. Savimbi and the recent abrogation by the National Assembly of the law granting special status to Mr. Savimbi could prevent all possibility of political accommodation. He noted that while it was clear that Mr. Savimbi and UNITA were mainly responsible for the deadlock, the rejection of all contacts and dialogue with him was not likely to advance the cause of peace and national reconciliation. He maintained that despite the absence of any progress, the international community needed to remain engaged in order to dissuade the parties, as far as possible, from a return to war. Accordingly, he proposed that the mandate of MONUA be extended for another short period of up to three months, on the understanding that if the security situation were to become untenable, he would immediately revert to the Security Council and submit further recommendations, including the withdrawal of MONUA.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution submitted by Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States.¹⁶⁹

The representative of Angola stated that Jonas Savimbi, who was primarily responsible for the current state of affairs, had become more brazen in his disdain for the United Nations. In violation of international law and the Lusaka Protocol, the UNITA military wing had taken 15 members of MONUA hostage in Bailundo and Andulo, refusing to allow United Nations planes to land and evacuate those individuals. She urged the Council to join them in condemning such rogue acts against United Nations personnel. To prevent similar situations from occurring, the Government of Angola recommended that all remaining MONUA personnel be consolidated into areas under the Government's authority. The latest actions by UNITA demanded a strong reaction from the international community. Any strides that had been made in the process might be traced directly to the imposition of United Nations sanctions. The Angolan Government insisted that the United Nations and its Member States redouble their

¹⁶⁸ S/1998/1110.

¹⁶⁹ S/1998/1135.

efforts to enforce existing sanctions against Savimbi and his personal army to deny them access to military equipment and financial resources. She called on the Security Council to interdict all UNITA's communication links and to ban the transfer of all communications equipment to UNITA. The assets of UNITA needed to be frozen. Travel sanctions also needed to be more effectively enforced. The Government reaffirmed its decision not to have further contact, at any level, with Savimbi and endorsed the Security Council's recommendation that the mandate of MONUA be extended for three months. However, it also emphasized that MONUA could not remain in Angola indefinitely. The representative expressed the strong belief of her Government that in the near future the Government, working with UNITA-Renovada and the United Nations, could and had to officially and definitely conclude the Lusaka Protocol. At that time, they would look to the Security Council to adopt language acknowledging the conclusion of the Lusaka Protocol and endorsing the withdrawal of MONUA.¹⁷⁰

At the same meeting the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1213 (1998), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991 and all subsequent relevant resolutions, in particular resolutions 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993, 1127 (1997) of 28 August 1997 and 1173 (1998) of 12 June 1998,

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

Emphasizing the validity of the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions as the fundamental basis of the peace process,

Strongly condemning the failure of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to implement the remaining tasks of the Lusaka Protocol, in particular the complete demilitarization of its forces and full cooperation in the immediate and unconditional extension of State administration throughout the national territory,

Expressing its deep concern at the failure of the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to respond to the letter dated 6 October 1998 addressed to him by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, which contained proposals for restoring the peace process, and to the letter dated 24 September 1998 addressed to him by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the three Observer States to the Lusaka Protocol, which called for irreversible steps towards peace,

Expressing its grave concern at the serious humanitarian impact of the impasse in the peace process and the deteriorating security conditions,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 23 November 1998,

1. Emphasizes that the primary cause of the crisis in Angola and of the current impasse in the peace process is the failure by the leadership of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola in Bailundo to comply with its obligations under the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions, and demands that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola comply immediately and without conditions with its obligations, in particular the complete demilitarization of its forces and full cooperation in the immediate and unconditional extension of State administration throughout the national territory;

2. *Demands* that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola withdraw immediately from territories it has reoccupied through military or other action;

3. *Calls upon* the leadership of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to cooperate fully and immediately with the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola in the withdrawal of Mission personnel from Andulo and Bailundo, and holds the leadership of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola in Bailundo responsible for their safety and security;

4. Stresses that there can be no military solution to the conflict in Angola, and calls upon the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to cooperate fully with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, including by facilitating his contacts with all those key to the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, to seek a peaceful resolution of the crisis;

5. *Emphasizes* the importance of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General maintaining contact with all elements of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola in Luanda in order to revive the stalled peace process and encourage the transformation of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola into a genuine political party;

6. *Stresses* the importance of strengthening the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the full protection of all Angolan citizens throughout the national territory, in particular representatives and members of all political parties;

7. Reiterates its concern at the continued deterioration of the humanitarian situation, especially the significant increase in the number of internally displaced persons and the increase in minelaying activity, and calls upon the Government of Angola and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to guarantee unconditionally the safety and freedom

¹⁷⁰ S/PV.3951, pp. 2-3.

of movement of all international humanitarian personnel, to cooperate fully with international humanitarian organizations in the delivery of emergency relief assistance to affected populations, to cease minelaying activity, and to respect international humanitarian, refugee and human rights law;

8. Urges the international community to provide financial and other resources in order to allow the continued delivery of emergency relief assistance to vulnerable groups in Angola;

9. Urges all Member States to support the peace process in Angola through full and immediate implementation of the measures against the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola contained in resolutions 864 (1993), 1127 (1997) and 1173 (1998), and expresses its readiness to consider appropriate reinforcing steps in accordance with the recommendations contained in the report referred to in paragraph 13 below;

10. Decides to extend the mandate of the Mission until 26 February 1999, and endorses the recommendation contained in the report of the Secretary-General to continue to adjust the deployment and force structure of the Mission, as needed, in accordance with security conditions and its ability to implement its mandate;

11. *Recognizes* that the Secretary-General may revert to the Council before 26 February 1999 with further recommendations regarding the Mission in the light of security conditions on the ground;

12. *Expresses its growing concern* for the security and freedom of movement throughout Angola of Mission personnel, and calls upon the Government of Angola and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to ensure their safety;

13. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a report no later than 15 January 1999 regarding the status of the peace process, the future role and mandate of the United Nations in Angola and the force structure of the Mission in the light of its ability to carry out its mandated tasks, and reiterates the request contained in its resolution 1202 (1998) of 15 October 1998 for recommendations regarding technical and other ways for Member States to improve the implementation of the measures referred to in paragraph 9 above;

14. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 23 December 1998 (3960th meeting): statement by the President

At the 3960th meeting of the Security Council, held on 23 December 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Bahrain), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote.

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At the same meeting, the President made the following statement on behalf of the Council:¹⁷¹

The Security Council deplores the serious deterioration of the situation in Angola and calls for an immediate cessation of hostilities. It reaffirms its firm commitment to preserve the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola.

The Council reiterates that the primary responsibility for the failure to achieve peace in Angola clearly lies with the leadership of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola. The persistent violation by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, under the leadership of Mr. Jonas Savimbi, of its obligations under the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions, in particular those obligations related to the complete demilitarization of its forces and the extension of State administration throughout the national territory, has seriously undermined the peace process.

The Council demands that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola comply immediately and without conditions with its obligations and reiterates that only a political settlement, on the basis of the relevant agreements and resolutions, will bring a lasting peace to Angola.

The Council, in this context, urges the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to cooperate fully with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, including by facilitating his contacts with all those key to reviving the stalled peace process and to implementing the Lusaka Protocol. It expresses concern at the public statements blaming the United Nations for the recent aggravation of the security situation in the country. The Council reiterates its full support for the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola, whose mandate has been extended until 26 February 1999, and emphasizes that both the Government, which concurred with the extension of this mandate, and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola have an obligation to guarantee the safety and freedom of movement of Mission personnel.

The Council expresses its deep concern at the worsening humanitarian situation in Angola and emphasizes the responsibility of the Government of Angola and the leadership of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to facilitate humanitarian assistance efforts, guarantee the safety and freedom of movement of humanitarian workers and permit an independent assessment of the needs of the civilian population, to be carried out swiftly in any part of the country as necessary. The Council also expresses concern at the plight of those most vulnerable groups, such as children, women, the elderly and internally displaced persons who are particularly at risk and need special protection.

¹⁷¹ S/PRST/1998/37.

The Council urges the Government of Angola and the leadership of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to ensure full respect for international humanitarian, refugee and human rights law.

The Council underscores the need for the full and immediate implementation of the measures against the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola contained in resolutions 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993, 1127 (1997) of 28 August 1997 and 1173 (1998) of 12 June 1998. It expresses deep concern at recent reports of violations of those measures, particularly those related to arms and diamonds, and expresses its intention to follow up on those reports.

The Council expresses its grave concern at reports that aircraft were shot down over areas controlled by União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola and demands full cooperation by all concerned, especially the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, in the investigation of those incidents, including of the fate of the crews and passengers.

The Council will remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 31 December 1998 (3962nd meeting): resolution 1219 (1998)

At the 3962nd meeting of the Security Council, held on 31 December 1998 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Bahrain), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.¹⁷² The draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1219 (1998), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991 and all subsequent relevant resolutions, in particular resolutions 1202 (1998) of 15 October 1998 and 1213 (1998) of 3 December 1998,

Recalling the statement by its President of 23 December 1998,

Expressing concern in the strongest terms at the crash of United Nations flight 806 and at the disappearance of other aircraft reportedly over territory controlled by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola,

¹⁷² S/1998/1238.

1. *Expresses its deep concern* regarding the fate of the passengers and crew of United Nations flight 806, and deplores the incomprehensible lack of cooperation in clarifying the circumstances of this tragedy and in permitting the prompt dispatch of a United Nations search and rescue mission;

2. Demands that the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, Mr. Jonas Savimbi, immediately respond to the appeals from the United Nations and guarantee the security and access necessary for, and assist in, the search for and rescue of possible survivors of the abovementioned incidents in territory controlled by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, and calls upon the Government of Angola to cooperate as appropriate in fulfilment of its expressed commitment to do so;

3. *Expresses its serious concern* at the increase in incidents involving the disappearance of aircraft reportedly over territory controlled by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola;

4. Condemns the lack of effective action to determine the fate of the crews and passengers of the aircraft referred to in paragraph 3 above, calls for an immediate and objective international investigation of those incidents, and calls upon all concerned, especially the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, to facilitate such an investigation;

5. *Expresses its intention* to assess compliance with the present resolution no later than 11 January 1999 and to take action, as appropriate, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations;

6. *Reaffirms* the need for compliance with the measures against the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola contained in resolutions 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993, 1127 (1997) of 28 August 1997 and 1173 (1998) of 12 June 1998, which were imposed under Chapter VII of the Charter;

7. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 12 January 1999 (3965th meeting): resolution 1221 (1999)

At the 3965th meeting of the Security Council, held on 12 January 1999 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Brazil), with the consent of the Council, invited the representatives of Angola and Portugal, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution submitted

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by Brazil, Canada, France, Gabon, Malaysia, Namibia, Portugal and the Russian Federation.¹⁷³

Speaking before the vote, the representative of the United States stated that they would vote in favour of the draft resolution because of their deep concern about the fate of the crews and passengers of the two United Nations aircraft that were downed over Angola. They urgently called on the Government of Angola and UNITA to cooperate fully with the search-and-rescue mission and with the investigation of those tragic incidents. He stated that they however did have concerns about two aspects of the draft resolution. He questioned the appropriateness of the reference to Chapter VII, since the draft resolution did not seek to authorize new international enforcement actions, and they were concerned that such a reference might be misunderstood as a step in that direction. He also stated that they doubted the wisdom of considering the imposition of sanctions against communications with UNITA, as the past three weeks had demonstrated the crucial importance of being able to communicate quickly with them on search-and-rescue and other humanitarian concerns. He expressed his belief that the only way to resolve the conflict was through negotiations and a negotiated settlement could not be achieved without the ability to communicate with all parties. In that context, the report requested by the draft resolution needed to address how such communications could be maintained with all parties.174

At the same meeting the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1221 (1999), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991 and all subsequent relevant resolutions, in particular resolutions 1196 (1998) of 16 September 1998 and 1219 (1998) of 31 December 1998,

Recalling the statement by its President of 23 December 1998,

Expressing its outrage at the downing on 2 January 1999 of a second United Nations-chartered aircraft over territory controlled by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, which brings to six the number of aircraft lost in this area in recent months, *Expressing its deep concern* regarding the fate of the passengers and crews of the above-mentioned aircraft, and its deep regret at the loss of life in these incidents,

Stressing that attacks against personnel who act on behalf of the United Nations are unacceptable and unjustifiable by whomsoever committed,

Deploring the lack of cooperation by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola in clarifying the circumstances of these tragic incidents, which occurred over territory under its control, and in permitting the prompt dispatch of the United Nations search and rescue mission,

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

1. *Condemns* the downing of the two aircraft chartered by the United Nations, deplores the loss under suspicious circumstances of other commercial aircraft, and demands that all such attacks cease immediately;

2. *Reaffirms its resolve* to establish the truth about the circumstances of and to determine the responsibility for the downing of the two aircraft chartered by the United Nations and the loss under suspicious circumstances of other commercial aircraft over territory controlled by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola through an immediate and objective international investigation of these tragic incidents, and reiterates its call upon all concerned, especially the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, to cooperate fully with and to facilitate such an investigation;

3. *Concludes* that the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, Mr. Jonas Savimbi, has not complied with the demands contained in its resolution 1219 (1998);

4. *Reiterates its demand* that the leader of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, Mr. Jonas Savimbi, cooperate immediately and in good faith in the search for and rescue of possible survivors of the above-mentioned incidents;

5. Welcomes the concrete actions undertaken by the Government of Angola to follow up the commitment made by the President of Angola to the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General on 6 January 1999 regarding the cooperation to be extended to the United Nations search and rescue efforts, and encourages it to continue to extend such cooperation;

6. *Requests* the International Civil Aviation Organization to provide all possible support to the investigation of those incidents as soon as conditions on the ground permit, and urges Member States with investigative capability and expertise to assist the United Nations, upon request, in the investigation of those incidents;

7. *Stresses* the obligation of Member States to comply with the measures imposed against the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola contained in resolutions 864

¹⁷³ S/1999/27.

¹⁷⁴ S/PV.3965, p. 2.

(1993) of 15 September 1993, 1127 (1997) of 28 August 1997 and 1173 (1998) of 12 June 1998;

8. *Expresses its readiness* to pursue reports of violations of the measures referred to in paragraph 7 above, to take steps to reinforce the implementation of those measures and to consider the imposition of additional measures, including in the area of telecommunications, on the basis of a report to be prepared by the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993), by 15 February 1999, drawing on the expertise of relevant bodies and organizations, including the International Telecommunication Union;

9. *Encourages* the Chairman of the Committee referred to in paragraph 8 above to consult with the Organization of African Unity and the Southern African Development Community on ways to strengthen the implementation of the measures referred to in paragraph 7 above;

10. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 21 January 1999 (3969th meeting): statement by the President

At the 3969th meeting of the Security Council held on 21 January 1999 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Brazil), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

The Council had before it the report of the Secretary-General on MONUA dated 17 January 1999, submitted pursuant to resolution 1213 (1998) on the future role and mandate of MONUA.¹⁷⁵ The Secretary-General observed that the events of the last few months had clearly demonstrated that the Angolan peace process had collapsed and the country was in a state of war. In the light of the expressed determination of the parties to test their fortunes on the battlefield, the steadily worsening security situation, and the inability of MONUA to carry out its mandate, it had become increasingly clear that, for the time being, the conditions for a meaningful United Nations peacekeeping role in Angola had ceased to exist. In addition, the Government of Angola had informed the United Nations that it did not intend to support the extension of MONUA beyond its current mandate. Moreover, UNITA had not taken any serious initiative to restore meaningful contacts with the United Nations or to resume the implementation of key provisions of the Lusaka Protocol. Regarding the presumed shooting down of two United Nations aircraft, he condemned those crimes in the strongest terms and was appalled by the parties' insensitivity and their lack of cooperation with the United Nations in the immediate aftermath of the crashes. It was imperative that a full-fledged investigation be conducted into the two incidents and that the perpetrators be identified. Under the circumstances, he expressed his belief that MONUA had no other option but to continue to reduce its presence within Angola and proceed with the orderly repatriation of United Nations personnel and property as requested by the Angolan Government. He underlined that the United Nations stood ready to play a political role, if requested, in order to assist all concerned in Angola in reaching a peaceful solution. Consequently, it was his intention to designate a senior official to serve as his Special Envoy for Angola, who would be based in New York. He stated that the work of the United Nations human rights presence in Angola, subject to the concurrence of the Angolan parties and satisfactory security guarantees, should continue its activities.

At the same meeting, the President made the following statement on behalf of the Council:¹⁷⁶

The Security Council expresses its alarm at the serious deterioration in the political and military situation in Angola. It reaffirms its belief that lasting peace and national reconciliation cannot be achieved through military means, and urges the Government of Angola and especially the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to resume a constructive dialogue on the basis of the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Council resolutions in order to seek a peaceful resolution of the conflict and spare the Angolan people further war and suffering. In this context, it reaffirms that the primary cause of the crisis in Angola is the refusal by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to comply with the basic provisions of the Lusaka Protocol and reiterates its demand that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola comply with its obligations to demilitarize and to permit the extension of State administration to territories it controls.

The Council shares the assessment and judgments of the Secretary-General on the political and military situation in Angola contained in his report of 17 January 1999. It underscores the contribution of the United Nations to the past four years of relative peace in Angola. It expresses its deep regret that the present political and security situation in the country and the lack of cooperation with the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola, especially by the União Nacional

 $^{^{175}}$ S/1999/49.

¹⁷⁶ S/PRST/1999/3.

para a Independência Total de Angola, have prevented the Mission from carrying out its mandated role fully.

The Council underlines the great importance it attaches to a continued multidisciplinary presence of the United Nations under the direction of a representative of the Secretary-General in Angola. It recognizes that such a continued presence depends on the safety of United Nations personnel and requires the agreement of the Government of Angola and the cooperation of all concerned. In this context, it appeals to the Government of Angola to provide such agreement and to the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to cooperate fully. It welcomes the intention of the Secretary-General to consult urgently with the Government of Angola on such a United Nations presence and to report to the Council in this regard.

The Council again calls upon Member States to support the peace process in Angola through full and immediate implementation of the measures against the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola contained in resolutions 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993, 1127 (1997) of 28 August 1997 and 1173 (1998) of 12 June 1998, and reiterates its readiness to take steps to reinforce the implementation of those measures on the basis of the recommendations contained in section IV of the report of the Secretary-General of 17 January 1999.

The Council expresses its profound concern at the humanitarian impact of the conflict on the Angolan people. It urges the international community to support the Government of Angola in fulfilling its primary responsibility for the humanitarian needs of the Angolan people and, in this regard, urges Member States to fund generously the 1999 United Nations Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for Angola. It calls upon all concerned to concur and cooperate with United Nations humanitarian assistance activities on the basis of the principles of neutrality and non-discrimination, to guarantee the security and freedom of movement of humanitarian personnel, and to ensure necessary, adequate and safe access and logistics by land and air. It urges all concerned to cooperate with the human rights activities of the United Nations, which help to lay a basis for lasting peace and national reconciliation.

The Council will remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 26 February 1999 (3983rd meeting): resolution 1229 (1999)

At the 3983rd meeting of the Security Council, held on 26 February 1999 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Canada), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Angola and Zambia, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting, the Council included in its agenda the report of the Secretary-General on MONUA dated 26 February 1999, submitted pursuant to the

request of the Security Council in its presidential statement of 21 January 1999,177 on consultations with Government of Angola on a continued the multidisciplinary presence of the United Nations.¹⁷⁸ In his report, the Secretary-General observed that the Government of Angola had informed his Special Representative that a continued multidisciplinary presence of the United Nations in Angola was not necessary and that conditions for maintaining a MONUA presence had ceased to exist. The Government had expressed the view that the United Nations should continue its activities through the specialized agencies, under the coordination of the United Nations Development Programme. They also had emphasized that they were not opposed to the appointment of a representative of the Secretary-General, based in New York, who could maintain contact with the Government in monitoring the evolution of the situation in the country.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.¹⁷⁹

At the same meeting, the President further drew the attention of the Council to a letter dated 12 February 1999 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to Security Council resolution 864 (1993) concerning the situation in Angola addressed to the President of the Security Council,¹⁸⁰ transmitting a report dated 12 January 1999 on the implementation of sanctions against UNITA. He also drew their attention to a letter dated 18 February 1999 from the representative of Angola addressed to Secretary-General,¹⁸¹ the and a letter dated 20 February 1999 from the representative of Zambia addressed to the President of the Security Council,182 transmitting a press statement denying the Angolan allegations of "involvement of the Zambian authorities in the logistic and military support sent to Dr. Jonas Savimbi inside Angola".

The Vice-Minister for Territorial Administration of Angola stated that the Angolan Government believed

¹⁷⁷ S/PRST/1999/3.

¹⁷⁸ S/1999/202.

 $^{^{179}}$ S/1999/203.

 $^{^{180}\} S/1999/147.$

¹⁸¹ S/1999/166.

¹⁸² S/1999/182.

that if there were greater commitment on the part of the international community and a more exacting mechanism for monitoring compliance with the United Nations sanctions, Mr. Savimbi and his armed group would soon be neutralized militarily and that conditions would then be conducive to the reestablishment of peace in Angola. He stated that they did not believe in the good intentions of any country that acted in a manner other than that they had described. Such "so-called contributions" were useful only if made in close coordination with the Government of Angola. He appealed to all neighbouring countries to break off all contact with Mr. Savimbi and to suspend all logistical support that enabled him to wage war in Angola. Concerning Zambia, the Angolan Government firmly believed that the current diplomatic demarches would prompt Zambian authorities to become ever more vigilant in preventing Zambian territory from continuing to be used as a point of trans-shipment for the military and logistical materiel that Mr. Savimbi needed for his military campaign. He firmly believed that as a result of a new cooperation framework between the Angolan Government and the United Nations, new and more stringent measures would be taken to isolate and neutralize Mr. Savimbi.183

The representative of Zambia stated that the purpose of his address was to put on record the concerns of his Government about allegations that had been made by the Government of Angola that Zambia was providing logistical and military support to UNITA. He noted that Angola had threatened to wage war against Zambia and other alleged supporters of UNITA. His country found it curious that those allegations were being repeated, in spite of the fact that most of them had already been jointly investigated with Angola. In addition, the Security Council had sent the Chairman of the Committee on Sanctions against UNITA and the OAU had sent its Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs to investigate the allegations and both had cleared Zambia. However, owing to the persistent allegations they were again extending an invitation to the Secretary-General to once again send a mission to Zambia to investigate the allegations. He reiterated that the conduct of UNITA had been totally unacceptable and had been condemned by Zambia. However, notwithstanding obstacles, the Lusaka Protocol still remained the best framework for a peaceful settlement of the Angolan conflict. Therefore, every effort needed to be made to ensure that a vacuum was not created which could lead to the worsening of the security situation in the southern African subregion. Such a situation would have an adverse impact on the security of his country. They were also concerned that those serious allegations were being made at a time when their mediation efforts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo had reached an advance stage. The allegations, therefore, were likely to undermine Zambia's mediation of the conflict.¹⁸⁴

At the same meeting the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1229 (1999), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991 and all subsequent relevant resolutions, in particular resolutions 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993, 1127 (1997) of 28 August 1997 and 1173 (1998) of 12 June 1998, as well as resolutions 1219 (1998) of 31 December 1998 and 1221 (1999) of 12 January 1999,

Recalling the statements by its President of 23 December 1998 and of 21 January 1999,

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

Reiterating that the primary cause of the present situation in Angola is the failure of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, under the leadership of Mr. Jonas Savimbi, to comply with its obligations under the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions,

Expressing its concern at the humanitarian effects of the present situation on the civilian population of Angola,

Reiterating that lasting peace and national reconciliation can only be achieved through peaceful means, and in this regard reaffirming the importance of the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions,

Underscoring the contribution of the United Nations to the past four years of relative peace in Angola, and expressing its deep regret that the present political and security situation in the country has prevented the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola from carrying out its mandated role fully,

Taking note of the letter dated 11 February 1999 from the President of the Republic of Angola to the Secretary-General,

¹⁸³ S/PV.3983, pp. 2-3.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 3-4.

Reaffirming its view that a continued presence of the United Nations in Angola can contribute greatly to national reconciliation, and noting the ongoing consultations with the Government of Angola to obtain its agreement regarding the practical arrangements for this presence,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 24 February 1999,

1. *Takes note* that the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola expires on 26 February 1999;

2. *Endorses* the recommendations contained in paragraphs 32 and 33 of the report of the Secretary-General of 24 February 1999 regarding the technical liquidation of the Mission;

3. Affirms that notwithstanding the expiration of the mandate of the Mission, the status-of-forces agreement applicable to the Mission remains in force, pursuant to relevant provisions thereof, until the departure of the final elements of the Mission from Angola;

4. *Decides* that the human rights component of the Mission shall continue its current activities during the liquidation period;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to designate a channel to liaise with the Government of Angola pending the conclusion of the consultations with the Government of Angola regarding the follow-up configuration of the United Nations presence in Angola;

6. *Calls upon* all concerned to cooperate with the United Nations humanitarian assistance activities throughout the national territory of Angola on the basis of the principles of neutrality and non-discrimination and to guarantee the security and freedom of movement of humanitarian personnel;

7. Expresses its deep concern at the lack of progress in investigating the downing of the two aircraft chartered by the United Nations and the loss under suspicious circumstances of other commercial aircraft over areas controlled by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, and reiterates its call upon all concerned, especially the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, to cooperate fully with and to facilitate an immediate and objective international investigation of those incidents;

8. Endorses the recommendations contained in the report of 12 February 1999 of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993), reiterates its readiness to take steps to reinforce the measures against the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola contained in resolutions 864 (1993), 1127 (1997) and 1173 (1998), and calls upon all Member States to implement those measures fully;

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

Decision of 7 May 1999 (3999th meeting): resolution 1237 (1999)

At the 3999th meeting of the Security Council, held on 7 May 1999 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Gabon), with the consent of the Council, invited the representatives of Angola and Portugal, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The Security Council again included the earlier report of the Secretary-General dated 17 January 1999 on MONUA in its agenda.¹⁸⁵

At the same meeting, the President drew the attention of the Council to letters concerning the situation in Angola dated 12 February and 4 May 1999, respectively, from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to Security Council resolution 864 (1993) addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting a report by the Committee,¹⁸⁶ and transmitting the text of a conceptual framework for the expert studies to be undertaken to trace violations in arms trafficking, oil supplies and the diamond trade, as well as the movement of UNITA funds.¹⁸⁷

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.¹⁸⁸ The draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1237 (1999), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991 and all subsequent relevant resolutions, in particular resolutions 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993, 1127 (1997) of 28 August 1997 and 1173 (1998) of 12 June 1998, as well as resolution 1229 (1999) of 26 February 1999,

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

Reiterating that the primary cause of the present crisis in Angola is the refusal of the União Nacional Para a Independência Total de Angola, under the leadership of Mr. Jonas Savimbi, to comply with its obligations under the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions,

 $^{^{185}}$ S/1999/49. See also the 3969th meeting in the present

chapter.

¹⁸⁶ S/1999/147.

¹⁸⁷ S/1999/509.

 $^{^{188}}$ S/1999/521.

Expressing its alarm at the humanitarian effects of the present crisis on the civilian population of Angola,

Emphasizing its strong concern at reports of the provision of military assistance, including mercenaries, to the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola,

Having considered the recommendations contained in section IV of the report of the Secretary-General of 17 January 1999 concerning improvement of the implementation of the measures imposed against the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, and having endorsed the recommendations contained in the report of 12 February 1999 of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993),

Welcoming the recommendations contained in the annex to the letter dated 4 May 1999 from the Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993),

А

1. Stresses that lasting peace and national reconciliation in Angola can only be achieved through a political settlement of the conflict, and in this regard reaffirms the importance of the "Acordos de Paz" and the Lusaka Protocol;

2. Welcomes and endorses the planned visits by the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993) to Angola and other concerned countries to discuss ways to improve the implementation of the measures against the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola specified in paragraph 5 below;

В

Determining that, as a result of the refusal of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to comply with its obligations under the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions, the current situation in Angola continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security in the region,

Emphasizing its concern at reports of violations of the measures with respect to arms and related materiel, petroleum, diamonds and financial assets, imposed against the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola by resolutions 864 (1993), 1127 (1997) and 1173 (1998), and in this context acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

3. Deplores the deteriorating situation in Angola, which is primarily due to the refusal of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, under the leadership of Mr. Jonas Savimbi, to comply with its obligations under the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions;

4. *Condemns* the continued, indiscriminate attacks by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola against the civilian population of Angola, particularly in the cities of Huambo, Kuito and Malange;

5. Stresses the obligation of all Member States to comply fully with the measures imposed against the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola by resolutions 864 (1993), 1127 (1997) and 1173 (1998);

6. *Endorses* the letter dated 4 May 1999, and the annex thereto, from the Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993), and decides to establish the expert panels referred to therein for a period of six months with the following mandate:

(a) To collect information and investigate reports, including through visits to the countries concerned, relating to the violation of the measures imposed against the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola with respect to arms and related materiel, petroleum and petroleum products, diamonds and the movement of funds of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola as specified in the relevant resolutions, as well as information on military assistance, including mercenaries;

(b) To identify parties aiding and abetting the violations of the above-mentioned measures;

(c) To recommend measures to end such violations and to improve the implementation of the above-mentioned measures;

7. *Requests* the Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993) to submit to the Council no later than 31 July 1999 an interim report of the expert panels regarding their progress and preliminary findings and recommendations and to submit to the Council within six months of the formation of the expert panels their final report with recommendations;

8. *Calls upon* all States, relevant United Nations bodies and concerned parties, as appropriate, including non-governmental organizations and enterprises, to cooperate in a full and timely manner with the expert panels to facilitate the implementation of their mandate, including by making available to the expert panels information relating to their mandate;

9. *Calls upon* the Governments of the States concerned in which the expert panels will carry out their mandate to cooperate fully with the expert panels in the fulfilment of their mandate, including responding positively to requests from the expert panels for security, assistance, and access in pursuing investigations, including:

(a) Adoption by them of any measures needed for the expert panels and their personnel to carry out their functions throughout the respective territories with full freedom, independence, and security;

(b) Provision by them to the expert panels or to the Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993) of information in their possession which the expert panels request or which is otherwise needed to fulfil their mandate; (c) Freedom of access for the expert panels and their personnel to any establishment or place they deem necessary for their work, including border points and airfields;

(d) Appropriate measures to guarantee the safety and security of the personnel of the expert panels and guarantees by them of full respect for the integrity, security and freedom of witnesses, experts and any other persons working with the expert panels in the fulfilment of their mandate;

(e) Freedom of movement for the personnel of the expert panels, including freedom to interview any person in private, at any time, as appropriate;

(f) The grant of relevant privileges and immunities in accordance with the General Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations;

10. Expresses its concern at the delays in the investigation into the downing on 26 December 1998 and 2 January 1999 of two aircraft chartered by the United Nations and the loss under suspicious circumstances of other commercial aircraft over areas in Angola controlled by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola as well as the crash on 26 June 1998 in Côte d'Ivoire of the aircraft carrying the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to Angola and other United Nations personnel, and reiterates its call upon all concerned to cooperate fully with and to facilitate an immediate and objective international investigation of these incidents;

С

11. Endorses the recommendation contained in the annex to the letter dated 4 May 1999 from the Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993) that the expert panels should be supported as an expense of the Organization and through a United Nations trust fund established for this purpose, requests the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps towards this end, and urges States to make voluntary contributions to the trust fund;

12. *Reiterates its call* upon all concerned to cooperate with the United Nations humanitarian assistance activities on the basis of the principles of neutrality and non-discrimination, to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance to all those in need throughout the territory of Angola and to guarantee unconditionally the security and freedom of movement of humanitarian personnel;

13. Expresses its strong support for further consultations between the Secretary-General and the Government of Angola regarding the follow-up configuration of the United Nations presence in Angola;

14. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United States welcomed and expressed its appreciation for the initiative of the Chairman of the Angola sanctions committee, who would travel to countries in the region to discuss ways to improve the implementation of sanctions against UNITA. They also welcomed the establishment of expert panels to investigate sanctions violations.¹⁸⁹

Decision of 19 May 1999 (4007th meeting): statement by the President

At the 4007th meeting of the Security Council, held on 19 May 1999 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Gabon) made the following statement on behalf of the Council:¹⁹⁰

The Security Council strongly condemns the criminal act by the União Nacional Para a Independência Total de Angola against commercial aircraft, namely the shooting down of an Antonov-26 aircraft on 12 May 1999 near Luzamba and the taking of its Russian crew hostage, while the fate of its Angolan passengers remains unknown.

The Council expresses its grave concern at the fate of those who were on board the downed aircraft, demands the immediate and unconditional release of the Russian crew members and all other foreign nationals that may be held hostage in Angola by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, and also demands information on the fate of the Angolan passengers. It stresses that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola and its leader, Mr. Jonas Savimbi, carry full responsibility for their security.

The Council calls upon the Government of Angola and all other concerned parties to cooperate in obtaining the release of the Russian crew members as well as in ascertaining the fate of passengers and crew members of other commercial aircraft lost under suspicious circumstances over territory controlled by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

The Council will remain actively seized of the matter.

Deliberations of 29 July 1999 (4027th meeting)

At its 4027th meeting, held on 29 July 1999 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Security Council included the item "Briefing by the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 (1993) concerning the situation in Angola" in its agenda. Following the adopting of the agenda, the President (Malaysia), drew the attention of the Council to a letter dated 28 July 1999 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 addressed to the President of the

¹⁸⁹ S/PV.3999, p. 2.

¹⁹⁰ S/PRST/1999/14.

Security Council and the annexed report by the Chairman.¹⁹¹

The representative of Canada and Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 864 stated that the premise of the work in the Sanctions Committee was that the war could be ended only through political dialogue and that their intention was to do everything possible to limit the ability of UNITA to pursue the war option. Their objective was to give teeth to hitherto ineffective sanctions and to make very clear that sanctions violations were no longer cost free. He then commented on the steps that the Committee was taken to take to give the sanctions teeth. They had made two visits abroad and were about to announce the creation of two expert panels. The African trip had resulted in a set of 14 preliminary recommendations, included in the report submitted in early June. The recommendations included the prospect of sanctions monitors, and a proposal for close collaboration with Interpol and other international organizations. The trips also included extensive discussion of the effective application of sanctions against the trade in diamonds by UNITA.¹⁹²

During the course of the debate, several speakers spoke, welcoming the Chairman's approach, supporting his recommendations, and underlining the importance of States cooperating in implementing the sanctions.¹⁹³

At the end of the meeting, the Chairman spoke again and responded to some of the questions raised.¹⁹⁴

Decision of 24 August 1999 (4036th meeting): statement by the President

At the 4036th meeting of the Security Council, held on 24 August 1999 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the President (Namibia), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Angola, at her request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. At the same meeting, the President made the following statement on behalf of the Council:¹⁹⁵

The Security Council expresses its deep concern at the deteriorating political, military and humanitarian situation in Angola, at the suffering of the people and at the dramatic increase in the number of internally displaced persons, which has now reached well over two million, not including the unknown number of internally displaced persons in areas which are currently inaccessible to humanitarian agencies.

The Council reiterates that the primary cause of the current crisis in Angola is the failure by the leadership of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to comply with its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol, and it again demands that the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola comply immediately and without conditions with its obligations to demilitarize and permit the extension of state administration to areas under its control. It reaffirms its belief that lasting peace and national reconciliation can only be achieved through political dialogue.

The Council expresses its concern at the critical condition of the internally displaced persons who suffer from lack of food, medicines, shelter, arable land and other necessities. The Council further expresses its grave concern at the number of malnourished children and at the outbreak of diseases such as polio and meningitis due to the lack of access to clean water and hygiene. In this regard, the Council commends the excellent work by the Government of Angola and the United Nations system in their efforts towards the eradication of diseases in Angola. The Council also expresses its concern at the plight of those vulnerable groups, such as children, women, the elderly and the handicapped, who are particularly at risk and in need of special assistance.

The Council expresses its concern that the continuing conflict in Angola has increased the cost of humanitarian assistance. It notes the insufficient level of contributions to the 1999 United Nations Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for Angola and reiterates its appeal to the donor community to contribute generously, financially and in kind, to the humanitarian appeal to enable the agencies to address effectively the plight of the internally displaced persons. The Council welcomes the announcement by the Government of Angola of an emergency plan for humanitarian assistance.

The Council also expresses its concern that the continuing conflict and lack of access jeopardize the ability of the agencies to continue to deliver assistance to those in need. The Council urges the Government of Angola and particularly the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to provide access to all internally displaced persons in Angola and to facilitate the mechanisms necessary for the delivery of humanitarian assistance to all populations in need throughout the country. The Council urges both parties, particularly the

¹⁹¹ S/1999/829.

¹⁹² S/PV.4027, pp. 2-5.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 6 (United States); pp. 6-7 (Russian Federation);
p. 7 (Argentina); pp. 7-8 (Namibia); pp. 8-9 (China); p. 9 (United Kingdom); pp. 9-10 (France); pp. 10-11 (Gambia); p. 11 (Brazil); pp. 11-12 (Gabon); p. 12 (Bahrain); pp. 12-13 (Slovenia); and p. 13 (Malaysia).

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 14-16.

¹⁹⁵ S/PRST/1999/26.

Chapter VIII. Consideration of questions under the responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security

União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, to guarantee the safety and security and freedom of movement of humanitarian personnel, including United Nations and associated personnel, providing assistance to internally displaced persons. The Council strongly urges respect for the principle of neutrality and impartiality in the delivery of assistance. The Council commends the determination and courage of those working to relieve human suffering in Angola, including the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, the World Food Programme and the United Nations Children's Fund and other agencies.

The Council urges both parties to ensure full respect for human rights and international humanitarian law. In this connection, the Council urges the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to cease committing atrocities, including killing civilians and attacking humanitarian aid workers, and demands the release of all foreign citizens, including the Russian aircrews, held by the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola. It expresses its concern at reports of re-mining activities as well as the laying of mines in new areas in the country.

The Council will remain actively seized of the matter.

Decision of 15 October 1999 (4052nd meeting): resolution 1268 (1999)

By a letter dated 11 August 1999 addressed to the President of the Security Council,196 the Secretary-General reported on the consultations with the Government of Angola on a continued multidisciplinary presence of the United Nations in the country, as requested in the statement of the President of the Security Council dated 21 January 1999.197 The Secretary-General stated that the Government of Angola had indicated that conditions were now created for the signing of an agreement with the United Nations which would enable the United Nations office to start operating in Angola. Accordingly he intended to initiate practical arrangements for the earliest establishment of the new office and the conclusion with the Government of Angola of a status-of-mission agreement. He noted that the United Nations Humanitarian Assistance Coordination Unit, the activities of which enjoyed the fullest support of the Government, would continue to operate in its present configuration.

At its 4052nd meeting, held on 15 October 1999 in accordance with the understanding reached in its

prior consultations, the Security Council included the letter in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Russian Federation), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the same meeting the President drew the attention of the Council to a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.¹⁹⁸ The draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1268 (1999), which reads:

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991 and all subsequent relevant resolutions, in particular resolutions 1229 (1999) of 26 February 1999 and 1237 (1999) of 7 May 1999,

Recalling the statements by its President of 21 January and 24 August 1999,

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

Reiterating that the primary cause of the present situation in Angola is the failure of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, under the leadership of Mr. Jonas Savimbi, to comply with its obligations under the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions,

Reiterating also that lasting peace and national reconciliation can only be achieved through peaceful means, and in this regard reaffirming the importance of the "Acordos de Paz", the Lusaka Protocol and relevant Security Council resolutions,

Expressing its concern at the humanitarian effects of the present situation on the civilian population in Angola,

Welcoming the letter from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council dated 11 August 1999, and the letters referred to therein from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Angola to the Secretary-General dated 26 July 1999 and from the Secretary-General to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Angola dated 2 August 1999,

Reaffirming its view that a continued United Nations presence in Angola can contribute greatly to the promotion of peace, national reconciliation, human rights and regional security,

1. Authorizes the establishment, for an initial period of six months until 15 April 2000, of the United Nations Office in Angola staffed with the personnel necessary to liaise with the political, military, police and other civilian authorities, with a

¹⁹⁶ S/1999/871.

¹⁹⁷ S/PRST/1999/3.

¹⁹⁸ S/1999/1061.

view to exploring effective measures for restoring peace, assisting the Angolan people in the area of capacity-building, humanitarian assistance and the promotion of human rights, and coordinating other activities;

Decides that, pending further consultations between 2. the United Nations and the Government of Angola, the United Nations Office in Angola shall consist of up to thirty substantive professional staff, as well as the necessary administrative and other support personnel;

3. Stresses that the United Nations Humanitarian Assistance Coordination Unit will continue to operate and to be funded in its present configuration;

4. Calls upon all parties concerned and in particular the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola to ensure the safety, security and freedom of movement of United

5.

A. The situation concerning Rwanda

Decision of 8 March 1996 (3640th meeting): resolution 1050 (1996)

At its 3640th meeting held on 8 March 1996 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Security Council included the report of the Secretary-General dated 29 February 1996 on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR),¹ submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 1029 (1995), in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Botswana), with the consent of the Council, invited the representative of Rwanda, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

In his report, the Secretary-General observed that when Rwanda emerged from civil war and genocide with the establishment of the Government of National Unity on 19 July 1994, conditions in the country were nothing short of disastrous. There was no administration, no functioning economy, no judicial or education system, no water or electricity supply and no transport; the population, moreover, was still in a state of profound shock. Nevertheless, conditions in Rwanda had begun to return to normal, though a significant portion of the population was still refugees or displaced persons. Along with the efforts of the Rwandan people themselves, UNAMIR, other United Nations and international agencies and non-governmental organizations had also Nations and associated personnel and to respect fully their status;

5. Calls upon the Government of Angola and the Secretary-General to conclude as soon as possible a status-ofmission agreement;

Expresses its readiness to review the configuration 6. and mandate of the United Nations presence in Angola upon the recommendation of the Secretary-General in consultation with the Government of Angola;

Requests the Secretary-General to provide every 7 three months a report on developments in Angola, including his recommendations about additional measures the Council might consider to promote the peace process in Angola;

Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Items relating to the situation in Rwanda

worked with the Government to restore basic infrastructure and to rehabilitate vital sectors of the economy, clear mines, construct transit camps, and provide humanitarian assistance. The Mission by its presence had provided a sense of security and confidence to the representatives of the United Nations intergovernmental institutions agencies, and non-governmental organizations who, throughout the country and sometimes under very difficult circumstances, had worked for the recovery of Rwanda. The Secretary-General, in recalling his report of 30 January 1996, reiterated his view that the United Nations would still have a useful role to play even after the expiry of the UNAMIR mandate.² He gave three options for a continued United Nations presence: a small political office to support the efforts by the Government of Rwanda to promote national reconciliation, strengthen the judicial system, facilitate the return of refugees and rehabilitate the country's infrastructure; a political office plus a military component consisting of military observers to monitor and support the return of refugees; or the establishment of a regional office with responsibilities for promoting peace, stability and development in the Great Lakes region as a whole. He informed the Council that despite the significant progress towards normalcy in Rwanda the relative peace that prevailed would be under constant threat as long as the 1.5 million refugees, mixed with elements of the former Rwandan army and militias, were camped along the border. The

¹ S/1996/149.

² S/1006/61.