
Africa

1. Items relating to the situation in Angola

Initial proceedings

A. Letter dated 17 May 1991 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission

Decision of 30 May 1991 (2991st meeting): resolution 696 (1991)

By a letter dated 17 May 1991 addressed to the Secretary-General,¹ the representative of Angola transmitted a letter dated 8 May from the Minister for External Relations of Angola to the Secretary-General, enclosing the texts of the Peace Accords for Angola concluded by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). The Accords were initialled at Estoril, Portugal, on 1 May 1991 by the respective heads of delegation, and signed on 31 May 1991. The Minister requested the Secretary-General to take action to ensure the participation of the United Nations in verifying the implementation of the Peace Accords, as agreed by both sides, and accordingly to inform the Security Council of the need to prolong the presence in the country of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM) until the general elections scheduled for September and November 1992 had been held. He noted that, although the Peace Accords would come into force only after their formal signature at the end of May 1991, a de facto suspension of hostilities was to take effect as of 15 May 1991, on which date the verification mechanisms should be started.

On 20 May 1991, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a report on

¹ S/22609.

UNAVEM,² in which he considered how the Council might wish to respond to the request from the Government of Angola, which, if accepted, would entail the enlargement and extension of the Mission's mandate. The verification tasks earmarked for the United Nations from the Peace Accords would include (a) verification of the monitoring of the ceasefire by the Angolan parties; and (b) participation in the monitoring of the Angolan police during the ceasefire period. The Secretary-General observed that it was a matter of great satisfaction that an end was at last in sight to the cruel war that had ravaged Angola for too long. Now that the two sides had confirmed their acceptance of the Accords, it was of the greatest importance that all hostilities cease and that the de facto ceasefire should be observed. He added that the concepts set out in the Ceasefire Agreement for the monitoring and verification of the ceasefire seemed to be sound, provided that the two sides adhered scrupulously to their commitments under the Accords and that their representatives worked together in a new spirit of cooperation and national reconciliation. By entrusting the main tasks to the parties themselves, the arrangements proposed would have the advantage of reducing the costs to the international community at a time when there was an ever-growing demand for funds for peacekeeping. The Secretary-General accordingly recommended that the Council take the earliest possible decision to enlarge and prolong the mandate of UNAVEM in order to enable it to carry out the new verification tasks arising from the Peace Accords. He proposed further that the Mission's new mandate should commence from the date on which the ceasefire was to enter into force (31 May 1991) and end on the day following the completion of presidential and legislative elections in Angola, which were to be held between 1 September and 30 November 1992.

At its 2991st meeting, held on 30 May 1991 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Security Council included in its agenda the letter from the representative of Angola and

² S/22627; see also S/22627/Add.1 of 29 May 1991.

the Secretary-General's report of 20 May. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representatives of Angola and Portugal, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (China) also drew the attention of the members of the Council to two letters addressed to the Secretary-General: a letter dated 17 May 1991 from the representative of Portugal;³ and a letter dated 24 May 1991 from the representatives of Angola and Cuba.⁴ By his letter of 17 May, the representative of Portugal transmitted the joint communiqué of a meeting held in Lisbon on 15 and 16 May between the representatives of the Government of Angola and of UNITA, in the presence of the Portuguese mediators and observers from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States, which recorded, *inter alia*, that the question of the participation of the United Nations in the observance of the ceasefire had been discussed and that the delegations had agreed to request the Security Council for its support of the process. By their letter of 24 May, the representatives of Angola and Cuba transmitted a joint declaration, issued on 23 May by their respective Governments, concerning the completion on 25 May, ahead of schedule, of the withdrawal of the Cuban "internationalist troops" from Angola. The President of the Council also drew members' attention to a draft resolution⁵ that had been prepared in the course of prior consultations.

The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 696 (1991), which reads:

The Security Council,

Welcoming the decision of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola to conclude the Peace Accords for Angola,

Stressing the importance it attaches to the signing of the Peace Accords and to the fulfilment by the parties in good faith of the obligations contained therein,

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

Noting with satisfaction the decision taken by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and the Government of the Republic of Cuba to complete the withdrawal, ahead of schedule, of all Cuban troops from Angola by 25 May 1991,

Considering the request submitted to the Secretary-General by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Angola in his letter dated 8 May 1991,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 20 and 29 May 1991,

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

1. *Approves* the report of the Secretary-General of 20 and 29 May 1991 and the recommendations therein;

2. *Decides accordingly* to entrust a new mandate to the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (henceforth United Nations Angola Verification Mission II) as proposed by the Secretary-General in line with the Peace Accords for Angola, and requests the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to this effect;

3. *Also decides* to establish the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II for a period of seventeen months from the date of adoption of the present resolution in order to accomplish the objectives stated in the report of the Secretary-General;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council immediately after the signature of the Peace Accords and to keep the Council fully informed of further developments.

On 4 June 1991, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his report in pursuance of resolution 696 (1991).⁶ He stated that he had been present at the ceremony at which the Peace Accords were signed on 31 May and had immediately taken steps to implement the new mandate entrusted to the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (henceforth UNAVEM II).⁷

On 6 June 1991, the Secretary-General, pursuant to resolution 626 (1988), submitted to the Security Council a report on the last phase of UNAVEM operations.⁸ He reported that UNAVEM had successfully carried out its mandate ahead of schedule, following the completion on 25 May 1991 of the

³ S/22617.

⁴ S/22644.

⁵ S/22652.

⁶ S/22672.

⁷ For further details concerning the establishment and operation of UNAVEM II, see chapter V.

⁸ S/22678.

withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. The Mission's original mandate, set out by the Council in resolution 626 (1988), included verification of the redeployment to the north and the staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola by 1 July 1991, under a timetable agreed to by Angola and Cuba in December 1988.

B. Further reports of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II

Decision of 24 March 1992 (3062nd meeting): resolution 747 (1992)

On 31 October 1991, pursuant to resolution 696 (1991), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report on the activities of United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II) during its first five months of operation, beginning on 31 May 1991 when the ceasefire entered into force, and ending on 25 October.⁹ He stated that the ceasefire had, in general, been well respected by both sides, providing a sound basis for implementation of the other provisions of the Peace Accords. The two sides had been less successful, however, in complying with those provisions of the Accords that dealt with the confinement of troops to assembly areas. With regard to the forthcoming elections, the Secretary-General had expressed to both sides his view that, at least as a first step, the United Nations should be invited to provide technical assistance to those who would be responsible for planning and conducting the elections, particularly as Angola would be holding its first democratic elections. Regarding a possible role for the United Nations in observing the elections, that was a formidable prospect, given the devastated condition of the country and the almost total lack of the infrastructure that would be necessary to support electoral observers. Although no decision had yet been taken by the Angolan authorities to request the United Nations to provide either technical assistance or electoral observers, there were strong indications of a growing consensus in the country that the United Nations should be involved. It had been explained to the Angolan authorities that the provision of election observers would require a further decision of the Security Council and that, given the extreme

complexities of such an operation, it was important that any request for United Nations involvement should be received as quickly as possible, so that appropriate recommendations could be made.

On 3 March 1992, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a further report on UNAVEM II.¹⁰ He recalled that his predecessor had informed members of the Council of the requests he had received from the Minister for External Relations of Angola in two letters dated 8 November 1991: for United Nations technical assistance to help prepare for and conduct the elections scheduled for September 1992; and for United Nations observers to follow the electoral procedure until its completion. The Secretary-General stated that he had already initiated the early provision of technical assistance on electoral matters to Angola. With regard to United Nations observation of the elections, he recalled that, during informal consultations on 20 December, his predecessor had stated that the following points were particularly relevant to the Angolan request: (a) the request clearly pertained to a situation with an international dimension with which the Council had been seized since it established UNAVEM II to monitor the ceasefire arrangements agreed to in the Peace Accords; (b) the conduct of internationally supervised elections constituted the central element in the implementation of the Peace Accords; (c) in order to verify the fairness and impartiality of the elections, the monitoring should cover the entire electoral process, including voter registration; (d) the introduction of a United Nations presence in the electoral process had been officially requested by the Government of Angola at an important point in the peace process; and (e) there was broad public support in Angola for the United Nations to assume such a role. Bearing those points in mind, his predecessor had informed the Council of his intention to recommend that it authorize a mission to observe the elections in Angola, on the basis of the views of a preliminary survey team which he proposed to send first to the country. The Secretary-General recalled further that he had subsequently informed the Council of his decision to appoint a Special Representative for Angola who would be in charge of all current and projected activities of the United Nations in connection with the Angola Peace Accords and would also be Chief of UNAVEM II; as well as of

⁹ S/23191.

¹⁰ S/23671; see also S/23671/Add.1 of 20 March 1992.

his intention to recommend that UNAVEM II be enlarged to include an electoral division.¹¹

The Secretary-General outlined the proposed terms of reference¹² and an operational plan for United Nations observation of the elections and the enlargement of UNAVEM II, underlining the need for the electoral mission to have the explicit agreement of the two parties to the Peace Accords.¹³ He observed that, although much had been achieved in implementing the peace process, much remained to be done to ensure that the gains were followed through to completion. The timetable for implementation of the Accords could not be delayed further. All Angolan parties and forces had to join in making renewed commitments to realistic timetables until the goal of free and fair elections in September 1992 was achieved. To ensure the success of the electoral process, the Secretary-General called for the demobilization of troops, the establishment of a unified civilian police force and the formation of joint military police units within the new national army, and an extension of the Government's administration and the restoration of security throughout the country. He emphasized that the Angolan elections were essentially a national, sovereign affair: the role of the United Nations was to observe and verify the elections, not to organize them. Within the limits of its mandate and resources, however, the United Nations should make every possible effort to assist the process. He accordingly recommended that the mandate, strength and composition of UNAVEM II be enlarged in the manner described in his report.

At its 3062nd meeting, held on 24 March 1992 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Security Council included the Secretary-General's report of 3 March in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representatives of Angola and Portugal, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (Venezuela) drew the attention of the members of the Council to a draft resolution¹⁴ that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations, and to a minor revision

to operative paragraph 8 of the provisional version of the draft resolution.

The representative of Angola welcomed the draft resolution as another "very important landmark" in the process of peace and democratization of Angola, since it would guarantee the presence of international observers in his country's electoral process. He also reaffirmed his Government's commitment to implement the Peace Accords.¹⁵

The representative of Cape Verde believed that the decision to enlarge the mandate of UNAVEM II was an important one, as it would confer upon the electoral process the international credibility that would further contribute to the creation of a climate of confidence and stability in Angola.¹⁶

The representative of Portugal observed that the signing of the Peace Accords on 31 May 1991 marked the beginning of a new era for Angola, with the leaders of the parties involved in the conflict that had devastated Angola for more than 15 years now committing themselves to working together for a period that would end with the holding of free elections. In that regard, the role of the United Nations in observing and verifying the elections was essential.¹⁷

Speaking before the vote, several Council members welcomed the broadening of the mandate of UNAVEM II to include electoral monitoring, observing that the United Nations had an important role to play in that process. They called on the Angolan parties to comply with the Peace Accords and to ensure that free and fair elections were held in September, as agreed.¹⁸

The draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form, was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 747 (1992), which reads:

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 696 (1991) of 30 May 1991 by which it decided to entrust a new mandate to the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II as proposed by the Secretary-General in line with the Peace Accords for Angola,

¹¹ Letter dated 6 February 1992 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council (S/23556).

¹² S/23671, para. 22; see also, chapter V.

¹³ S/23671, para. 18.

¹⁴ S/23743.

¹⁵ S/PV.3062, pp. 3-6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

¹⁸ For the relevant statements, see S/PV.3062, pp. 9-10 (United States); p. 11 (Russian Federation); p. 12 (France); and pp. 13-14 (Belgium).

Welcoming the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General to implement fully the mandate entrusted to the Mission,

Noting with satisfaction the efforts made so far by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola to maintain the ceasefire and expressing concern over the delays and gaps in the completion of some major tasks arising from the Accords,

Stressing again the importance it attaches to the fulfilment by the parties in good faith of all obligations contained in the Accords,

Welcoming the appointment by the Secretary-General of a Special Representative for Angola who will be in charge of all current and projected activities of the United Nations in connection with the Accords and will also be the Chief of the Mission,

Taking into account the report of the Secretary-General of 31 October 1991 on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II,

Having considered the further report of the Secretary-General of 3 and 20 March 1992 on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II,

1. *Approves* the further report of the Secretary-General of 3 and 20 March 1992 on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II and the recommendations contained therein concerning the operational plan for United Nations observation of the elections and the enlargement of the Mission;

2. *Calls upon* the Angolan parties to cooperate fully with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Angola and with the Mission, including in the discharge of its expanded mandate;

3. *Underlines* the necessity recalled in paragraph 18 of the report of the Secretary-General for the United Nations electoral mission to have the explicit agreement of the two parties to the Peace Accords for Angola;

4. *Decides* to enlarge the mandate of the Mission to include the mission provided for in paragraph 22 of the report of the Secretary-General for the remainder of its existing mandate period;

5. *Urges* the Angolan parties to comply scrupulously with the provisions of the Accords and with the agreed deadlines; and to this end, to proceed without delay with the demobilization of their troops, formation of a unified national armed force, effective operation of joint police monitoring units, extension of the central administration and other major tasks;

6. *Calls upon* the Angolan authorities and parties to finalize political, legal, organizational and budgetary preparations for free and fair multi-party elections to be held in September 1992 and to make available as soon as possible all available resources for the electoral process;

7. *Encourages* all States to contribute voluntarily and requests the United Nations programmes and specialized agencies to provide the assistance and support necessary to prepare for free and fair multi-party elections in Angola;

8. *Urges* the parties to establish as soon as possible a precise timetable for the electoral process in Angola so that elections can take place at the date fixed and requests the Secretary-General to extend his cooperation to this end;

9. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council informed of developments and to submit a further report to the Council within three months of the adoption of the present resolution.

Decision of 20 May 1992: letter from the President of the Security Council to the Secretary-General

By a letter dated 14 May 1992 addressed to the President of the Council,¹⁹ the Secretary-General reported that his Special Representative had informed him that noticeable progress had been made with regard to the police monitoring arrangements envisaged by the Peace Accords. Three joint (Government and UNITA) police monitoring groups, to be verified by UNAVEM police observers, had been established in each of 18 Angolan provinces. His Special Representative had concluded that it was necessary to expand the Mission's police strength in each province from four police officers to six; she also believed it to be important to expand the tasks assigned to the Mission's police contingent, to include a role in the Mission's electoral tasks through the monitoring of rallies during the election campaign and observation of the registration process and polling stations at the time of the elections. The Secretary-General accordingly recommended that the police strength of UNAVEM II should be increased from 90 to 126 officers.

By a letter dated 20 May 1992,²⁰ the President of the Council informed the Secretary-General as follows:

I have the honour to inform you that your letter dated 14 May 1992 concerning the increase in the strength of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM) II has been brought to the attention of the members of the Council. They agree with your recommendation contained therein.

¹⁹ S/23985.

²⁰ S/23986.

**Decision of 7 July 1992 (3092nd meeting):
statement by the President**

On 24 June 1992, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a further report, pursuant to resolution 747 (1992), on the activities of UNAVEM II and the electoral process in Angola.²¹ He observed that the Angolans had achieved a great deal in implementing the peace process and that they were being actively assisted by the three observers — Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States — as well as by the international community and UNAVEM II. Much work, however, needed to be done urgently by all the parties concerned, mainly the Government and UNITA, if they were to achieve the goal of free and fair multiparty elections on 29 and 30 September 1992. He remarked that the attention of the Angolan people and their leaders had increasingly turned towards the election process and away from the major unfinished tasks of the Peace Accords, such as confinement of troops and weapons, demobilization, and formation of the new armed forces and police. He stressed that the Government and UNITA must now make all possible progress on those vital tasks if the peace process was to succeed and endure. They must also work together to reduce and bring under control the current brinkmanship, since the political and security atmosphere throughout the country remained tense and could derail the peace process if not contained. Recalling that the United Nations was in Angola to observe and verify the peace process and the elections, not to organize them, he called on Angolans to maintain their political commitment and on donor countries to provide the promised assistance expeditiously.

At its 3092nd meeting, held on 7 July 1992 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Security Council included the Secretary-General's report of 24 June in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

The President (Cape Verde) stated that, following consultations held earlier among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:²²

The Council has considered carefully the further report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II of 24 June 1992, and notes the efforts of the Angolan parties to implement commitments agreed to in the Peace Accords for Angola. It commends the efforts of the Angolans to move their country towards free and fair multi-party elections on 29 and 30 September 1992 in accordance with the established timetable. There is no viable alternative to this. The Council calls on all interested parties to cooperate fully with the electoral process to ensure that elections are free and fair.

The Council re-emphasizes the observation of the Secretary-General in his report, that Angola being a sovereign and independent country, the organization and supervision of all tasks under the Accords is the responsibility of the Angolan parties themselves. Nevertheless, the Council, which has mandated United Nations observation and verification of the peace process, at the request of the Angolan parties, remains seriously concerned at some constraints holding back the process at the moment.

The maintenance of peace since May 1991, and the commitment by all parties to the electoral process, are encouraging. Nevertheless, the Council reaffirms the importance it attaches to the fulfilment by the parties in good faith of all obligations contained in the Accords. In this connection, it strongly appeals to the Government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola to overcome rapidly the delays and inadequacies described in the report, and increase the momentum of progress on the issues of confinement of troops and weapons, demobilization and the formation of the new armed forces and police.

The Council also expresses its concern at the political and security situation in Angola, which requires the greatest restraint. Violent incidents, mutual accusations and hostile propaganda should be terminated and give way to tolerance, cooperation, and reconciliation. It is imperative to agree, without delay, on a brief and clear code of electoral conduct and to ensure that everybody is allowed freedom of movement and speech and the ability to register to vote without fear in all areas of the country. The Council calls on the Government and all parties to work closely with the Special Representative for Angola and all United Nations specialized agencies engaged in the electoral process to ensure that voter registration is conducted in accordance with established procedures and completed in a timely manner.

The Council calls on both parties to devote all available resources to preparations for the elections in order that their commitment to elections on 29 and 30 September 1992 may be met and welcomes with appreciation commitments by donor countries to provide all support for all vital tasks relating to the final three months of the peace process. Since the logistical difficulties are major constraints on the process, the Council strongly appeals to the Member States concerned to provide the promised assistance expeditiously and urges Member States as well as the United Nations agencies to display flexibility and pragmatism in this cooperation to ensure that a successful

²¹ S/24145 and Corr.1.

²² S/24249.

conclusion of the Angolan operation leads to stability and prosperity in Angola.

The Council calls on all parties to take all necessary measures to ensure the security and safety of Mission staff and property.

The Council will continue to keep the situation in Angola under close review and looks forward to a further report by the Secretary-General at the beginning of the electoral campaign.

Decision of 18 September 1992 (3115th meeting): statement by the President

On 9 September 1992, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a further report, pursuant to the statement by the President of 7 July, on the activities of UNAVEM II and the electoral process in Angola.²³ He stated that the Angolans were to be congratulated for maintaining the ceasefire for 15 months, and for registering the great majority of the adult population to vote in the presidential and legislative elections on 29 and 30 September. However, he noted that both sides had failed to complete certain very important tasks provided for in the Peace Accords, including the demobilization of the remaining Government and UNITA troops, the collection and centralized storage of weapons, the formation of the new unified Angolan armed forces and the establishment of a neutral police force. These tasks were essential to the creation of conditions conducive to free and fair elections. The political and security situation throughout the country had, moreover, deteriorated significantly, with reports of intimidation and provocation by both Government and UNITA supporters. The Secretary-General considered it essential that all political parties pledge to respect the results of the elections, as verified by UNAVEM II. He appealed to the Government and UNITA to ensure that their supporters and the media under their control did not present inaccurate, distorted or inflammatory reports during the next few crucial weeks, and appealed to the President of Angola and the President of UNITA to continue honouring their commitments under the Peace Accords.

The Secretary-General reported further that doubts had recently been expressed in some provinces about the effectiveness and impartiality of UNAVEM II. Where his Special Representative for Angola had been able to obtain specific examples, they mainly

reflected misunderstanding of the Mission's role and an overestimation of the United Nations capacity and mandate. He recalled that, according to the Peace Accords and the mandate of the Security Council, UNAVEM II was in Angola not to organize or implement the ceasefire and electoral arrangements, but to observe and verify the monitoring of their implementation by the Angolan parties themselves. While interpreting this mandate in the widest and most active manner, UNAVEM had constantly stressed that it could only work through the consultative mechanisms set up under the Peace Accords. The Secretary-General said that he had assured the President of UNITA, who had raised such concerns, that they would be thoroughly investigated and that he had the fullest confidence in his Special Representative.²⁴

Noting that the elections — the culminating point of the peace process — were not an end in themselves, but the springboard for a new era, the Secretary-General stated that concerns had been expressed, both by Angolans and by foreign observers, as to what would happen during the delicate period of transition after the elections. The Presidents of Angola and UNITA had both referred publicly to the possibility of UNAVEM being asked to remain for a limited period, and there were indications that the issue would be discussed further. When this possibility had been mentioned to his Special Representative, she had stressed that any such extension would require an official request by the Government of Angola, based on a consensus, and thereafter a decision by the Security Council; and that the mandate would need to be clearly defined and limited in both time and scope.

At its 3115th meeting, held on 18 September 1992 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the Secretary-General's report of 9 September in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

The President (Ecuador) stated that, following consultations among the members of the Council, he

²³ S/24556.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, para. 9.

had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:²⁵

The Council has noted with appreciation the further report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II of 9 September 1992, which it has studied carefully.

It reaffirms the importance it attaches to the full implementation of the Peace Accords for Angola, culminating in free and fair multi-party elections on 29 and 30 September 1992. It congratulates the Angolans on their success in maintaining the ceasefire and in registering the great majority of the population to vote in the elections. It is convinced of the irreversibility of this process.

At the same time, the Council calls on the Angolan parties to take urgent and determined steps to complete certain essential measures. These include the demobilization of the remaining Government and National Union for the Total Independence of Angola troops, the collection and centralized storage of weapons, and the rapid completion of the formation of the new Angolan national armed forces. It is also essential that the police should operate as a neutral, national force.

The Council is also concerned at the recent deterioration of the political and security situation in Angola. It endorses the Secretary-General's appeal to President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi to exercise leadership at this critical juncture and to ensure that their followers act with restraint and tolerance. The Council is encouraged by the reports of positive decisions reached by the two leaders at their meeting on 7 September 1992 and urges them to implement these without delay. Of particular importance is their reported agreement in principle to the formation of a government of national reconciliation after the elections.

The Council calls upon the Angolan electoral authorities to ensure that all registered persons are given the opportunity to exercise their vote and to extend polling hours on the second day, if this should prove necessary. The Council also underlines the importance of adequate logistical planning and support and urges the donor community to move speedily to provide the remaining requirements identified in the Secretary-General's report.

The Council is concerned that doubts have recently been expressed in Angola about the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II's effectiveness and impartiality and welcomes the decision of the Secretary-General as expressed in paragraph 9 of his report to investigate thoroughly all matters raised in this regard. It expresses strong support for the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for Angola and commends Mission personnel who are tackling their challenging tasks with courage, impartiality and dedication. It urges the Angolan parties to continue to cooperate closely with the United Nations and to take all necessary steps to ensure the security of United Nations personnel and property.

²⁵ S/24573.

The Council takes note of a reported agreement between the Government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola that the United Nations should be asked to extend the Mission's presence in Angola during the period of transition after the elections. It will be prepared to consider such a request if it is based on wide support in Angola and if it proposes for the Mission a mandate which is clearly defined in scope and time.

The Council will continue to keep the situation in Angola under close review and looks forward to a further report by the Secretary-General after the elections.

C. Oral report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II

Decision of 6 October 1992 (3120th meeting): statement by the President

At its 3120th meeting, held on 6 October 1992 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included in its agenda an oral report of the Secretary-General on UNAVEM II. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Angola, at her request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

The President (France) stated that, following consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:²⁶

The Council has followed closely the electoral process which took place in Angola on 29 and 30 September 1992 in accordance with resolution 696 (1991), which it adopted on 30 May 1991 following the Peace Accords for Angola. The Council is gratified that the presidential and parliamentary elections were held throughout the country in a calm atmosphere and with the participation of a large number of voters. It also wishes to express once again its full support for the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Angola and its gratitude for the outstanding efforts that she has made, together with all the personnel of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II, to ensure the implementation of that resolution and in particular the smooth conduct of the electoral process.

The Council expresses its concern at the reports it has received, according to which one of the parties to the Accords is contesting the validity of the elections. It is also concerned that certain Generals belonging to the same party have announced their intention of withdrawing from the new Angolan armed forces.

²⁶ S/24623.

The Council calls upon all the parties to respect the obligations they have assumed within the framework of the Accords, and in particular the obligation to respect the final election results. Any challenge must be settled through the mechanisms established for that purpose.

The Council has decided to send to Angola as quickly as possible an ad hoc commission, composed of members of the Council to support the implementation of the Accords, in close cooperation with the Special Representative. The membership of this Commission will be established in the near future following consultations among the members of the Council.

On 8 October 1992, the President of the Council issued a note in which he stated that, following consultations among the members of the Council, the members had agreed that the ad hoc Commission should comprise the following four members of the Council: Cape Verde, Morocco, the Russian Federation and the United States.²⁷

Decision of 19 October 1992: statement by the President

On 19 October 1992, following consultations among the members of the Council, the President issued the following statement to the media on behalf of the Council:²⁸

The members of the Security Council heard on 19 October 1992 an oral report of the members of the ad hoc Commission of the Council which was dispatched to Angola from 11 to 14 October 1992.

They expressed gratitude to the members of this Commission and welcomed its contribution to reducing the tension in Angola and to finding a solution to the difficulties that arose after the elections of 29 and 30 September 1992.

The members of the Council once again called upon the parties to abide scrupulously by all the commitments entered into within the framework of the Peace Accords for Angola, in particular with regard to the demobilization of their troops and formation of the united armed forces, and to refrain from any action that could increase the tension.

The members of the Council noted with satisfaction that in her public announcement of 17 October 1992 the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Angola certified that, with all deficiencies taken into account, the elections held on 29 and 30 September 1992 can be considered to have been generally free and fair.

²⁷ S/24639.

²⁸ S/24683; recorded as a Security Council decision in *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council, 1992*, p. 88.

They also noted with satisfaction that the leaders of the two parties to the Accords agreed to start a dialogue with a view to the completion of the presidential elections.

The members of the Council look forward to the recommendations of the Secretary-General on the contribution of the United Nations to ensuring the completion of the presidential elections. They are ready to act without delay on the basis of these recommendations.

D. Letter dated 27 October 1992 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council

Decision of 27 October 1992 (3126th meeting): statement by the President

At its 3126th meeting, held on 27 October 1992 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included in its agenda a letter dated 27 October 1992 from the Secretary-General, addressed to the President of the Security Council, on the situation in Angola.²⁹ Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

The President (France) stated that, following consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:³⁰

The Council has taken note of the letter dated 27 October 1992 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council concerning the situation in Angola. It expresses its serious concern at the deterioration of the political situation and the rising tension in that country.

The Council once again calls on the parties to the Peace Accords for Angola to respect all the commitments undertaken in accordance with these accords, in particular with regard to the confinement of their troops and weapons, demobilization, and formation of the unified national armed forces. It also calls on the parties to refrain from any act that might heighten tension, impair the conduct of the electoral process and threaten the territorial integrity of Angola.

The Council calls on the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola and the other parties in the electoral process in Angola to respect the results of the elections held on 29 and 30 September 1992, which the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Angola certified as being generally

²⁹ The letter was circulated to the members of the Council, but not issued as a document of the Council.

³⁰ S/24720.

free and fair. It urges the leaders of the two parties to the Accords to engage in a dialogue without delay so as to enable the second round of the presidential elections to be held. The Council will hold responsible any party which refuses to take part in such a dialogue, thereby jeopardizing the entire process.

The Council strongly condemns the attacks and baseless accusations made by Vorgan, the radio station of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, against the Special Representative and the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II. It calls for the immediate cessation of these attacks and accusations, and reiterates its full support for the Special Representative and for the Mission.

The Council reiterates its readiness to act without delay on the basis of recommendations that the Secretary-General might make concerning the contribution of the United Nations to the completion of the electoral process.

E. Letter dated 29 October 1992 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council

Decision of 30 October 1992 (3130th meeting): resolution 785 (1992)

By a letter dated 29 October 1992 addressed to the President of the Security Council,³¹ the Secretary-General recommended an extension of the mandate of UNAVEM II for an interim period. He recalled that, in his letter of 27 October to the President, he had described the difficulties which had arisen in Angola since the elections of 29 and 30 September, including the lack of agreement between the two parties to the Peace Accords on arrangements for the holding of a second round of presidential elections. Both parties, however, had declared their wish that UNAVEM II should play a role in organizing and verifying that round when it took place. The Secretary-General also recalled that just before the elections he had received a letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Angola,³² conveying his Government's request for an extension of the activities of UNAVEM II until 31 December 1992, the date which the Government believed to be reasonable for the conclusion of the democratization process in the country. Given the uncertainties that had arisen following the Angolan elections, the Secretary-General had deferred making a recommendation to the Council about that request. In these circumstances, he saw no alternative but to

recommend the extension of the mandate of UNAVEM II for an interim period of 31 days, until 30 November. He hoped that, with the cooperation of the two parties to the Peace Accords, he would then be in a better position to make a substantive recommendation on the future mandate and strength of UNAVEM II.

At its 3130th meeting, held on 30 October 1992 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the Secretary-General's letter of 29 October in its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the Council invited the representatives of Angola, Brazil, Portugal and South Africa, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President (France) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the following letters addressed to the Secretary-General: (a) a letter dated 24 September from the representative of Angola,³³ requesting the extension of the activities of UNAVEM II until 31 December 1992; (b) a letter dated 23 October from the representative of the United Kingdom,³⁴ transmitting a statement on Angola made by the European Community and its member States on 22 October; and (c) a letter dated 27 October from the representative of South Africa,³⁵ concerning the position of the Government of South Africa on the recent elections in Angola and their aftermath. The President also drew members' attention to a draft resolution that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations,³⁶ and to some oral revisions made to the draft resolution in its provisional form.

The representative of Portugal stated that his country considered the presence and the role of the United Nations in Angola to be of vital importance, and favoured the strengthening of the future mandate of UNAVEM II. He also welcomed the active engagement of the Security Council in this grave matter. The disturbing increase in tension was taking the country to the brink of war once again, and the international community must make clear that it would not accept the disruption of the commitments made in the Peace Accords. Any support given to any of the parties outside the framework and spirit of those agreements should be unequivocally condemned. He appreciated the fact that, in its draft resolution, the

³¹ S/24736.

³² Letter dated 24 September 1992 (S/24585).

³³ S/24585.

³⁴ S/24712.

³⁵ S/24732.

³⁶ S/24738.

Council would reiterate its readiness to consider all appropriate measures to ensure that all parties abstained from the use of force and fully respected the final outcome of the democratic process. The seriousness of the situation not only caused deep concern over what might occur in Angola, but could also jeopardize the peace and stability of the whole region.³⁷

The representative of Brazil noted that, since the statement made by the President of the Council on 27 October, the situation in Angola had continued to deteriorate; like the previous speaker, he feared that it had now reached proportions at which it might come to affect peace and security both in Angola and in the surrounding region. Expressing firm support for the draft resolution the Council was about to adopt, he stressed in particular the importance of “its readiness to consider all appropriate measures” under the Charter of the United Nations to secure implementation of the Peace Accords.³⁸

The representative of Angola expressed his Government’s concern about the grave situation in his country, created by the “irresponsible attitude” of UNITA in refusing to accept the results of the elections which had been declared “free and fair” by the Council. That attitude was in clear violation of the Peace Accords. His Government asked that strong measures be taken to force UNITA to accept the election results and the implementation of the Peace Accords. He also expressed concern about information regarding the presence of South African fighting forces alongside UNITA; if proved to be correct, that would have dangerous implications for the entire region.³⁹

The representative of South Africa categorically dismissed the allegations of South African military cooperation with UNITA against the Government of Angola. He insisted that his Government would in no way support any party that opted for a violent solution or perpetrated aggression in Angola. Military action was not an option, and his Government had done its best to bring that home to the leaders of Angola; a democratic process was absolutely essential to solve the problems in the country. Differences had to be resolved around the conference table. The Government of South Africa would therefore support any suggestion

that would bring about peace, and urged the Security Council to act in such a way as would facilitate its achievement.⁴⁰

Speaking before the vote on the draft resolution, the representative of the United States urged the Presidents of Angola and UNITA to act decisively to stop the spiral of violence from leading Angola towards renewed civil war. He signalled his country’s deep concern at reports that UNITA was trying to extend its authority over parts of Angolan territory; if true, that would represent a major breach of the Peace Accords. The speaker stated that his country would continue, in full cooperation with the United Nations, to seek peace, national reconciliation and democracy in Angola. Those goals could be achieved only if violence was ended, troops were returned to their barracks, and meaningful political dialogue was resumed at the highest level. He called on the parties to implement those actions urgently. It was imperative that the two Angolan leaders hold a summit meeting immediately to overcome the current crisis. The speaker hoped that the draft resolution would contribute to a rapid and peaceful conclusion of the process laid out in the Peace Accords.⁴¹

The draft resolution in its provisional form was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously, as resolution 785 (1992), which reads:

The Security Council,

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

Recalling also the statement made on its behalf by the President of the Security Council on 27 October 1992,

Taking note of the letter dated 29 October 1992 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, in which he recommends an extension of the existing mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II for an interim period,

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

Deeply concerned also at the reports of the recent resumption of hostilities by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola in Luanda and Huambo,

Affirming that any party which fails to abide by all the commitments entered into under the Peace Accords for Angola

³⁷ S/PV.3130, pp. 6-7.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-10.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-12.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-17.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

will be rejected by the international community, and that the results of the use of force will not be accepted,

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

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

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

4. *Calls on* all States to refrain from any action which directly or indirectly could jeopardize the implementation of the Peace Accords for Angola and increase the tension in the country;

5. *Reiterates* its full support for the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Angola and the Mission, and its strong condemnation of the attacks and baseless accusations made by Vorgan, the radio station of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, against the Special Representative and the Mission;

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

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

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

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

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

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United Kingdom noted that since the signing of the peace agreements much progress had been made in Angola, due, in particular, to the United Nations agencies and UNAVEM II, under the leadership of the

Secretary-General's Special Representative. That progress was now being put at risk by the unwillingness of one of the parties to accept the results of the elections and to carry the presidential elections to their conclusion in a second round, and by a threatening to resort to force. Such a denial of the results of the elections and a resort to force would not be accepted by the international community. Noting that it was not too late to get the peace process back on track, the speaker stated that his Government hoped that the clear warning of international isolation conveyed in resolution 785 (1992) would be heeded.⁴²

The representative of the Russian Federation, too, stated that UNITA must heed the grave warnings contained in the resolution just adopted. Its attempt once again to plunge Angola into civil war not only threatened the settlement process in that country but could also have a negative impact on the situation in the region as a whole. The Russian delegation believed that the Security Council must continue to take all necessary measures to ensure implementation by the parties of the peace agreements and promote an early dialogue between the two Angolan leaders for the purpose of holding a second round of presidential elections. For its part, the Russian Federation was ready actively to support any steps by the international community and the Council to call for the peaceful development of Angola.⁴³

The representative of Zimbabwe supported the resolution just adopted because Zimbabwe strongly believed that no party should "seek to achieve through the bullet what it failed to achieve through the ballot". He hoped that UNITA would heed the demand by the Security Council to cease all hostilities forthwith and abide fully by the provisions of the Angola Peace Accords.⁴⁴

The President, speaking in his capacity as the representative of France, stated that, in adopting resolution 785 (1992), the Council had demonstrated that it stood ready to continue active participation in the implementation of the Peace Accords. It was clear, however, that the United Nations would not be able to accomplish anything without the cooperation of the parties. Like the previous speakers, he hoped that the

⁴² Ibid., pp. 21-22.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 22-23.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 24-25.

message sent by the Security Council would be heard and understood.⁴⁵

F. Further report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II

Decision of 30 November 1992 (3144th meeting): resolution 793 (1992)

On 25 November 1992, the Secretary-General, pursuant to the statement made by the President of the Council on 18 September and resolution 785 (1992), submitted to the Council a further report on the situation in Angola after the elections.⁴⁶ He also provided his recommendations for action to be taken by the Council before the expiration of the mandate of UNAVEM II on 30 November. The Secretary-General observed that the situation in the country had deteriorated and that the successful completion of the peace process and the establishment of multi-party democracy seemed further off than at any time since the signing of the Peace Accords in May 1991. The original ceasefire had been seriously broken for the first time since the Accords were signed. A new ceasefire of 1 November was barely holding and both sides had undertaken preparations for renewed war. One of the root causes of what had gone wrong in Angola was the incomplete fulfilment, within an admittedly tight timetable, of key provisions in the Peace Accords that were intended to create the conditions for elections to be held. Foremost among those failings were the less than effective demobilization and storage of weapons; the delay in creating unified armed forces; the failure to re-establish effective central administration in many parts of the country; and the dilatoriness in setting up a neutral police force.

Both sides, however, had reiterated their commitment to peace and dialogue and had expressed a wish for assistance from the international community in that regard. UNITA had, moreover, eventually accepted the results of the elections. Both sides had agreed on the need for an enlarged UNAVEM presence in order to create, within six months, conditions in which the second round of presidential elections could take place and the peace process could be successfully

concluded. The Secretary-General stressed that he had made it clear to both sides that, unless they could convince him of their genuine adherence to and fulfilment of the Peace Accords, he would not be prepared to recommend an enlargement of the Mission's mandate and strength, or even its continuation at its present strength. It would also be necessary for the parties to agree on a clear timetable and on formal evaluation at regular intervals of the fulfilment of their commitments. There had to be evidence, as well, of a genuine commitment to national reconciliation, which could not be achieved without the full participation of UNITA, whose legitimate concerns had to be addressed.

As it was not possible at that stage to assess whether his own efforts and those of interested Member States would succeed in persuading the Government and UNITA to reactivate the peace process, the Secretary-General said that he was not yet in a position to make the long-term recommendations on the mandate and strength of UNAVEM II requested by the Council in its resolution 785 (1992). He accordingly recommended an extension of the existing mandate of UNAVEM II, for a further two months, until 31 January 1993. Before then, he would submit a further report with recommendations on the future involvement of the United Nations in the Angolan peace process. He added that if his present recommendation were approved, the Security Council might wish to make it clear to the parties that the international community could not wait indefinitely for them to take the difficult decisions required of them if the peace process were to be put back on track. In the meantime, the Secretary-General proposed to take urgent steps, with the cooperation of the Member States involved, to restore the Mission's strength to its authorized levels. This would both demonstrate the international community's continuing commitment to the peace process and be a practical measure to improve the security of UNAVEM personnel in the field and strengthen their ability to consolidate the ceasefire.

At its 3144th meeting, held on 30 November 1992 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the Secretary-General's report of 25 November in its agenda.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 26-27.

⁴⁶ S/24858; see also S/24858/Add.1 of 30 November 1992.

The President (Hungary) drew the attention of the members of the Council to a draft resolution⁴⁷ that had been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations, as well as to some oral amendments to the draft resolution in its provisional form.

At the same meeting, the Secretary-General made a statement regretting the death of a police observer with UNAVEM II, who had been killed in the crossfire during an outbreak in hostilities between the two sides at the mission camp in Uige, northern Angola. He deplored the incident as a further serious violation of the Peace Accords, and appealed strongly to both parties to cease hostilities and to seek a peaceful solution to the current crisis through dialogue.⁴⁸

The draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form, was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 793 (1992), which reads:

The Security Council,

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

Taking note of the further report of the Secretary-General of 25 and 30 November 1992 on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II,

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

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

Disturbed by the continuing non-implementation of major aspects of the Peace Accords for Angola,

Reiterating its support for the statement by the Special Representative that the elections held on 29 and 30 September 1992 were generally free and fair and taking note of the acceptance by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola of the results of the elections,

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

1. *Approves* the recommendation of the Secretary-General to extend the existing mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II for a further period of two months until 31 January 1993;

2. *Appeals* to the troop- and police-contributing States to lend cooperation to the Mission in order to restore as soon as possible its mandated strength;

3. *Welcomes* the joint declaration of the Government of Angola and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola made in Namibe on 26 November 1992 and urges them to take immediate and effective actions in accordance with the declaration;

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

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

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

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

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

9. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit to the Security Council by 31 January 1993 a further report on the situation in Angola together with his longer-term recommendations for the further role of the United Nations in the peace process, which should be clearly defined in scope and time and based on a wide degree of support in Angola;

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

Decision of 2 December 1992: statement by the President

Following consultations among the members of the Council held on 2 December 1992, the President (India) made a statement to the media on behalf of the Council concerning the safety and security of United Nations peacekeeping personnel.⁴⁹ The relevant part reads as follows:

⁴⁹ S/24884; recorded as a Security Council decision in *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council, 1992*, pp. 90-91.

⁴⁷ S/24863.

⁴⁸ S/PV.3144, pp. 2-3.

The members of the Council wish to express their deep concern and outrage about the increasing number of attacks against United Nations personnel serving in various peacekeeping operations.

A number of serious incidents affecting military and civilian personnel serving with the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia and the United Nations Protection Force have occurred during the last few days.

On 29 November 1992 in Uige, northern Angola, a Brazilian police observer with the United Nations Angola Verification Mission II was killed as a result of an outbreak of hostilities between the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola and Government forces, during which the Mission camp was caught in the cross-fire. The members of the Council convey their deep sympathy and condolences to the Government of Brazil and to the bereaved family.

...

...

The members of the Council condemn these attacks on the safety and security of United Nations personnel and demand that all parties concerned take all necessary measures to prevent their recurrence

G. Letter dated 18 December 1992 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council

Decision of 22 December 1992 (3152nd meeting): statement by the President

By a letter dated 18 December 1992 addressed to the President of the Council,⁵⁰ the Secretary-General informed the Council about the situation in Angola since the adoption of resolution 793 (1992) on 30 November. He reported that there had been little or no progress in putting the peace process back on track and that, unless there was rapid improvement, it was difficult to believe that by the end of January 1993 conditions would exist for him to recommend an enlarged United Nations presence in Angola, which both sides said they wanted. Since the end of November, when UNITA forces took the northern cities of Uige and Negage, the latter being the site of an important airbase, all attempts to restore a dialogue between the two sides had failed. UNITA forces continued to occupy up to two thirds of the municipalities in Angola, which the Government

⁵⁰ S/24996.

administration had had to leave or from which it had been expelled. There was disturbing evidence that both sides were continuing preparations for a resumption of war on a large scale, a possibility of which the Government's public statements spoke openly.

On the political front, the Government had announced the formation of a Government of National Unity, in which a number of posts had been offered to UNITA. UNITA had decided to take up its seats in the new Assembly and to nominate persons to the posts offered by the Government. It had also decided to return its Generals to the structures of the new Angolan armed forces, from which they had withdrawn shortly after the September elections. However, the hopes that a political dialogue could be resumed and agreement reached on a programme of action to complete the implementation of the Peace Accords had not been fulfilled. Recriminations continued between the two sides on a variety of issues: the situation in Uige and Negage; the refusal of UNITA to withdraw its troops and its resistance to the restoration of Government administration in municipalities which it had seized since the elections; the release of persons held by each side, in particular the UNITA personalities living "under Government protection" in Luanda; the exchange of bodies of those killed in the recent fighting; and mutual accusations of preparations for war.

A further obstacle to progress was the legitimate concern of UNITA about the security of its members in Luanda and other Government-controlled parts of the country; that was a matter for which both sides would like the United Nations to assume responsibility. The Secretary-General stated that, while it would be difficult for the United Nations to do so directly, a number of ideas had been offered to both sides and, if certain conditions were met, he would be ready to seek the Council's authority to make some United Nations military personnel available, on a temporary basis, to facilitate the return to Luanda of the President of UNITA, and the UNITA members of the new Government and of the elected Assembly.

As to the role the two sides would like the United Nations to play in the future, they agreed in principle on the need to enlarge the mandate of UNAVEM II and increase its strength on the ground, including the provision of armed troops. However, differences existed between them, especially on the extent to which the Mission should in future exercise a good

offices or mediation function, and the extent to which it should be involved in the organization and conduct of the second round of presidential elections.

The Secretary-General stated that he had continued to maintain his position that he would be prepared to recommend an enlargement of the mandate and strength of UNAVEM II, but only if the two sides had demonstrated their continuing commitment to the Peace Accords by agreeing on a realistic plan of action to get the implementation process back on track. They had so far failed to satisfy these conditions. In those circumstances, he had invited the two Angolan leaders to meet together, under his auspices and in his presence, to make a determined effort to move forward. In bringing the situation to the Council's attention, the Secretary-General said that he would value any support which it might wish to give to his efforts, perhaps in the form of an appeal to both leaders to accept his invitation to a joint meeting at an agreed location.

At its 3152nd meeting, held on 22 December 1992 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the Secretary-General's letter of 18 December in its agenda. The Council invited the representative of Angola, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

The President (India) stated that, following consultations among the members of the Council, he had been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:⁵¹

The Council has taken note of the letter dated 18 December 1992 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council concerning the situation in Angola. It expresses serious concern at the lack of progress in

⁵¹ S/25002.

implementing the Peace Accords for Angola and at the continuation of the dangerous political and security situation in the country.

The Council reiterates its strong appeal to the two parties to engage in a continuous and meaningful dialogue aimed at national reconciliation and at the participation of all parties in the democratic process, and to agree on a clear timetable and programme of action to complete the implementation of the Accords. The Security Council urges that the military forces of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola be immediately withdrawn from Uige and Negage and that the Government administration be fully restored there and that the two parties resume the direct talks started in Namibe on 26 November 1992. It again urges both parties to demonstrate their commitment to the Accords, in particular with regard to confinement of their troops and collection of their weapons, demobilization, formation of the national armed forces and restoration of the central administration throughout the country.

The Council also considers it essential that both parties agree without delay on security and other arrangements which would allow all ministers and other high-ranking officials to occupy the posts which have been offered by the Government and for all deputies to assume their functions in the National Assembly.

The Council also considers it imperative that both parties agree on a realistic plan of action for full implementation of the Accords, and to facilitate a continuing United Nations presence in Angola. It underlines the need for the two sides to produce early evidence of their willingness and ability to work together to implement the Accords, so that the international community would feel encouraged to continue to commit its scarce resources to the continuation of the United Nations operation in Angola on its present scale.

The Council fully supports the action of the Secretary-General aimed at resolving the present crisis and appeals to President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi to accept the Secretary-General's invitation to attend, under his auspices, a joint meeting at an agreed location, to confirm that real progress has been made in the reactivation of the Bicesse Accords with a view to their full implementation and that agreement has been reached on a continuing United Nations presence in Angola.

2. The situation in Liberia

Initial proceedings

Decision of 22 January 1991 (2974th meeting): statement by the President

By a letter dated 15 January 1991 addressed to the President of the Security Council,¹ the representative of Côte d'Ivoire requested the convening of a meeting of the Council to consider the

deterioration of the situation in Liberia. He submitted a draft presidential statement.

At its 2974th meeting, on 22 January 1991, the Council included the letter from Côte d'Ivoire in its agenda, and invited the representatives of Liberia and Nigeria, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President of the Council (Zaire) drew the attention of the members of the

¹ S/22076.