Key texts and agreements

Unofficial translations or summaries of the texts in bold are printed here. Full versions and additional materials are available at www.c-r.org/accord/ang/index.shtml

- **Bicesse Accords** (or Peace Accords for Angola), agreement between the MPLA and UNITA, 31 May 1991. Bicesse (Estoril), Portugal.
- **Luena Memorandum of Understanding** (or Addendum to the Lusaka Protocol for the Cessation of Hostilities and the Resolution of the Outstanding Military Issues under the Lusaka Protocol), agreement between the Government of Angola and UNITA, 4 April 2002. Luena, Moxico, Angola.
Key points of the Bicesse Accords

Full text available at www.c-r.org/accord/ang/index.shtml

The Government of the People’s Republic of Angola (GPRA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), with mediation by the Government of Portugal and the participation of observers from the Governments of the United States of America (USA) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR),

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

a) The Ceasefire Agreement (including annexes I and II thereto);

b) Fundamental principles for the establishment of peace in Angola (including the annex thereto regarding the Joint Military Commission);

c) Concepts for resolving the issues still pending between the Government of the People’s Republic of Angola and UNITA;

d) The Protocol of Estoril.

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

[Signatures]

President of the People’s Republic of Angola
President of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola

Ceasefire Agreement

The definition and principles define the ceasefire as the cessation of hostilities between the GPRA and UNITA with a view to attaining peace throughout the national territory. It indicates the ceasefire must be total and definitive throughout the national territory, and must guarantee the free circulation of persons and goods. Overall supervision of the ceasefire will be the responsibility of the GPRA and UNITA within the framework of the Joint Political-Military Commission (CCPM) created pursuant to the annex to the Fundamental Principles for the Establishment of Peace in Angola. The UN will be invited to send monitors to support the Angolan parties, at the request of the GPRA. The ceasefire includes the cessation of all hostile propaganda between the parties at domestic and international levels, and obliges the parties to refrain from acquiring lethal material. The US and USSR’s commitment to not supplying lethal material to any Angolan party and to encouraging other countries to act similarly is noted.

The section on entry into force of the ceasefire indicates that strict observance of the commitments assumed by the parties is required, as well as of the decisions made by bodies with authority to verify and monitor the ceasefire. Among the issues addressed are logistical supplies of non-lethal material, the release of all civilian and military prisoners detained as a consequence of the conflict (verified by the International Committee of the Red Cross), and the application of the ceasefire to all foreign forces present in Angolan territory. The section lists all activities to be ceased. Failure to observe any of the provisions set forth above constitutes a violation of the ceasefire, without prejudice to decisions made by the verification and monitoring groups.

A Joint Verification and Monitoring Commission (CMVF) will be formed prior to entry into force of the ceasefire. Its composition is indicated, and it is stated that the CMVF will report to the CCPM. It will have the authority to create the monitoring groups necessary for full observance of the ceasefire. Such groups shall be subordinate to CMVF. The establishment and composition of monitoring groups is addressed, and some details of UN monitoring of the groups are provided. The bodies and mechanisms created to verify and monitor the ceasefire will cease to exist at the end of the ceasefire. Other provisions related to ceasefire verification and monitoring are set forth in annex I.

Regarding regulating the verification and monitoring measures, it is stated that the CMVF will have the authority necessary to ensure the effective observance of the ceasefire, and its particular duties are listed. The CMVF will decide on its own regulations, and also has the authority to define the functions and approve the regulations of any monitoring groups it establishes. The monitoring groups will make “on site” verifications of observance of the ceasefire to prevent, verify and investigate possible violations.

The timetable of the ceasefire (detailed further in annex II) gives dates of key events including the initialing of the Accord, the de facto suspension of hostilities, the signature and entry into force of the ceasefire, the establishment of monitoring groups, the installation of the UN verification system, and the movement of forces to areas of assembly. On the date of the elections, the ceasefire process will be completed and the verification and monitoring bodies will be abolished.

Annex I: Verification and monitoring of the ceasefire

Annex I specifies the provisions regarding the verification and monitoring of the ceasefire agreed by the parties.

The mandate and regulations of the Joint Verification and Monitoring Commission (CMVF) establish that the CMVF is responsible for the implementation and functioning of the ceasefire verification mechanisms. Its specific responsibilities are detailed. The composition, locations and guidelines for the CMVF are indicated, as are the frequency of its meetings, which will be presided over alternately by the GPRA and UNITA. The decisions of the CMVF, binding in nature, shall be made by consensus between the parties. In the event that CMVF does not reach a decision, or that CCPM objects to that decision, the final decision shall rest with the latter body.
Details on the verification and monitoring system are provided. On-site monitoring of the ceasefire is assured by the GPRA and by UNITA, through monitoring groups subordinate to the CMVF composed of 8 to 12 individuals from each party, in accordance with Appendix 1, Monitoring System, Organizational Charts. The sites for the groups are referred to in Appendix 2, Areas of Assembly (listing the 27 areas of assembly for GPRA troops and 23 areas for UNITA troops) and Appendix 3, Airports and Ports (listing 32 airports and 22 ports). Liaison between the CMVF and the monitoring groups is assured by regional monitoring groups from six specified regions and sub-regions. UN personnel will verify whether the monitoring groups are assuming their responsibilities. Further details on their role, responsibility for their security, and the support they require is provided.

The arrangements for the areas of assembly are stipulated. Among these are that all the armed forces shall be assembled 60 days following the entry into force of the ceasefire, in the areas specified in Appendix 2. The forces of both parties shall fully respect the rules of conduct contained in Appendix 4, Rules of Conduct for the Troops in the Areas of Assembly, The next sections address arrangements for supplies for the areas of assembly of each of the parties, and the border control posts listed in Appendix 5, Border Posts (listing 37 posts).

The paramilitary or militarized forces of both parties shall have been demobilized or integrated into the respective regular military forces by the time the ceasefire enters into force, verified by the CMVF. Other sections deal with the exchange of the military information listed in Appendix 6, Military Information to be Exchanged between the GPRA and UNITA (in which items of military information under the headings of Personnel, Equipment and Armaments, and Others are listed) and investigations into the existence of chemical weapons arsenals.

Annex II: Sequence of Tasks in the Different Phases of the Ceasefire

The Annex elaborates the timetable described in the agreement, the phases being: Preliminary Phase (1-15 May 1991); Phase I (15 – 29/31 May 1991, signature and entry into force of the agreement); Phase II (31 May – 30 June 1991, implementation of the monitoring system); Phase III (1 July – 1 August 1991, transfer of forces); Phase IV (1 August 1991 – date of elections, verification and monitoring of agreement).

Fundamental Principles for the Establishment of Peace in Angola

Point 1: Recognition by UNITA of the Angolan State, of President José Eduardo dos Santos and of the Angolan Government until the general elections are held.

Point 2: At the moment the ceasefire enters into force, UNITA will acquire the right to conduct and freely participate in political activities in accordance with the revised Constitution and the pertinent laws for the creation of a multi-party democracy.

Point 3: The GPRA will hold discussions with all political forces in order to survey their opinions concerning the proposed changes in the Constitution. The GPRA will then work with all the parties to draft the laws that will regulate the electoral process.

Point 4: Free and fair elections for a new Government will take place following voter registration conducted under the supervision of international elections observers, who will remain in Angola until they certify that the elections were free and fair and that the results have been officially announced. At the time of the signature of the ceasefire, the parties will determine the period within which free and fair elections must be held. The exact date of said elections will be established through consultation with all political forces in Angola.

Point 5: Respect for human rights and basic freedoms, including the right of free association.

Point 6: The process of creating the National Army will begin once the ceasefire comes into force of the ceasefire and will be concluded on the date under terms to be agreed on between the GPRA and UNITA. The neutrality of the National Army in the electoral process will be guaranteed by the Angolan parties, acting within the framework of CCPM, with the support of the international monitoring group.

Point 7: Declaration and entry into force of the ceasefire throughout Angolan territory, in accordance with the agreement to be concluded on this subject between the GPRA and UNITA.

Annex

The annex contains the agreement between the parties to form the CCPM, at the time of the signature of the Fundamental principles for the establishment of peace in Angola. The composition, tasks and authorities of the CCPM are indicated. The CCPM is to see that the peace accords are applied, and to make the final decision on possible violations of those accords. It shall have the authority necessary to approve all the rules relating to its functioning, particularly its own internal regulations. Its decisions will be made by consensus between the GPRA and UNITA.

Concepts for resolving the issues still pending between the Government of the People’s Republic of Angola and UNITA

1. At the moment the ceasefire enters into force, UNITA will acquire the right to conduct and freely participate in political activities in accordance with the revised Constitution and the pertinent laws for the creation of a multi-party democracy. At the time of the signature of the ceasefire, the parties will determine the period within which they must hold free and fair elections. The exact date of said elections will be established through consultation with all political forces in Angola.

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

3. The ceasefire agreement will oblige the parties to cease receiving lethal material. The USA, the USSR, and all other countries will support the implementation of the ceasefire and will refrain from furnishing lethal material to any of the Angolan parties.

4. Overall political supervision of the ceasefire process will be the responsibility of the Angolan parties, acting within the framework of CCPM. Verification of the ceasefire will be the responsibility of the international monitoring group. The UN will be invited to send monitors to support the Angolan parties, at the request of the GPRA. The Governments that are to send monitors will be chosen by the Angolan parties, acting within the framework of CCPM.

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

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

Protocol of Estoril

Elections

It is stated that elections will take place. For the President of the Republic they will be by direct and secret suffrage, through a majority system, with recourse to a second round if necessary. For the National Assembly they will be by direct and secret suffrage, through a system of proportional representation at the national level. A process of consultations involving all Angolan political forces will determine whether they are held simultaneously, and also the duration of the official election campaign period. A technical opinion (non-binding on the parties) on the desirable duration will be obtained from a specialized international body such as the UN. Voting will be secret, and special provisions will be made for those who cannot read or write. These provisions will be included in the election law, to be drafted following the ceasefire, after a process of consultations between the GPRA and all Angolan political forces. All political parties and interested persons will have the opportunity to organize and to participate in the elections process on an equal footing, regardless of their political positions. Total freedom of expression, association, and access to the media will be guaranteed.

The parties have accepted the tripartite proposal by the delegations of Portugal, the US and the USSR, to the effect that elections will be held between 1 September to 30 November 1992. The parties have reached an understanding that the following tripartite declaration is to be taken into consideration in the discussion of the precise date: “Taking into consideration the logistical difficulties in organizing the elections process, specifically the desirability that the elections be held during the dry season, and the need to reduce the high costs that the international community will have to bear in monitoring the ceasefire, the delegations of Portugal, the United States and the Soviet Union heartily recommend that the elections be held during the first part of the suggested period, preferably between 1 September and 1 October 1992.”

Joint Political-Military Commission (CCPM)

Regarding the CCPM, the document notes that according to the Concepts for resolving the issues still pending between the GPRA and UNITA and he annex to the Fundamental principles for the establishment of peace in Angola, the CCPM’s mission is the overall political supervision of the ceasefire process. It will have the duty to see that the Peace Accords are applied, and to make the final decision on possible violations of those Accords. Its decisions will be made by consensus between the GPRA and UNITA, after hearing the opinion of the Observers. The CCPM does not seek to replace the GPRA, and its mandate ends on the date the elected Government takes office. The tasks for which the CCPM should structure itself to fulfil are listed, the composition the CCPM is stipulated, and it is indicated that its meetings shall be presided over alternately by the GPRA and by UNITA, without prejudice to the principle of consensus in the decision-making process. Details are given regarding support from advisors, and the CCPM’s responsibilities for internal regulations and budget.

Principles relating to the issue of internal security during the period between the entry into force of the ceasefire and the holding of elections

It is indicated that all Angolans shall have the right to conduct and participate in political activities without intimidation, in accordance with the revised Constitution and pertinent laws for the creation of a multi-party democracy, and the provisions of the Peace Accords. Measures to verify and monitor the neutrality of the police through monitoring teams are set out, and the teams’ composition, mandate and proposed quantity per province specified. The monitoring teams are subordinate to CCPM, and must submit reports of their activities to that body.

Consonant with the invitation from the Government, UNITA will participate in the police force that is responsible for maintaining public order. Guarantees are given regarding the availability of vacancies and training for UNITA recruits. UNITA will be responsible for the personal safety of its highest-ranking leaders, and the GPRA will grant police status to the UNITA members in charge of guaranteeing that safety.
Political rights to be exercised by UNITA following the ceasefire

According to the provisions contained in the Concepts for resolving the issues still pending between the GPRA and UNITA, at the time of entry into force of the ceasefire, UNITA will acquire the right to conduct and freely participate in political activities, according to the revised Constitution and the pertinent laws for the creation of a multi-party democracy. They particularly include: freedom of expression; the right to present, publish and freely debate its political programme; the right to recruit and enrol members; the right to hold meetings and demonstrations; the right of access to the government media; the right to free movement and personal safety of its members; the right to present candidates in the elections; and the right to open headquarters and representative offices anywhere in Angola. Without prejudice to these stipulations, which permit UNITA to exercise those rights immediately, UNITA must, after entry into force of the ceasefire, satisfy the formal requirements for its registration as a political party pursuant to the ‘Political Parties Law’.

Administrative structures

Both parties accept the principle of the extension of the Central Administration to those areas of Angola that are presently beyond the range of its authority. Both parties recognize that such extension must not be made abruptly or endanger the free circulation of persons and goods, the activities of the political forces, and the execution of the tasks related to the electoral process. Both parties agree to leave for a later date the study of the implementation of such extension, which will be carried out within the framework of CCPM by competent teams composed of representatives of the GPRA and UNITA.

Formation of the Angolan Armed Forces

Regarding Identification and General Principles, the parties agree that an Angolan Armed Forces (FAA) shall be formed. The FAA’s overall mission is specified as the defence and safeguarding of independence and territorial integrity. The FAA’s composition shall be exclusively Angolan citizens, its organizational structure unitary. It shall have such composition, high command structure, troops, mechanisms, and equipment as determined in accordance with foreseeable external threats and the country’s socio-economic conditions. The FAA are non-partisan and obey the competent organs of sovereignty within the principle of subordination to political authority, and swear publicly to respect the Constitution and other laws of the Republic. Members of the military on active duty shall enjoy active voting status, but may not use their duties or the structural units of the FAA to interfere in any other partisan political or union activities.

The process of formation of the Armed Forces shall begin with the entry into force of the ceasefire and shall evolve simultaneously with the assembly, disarmament, and integration into civilian life of the troops being demobilized. Recruitment into the FAA during the period prior to the elections shall proceed in accordance with the principle of free will, drawing from the ranks of FAPLA and FALA. It is mandatory that all military personnel incorporated into the FAA prior to the date of the elections attend professional training courses with a view to achieving unification in terms of doctrine and procedure that is conducive to the development of an essential esprit de corps. By the time the elections are held, only the FAA shall exist; there may be no other troops whatsoever. All members of the present armed forces of each party who do not become members of the FAA shall be demobilized prior to the holding of elections. Additionally, assurances are given regarding the neutrality of the armed forces during the period prior to the holding of the elections, and the individual rights of military personnel and safeguarding of units created in the period.

Regarding Troop Strength, troop numbers of the Army, Air Force and Navy are specified, and it is agreed that each of the parties shall provide the Army with 20,000 men (15,000 soldiers, 3,000 non-commissioned officers, and 2,000 officers). The first troops assigned to the Air Force and Navy shall be furnished from the respective branches of the FAPLA, inasmuch as FALA does not have such units. As soon as the process of training the FAA begins, UNITA will be able to participate in the Air Force and Navy under terms to be defined within the framework of Joint Commission on the Formation of the Armed Forces (CCFA). Among further provisions made with regard to the Air Force and Navy are that they shall be subject to verification and monitoring, and shall be subordinate to the High Command of the FAA.

Regarding the Command Structures of the FAA, general principles are given indicating that the CCFA, subordinate to the CCPM, shall be created specifically to direct the process of formation of the FAA. Provisions are made for the non-partisan nature of the FAA Command Structure, which is shown in the annex. Appointments to the High Command and the commands of the three branches of the FAA are to be proposed by CCFA and approved by CCPM. The CCFA constitutes the transitional body, until the date of the elections, between the political-military echelon and the FAA echelon. Further details of its composition and duties are provided. The latter include among others proposing the criteria for selecting personnel from FAPLA and FALA for purposes of forming the FAA, and proposing the names of the principal commanding officers of FAA.

The overall mission and composition of the High Command of the FAA are indicated, as are the principles for structuring the Army Command of the FAA and forming Air Force and Navy (details to be contained in directives issued by the CCFA). The creation and functioning of a Logistical and Infrastructure Command is addressed, and its particular responsibilities, command structure and the units of its General Staff are detailed further.

The timetable for the process for forming the FAA is listed in five phases. Immediately following the appointment of each command, the General Staffs are to be organized.

Technical Assistance from Foreign Countries. The parties will inform the Portuguese Government, not later
than the date of notification of their acceptance of the Accords, as to which country or countries will be invited to assist in the FAA formation process.

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

**Annex: Diagram of the Structure of the FAA**

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**Key points of the Lusaka Protocol**

Full text available at www.c-r.org/accord/ang/index.shtml

**Lusaka, Zambia, 15 November 1994**

The Government of the Republic of Angola (GRA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), with the mediation of the United Nations and in the presence of representatives of the Observer States of the Angolan peace process (United States of America, Russian Federation and Portugal) are mindful of the need to conclude implementation of the Bicesse Accords, enable the smooth functioning of institutions resulting from the 1992 elections and establish a just and lasting peace within the framework of national reconciliation. They accept as binding the following documents, which constitute the Lusaka Protocol:

**Annex 1: Agenda of the Angola Peace Talks between the Government and UNITA**

The agenda lists the order in which issues are discussed in the negotiations, which is subsequently reflected in the sequencing of the annexes to the agreement.

**Annex 2: Reaffirmation of the acceptance by the Government and by UNITA of the relevant legal instruments**

The Government and UNITA reaffirm their acceptance of the relevant legal instruments, namely the Bicesse Accords and the relevant Security Council resolutions. The Government’s position takes the form of a letter to the UN’s Special Representative, Alioune Blondin Beye.

**Annex 3: Military Issues – I**

The annex covers three issues: re-establishment of a ceasefire; withdrawal, quartering and demilitarization of UNITA military forces; and the disarming of civilians. The definition and general principles indicate that the ceasefire constitutes the cessation of hostilities between the Government and UNITA and that it should be total and definitive throughout the whole territory. It indicates that UN will be responsible for the overall supervision, control and verification of the ceasefire.

Specific principles include:
- The bilateral nature of the ceasefire and the establishment of verification and monitoring mechanisms by the UN;
- The withdrawal and quartering of UNITA forces as per UN Security Council Resolution 864; provision of information to the UN by both parties on the composition, armament, equipment and locations of their forces; FAA disengagement from forward positions to allow UN verification and monitoring; the repatriation of all mercenaries; free circulation of persons and goods; collection, storage and custody of UNITA armaments by the UN within the framework of a selection process of personnel for the FAA; collection, storage and custody of armaments in civilian hands; and the release of civilian or military prisoners detained or withheld as a consequence of the conflict, under the auspices of the ICRC.

The modalities relating to these principles are listed in sequence. A timetable for the bilateral ceasefire modalities is outlined. Phase One consists of five steps to be taken by both sides within 45 days of the initialing of the Protocol. Phase Two consists of six further steps.

**Annex 4: Military Issues – II**

The annex relates to the completion of the formation of the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA), including demobilization. General principles include the aim of completing the formation of one single, national, non-partisan armed forces, under the verification and monitoring of the United Nations. The composition of the armed forces will reflect the principle of proportionality between the Government and UNITA forces agreed in the Bicesse Accords. Excess military personnel will be demobilized and integrated into civilian society, within the framework of a social reintegration programme. Specific principles outline the decisions regarding the process and sequencing the integration of UNITA forces into the FAA, their training and the UN’s role in verifying compliance. It details the establishment of a Joint Commission comprising the Government, UNITA, the UN and the observer countries.

The modalities are outlined in three phases. Phase One details the establishment of a working group of the Joint Commission, which will monitor aspects of the completion of the formation of the FAA, including selection criteria, size and composition of the FAA. This working group is dissolved in Phase Two and a new working group established to oversee the planning and implementation of the process. Phase Two also sees the initial movement of selected UNITA personnel to be incorporated into the FAA and of members of the FAA and UNITA who will be demobilized. Phase 3 incorporates the selection and integration of UNITA military personnel into the FAA, selection of those to be retained, total demobilization of excess personnel and final verification by the UN.

**Annex 5: The Police**

The annex covers the role of the Angolan National Police, the functions and scope of the Rapid Reaction Police and the incorporation of UNITA members into both bodies. General principles outline the role of the Angolan National Police as an organ of the Angolan state administration, governed by current legislation and the relevant provisions of the Bicesse Accords and Lusaka Protocol. Its activities shall not restrict citizens’ exercise of their political rights to favour any political party. As a non-partisan institution it shall be an instrument for reinforcing national reconciliation. In accordance
with the Bicesse Accords, a significant number of UNITA members shall be incorporated into it.

Specific principles include the role of the UN in monitoring the activities of the police and the independence of the police from the FAA. The functions and scope of the Rapid Reaction Police are outlined. All other surveillance or policing organs are forbidden.

The modalities indicate the specific numbers of UNITA members to participate in the Angolan National Police and the Rapid Reaction Police, and the sequencing of their incorporation.

Annex 6: National Reconciliation

The annex refers to the specific tasks and processes envisaged to pursue the imperative of national reconciliation, including the role of the mass media, the implementation of administrative decentralization and deconcentration and the roles of the Provincial authorities. It also indicates provision for UNITA participation in government and state institutions.

The general principles of Annex 6 indicate the will of the Government and UNITA to live together within the Angolan constitutional, political and legal framework, reaffirming their respect for the will of the people expressed through free and fair elections and the right to opposition. They include provision for the participation of UNITA members at all levels and in the various institutions of political, administrative and economic activity. They imply the administrative decentralization and deconcentration of the country, and condemn the use of violence to settle disputes. They identify the role of the mass media in supporting a process of coexistence and democratic consolidation. They refer to the granting of an amnesty for crimes committed during the conflict.

With regard to specific principles, it is agreed that the Government and UNITA will conduct a public awareness campaign to promote tolerance, coexistence and trust. The freedom of speech, association and organization, as well as press freedom are guaranteed. The right of access to state press, radio and television is guaranteed to all political parties complying with current legislation.

Radio Vorgan, UNITA’s radio station, is allowed to broadcast for nine months after D-Day, at the end of which it will have completed its transformation into a non-partisan radio station.

Administrative decentralization and deconcentration will be carried out, so that provincial authorities have their own powers in the fields of administration, finance, taxation and economy (including the power to attract foreign investment), under the terms of existing legislation. In accordance with the law and with Annex 5 of the Lusaka Protocol, the Provincial Commands will bear responsibility for the Police at the level of the province, in matters of administration, coordination and supervision of its activities. Office holders of local government organs shall be elected in accordance with legislation to be passed under the provisions of the Constitution.

The President of UNITA shall be granted special status. The first 70 deputies elected on the lists of UNITA candidates in the 1992 elections shall be installed in the National Assembly and shall constitute the UNITA parliamentary group. Appropriate security will be granted to high-ranking members of UNITA who do not enjoy special status by virtue of their posts.

Those Angolans prevented from exercising their labour rights by circumstances prior to the Lusaka Protocol shall be given due consideration by state institutions.

The principle of the participation of UNITA members shall be implemented through their incorporation into appropriate professional functions, as far as possible and with due consideration to their technical and professional skills.

Social welfare and reintegration programmes shall be implemented throughout the national territory. A National Entrepreneurial Support Fund will provide assistance and encouragement in the establishment of private enterprises.

The Government shall undertake the management of all state property in the conditions in which it is found. All property belonging to UNITA shall be returned to UNITA in the condition in which it is found.

UNITA will be allocated adequate party facilities and appropriate residences for its leaders.

The fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens are guaranteed through the independence of the judiciary.

The revision of the symbols of the Republic of Angola shall be considered important within the framework of the competent institutions.

The modalities outline the practical responsibilities of each of the parties with respect to the implementation of the principles. They contain three distinct documents, relating to the security guarantees for UNITA leaders; UNITA’s participation in local government and diplomatic missions abroad and the norms of participation of UNITA members in the government of national unity and national reconciliation.

Annex 7: Completion of the Electoral Process

This annex refers to the process for completion of the second round of the presidential elections and the roles of the state institutions, the candidates and the UN.

The general principles indicate the importance of citizens’ participation in choosing the country’s leaders and the necessity of concluding the 1992 elections with a second round of presidential elections. These will be held once the UN has declared that the requisite conditions have been met. Angolan state institutions will organize the elections, with UN verification and monitoring and the participation of international observers.

Specific principles refer to the relevant legislation for the elections and the role of candidates and their agenda in controlling the conduct of the elections. The National Assembly will decide the time frame for the elections once the UN has determined that the requisite conditions have been fulfilled. The conditions are described as being guarantees of safety and free circulation of people and goods and public freedoms; effective guarantees of the functioning of the State administration; and normalization processes such as the rehabilitation of communications.
and the resettlement of displaced persons. State resources, including finances, shall be used equitably during the process. Polling officers will be afforded protection by the National Police and through UN verification and monitoring. Publication of elections results shall be in accordance with national legislation. Within 48 hours of the declaration of the national results, the UN shall issue a statement regarding the free and fair nature of the elections.

Modalities describe the UN’s role and functions in the process, including the verification and monitoring of the preparation of voting material and the preparation of the electoral registration rolls. It also refers to the conduct of a civic education campaign on the objectives of the second round of the presidential elections.

Annex 8: UN mandate and the role of the Observers and the Joint Commission

A. The United Nations Mandate
The general principles refer to acceptance by the Government and UNITA that the successful completion of the peace process is primarily their responsibility, and that they undertake to cooperate fully with the UN to this end. They invite the UN to play the role outlined in the Bicesse Accords and the Lusaka Protocol, including chairmanship of the Joint Commission.

The specific principles provide details of the UN’s functions in relation to 1) Military issues; 2) Police activities; 3) National reconciliation activities; and 4) Completion of the electoral process. Each of these sets of tasks is referred back to specific agenda items and annexes of the Lusaka Protocol.

B. The role of observers in the implementation of the Bicesse Accords and the Lusaka Protocol
The Governments of the United States of America, the Russian Federation and Portugal are the observers of the peace process and sit on the Joint Commission in this capacity.

Their functions are to attend meetings, monitor implementation of outstanding provisions of the Bicesse Accords and provisions of the Lusaka Protocol. Decisions at all meetings shall be taken after hearing the opinions of the representatives of the observer nations.

C. The Joint Commission
The Joint Commission shall comprise the Government and UNITA, with the UN acting as chairperson and the Troika attending as observers. Its function is to watch over the implementation of outstanding provisions of the Bicesse Accords and all the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol. It shall monitor implementation of relevant Security Council resolutions and make final decision on possible violations. Its headquarters shall be in Luanda. The Joint Commission shall establish its own internal regulations and take decisions by consensus. It shall take office on the day of the signing of the Lusaka Protocol. Once the Joint Commission is satisfied that all relevant provisions of the Bicesse Accords and Lusaka Protocol have been implemented, it shall dissolve itself.

Annex 9: Timetable for the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol
The timetable maps out the sequencing of activities from D-Day (the signing of the Lusaka Protocol). It outlines 10 stages, each designated a specified period of days during which tasks should be accomplished. At the final stage (D-Day + 455) a number of tasks are outlined for completion. It is observed that the detailed timetable will be worked out by the Joint Commission, that no task shall be initiated until the previous one has been concluded, and that, where conditions permit, the timetable can be brought forward by agreement between the Government and UNITA.

Annex 10: Other matters
The Lusaka Protocol shall be signed on 15 November 1994 at Lusaka, Zambia.

Signatories
The Lusaka Protocol was initialled on 31 October 1994 by the heads of the Government and UNITA delegations, Fernando Faustino Muteka and Eugenio Ngola “Manuvakola” and by the United Nations Special Representative, Mr Alioune Blondin Bey. It was subsequently approved by the competent constitutional bodies of the Republic of Angola and the competent UNITA authorities.

Key Points of the Luena Memorandum of Understanding

Full text available at www.c-r.org/accord/ang/index.shtml

Addendum to the Lusaka Protocol for the Cessation of Hostilities and the Resolution of the Outstanding Military Issues under the Lusaka Protocol

Preamble
The Delegation of the Angolan Armed Forces, mandated by the Government of the Republic of Angola; the Delegation of the UNITA Military Forces, mandated by its Leadership Commission; in the presence of the United Nations and the Observer States;

Considering that the Lusaka Protocol, the legal and political instrument for the resolution of the Angolan conflict, was unable to experience the positive evolution expected for its definitive conclusion;

Considering that, the growing and pressing need to secure peace and national reconciliation in Angola has become imperative and urgent, and calls first of all for the cessation of the armed conflict between UNITA and the Government, promoting, to this end, appropriate initiatives for the definitive conclusion of the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol;

Conscious of the fact that, the end of the internal conflict leads to peace and national reconciliation and constitutes a challenge for which a determined commitment needs to be made for the benefit of the Angolan people;

Inspired by a will to confer on their relations a new and positive dimension, sustained by the fact that in the spirit of reconciliation, all Angolans need to pardon and forget the griefs resulting from the conflict and face the future with tolerance and confidence;

Accordingly, in order to implement their commitments and obligations under the Lusaka Protocol, hereby adopt the Memorandum of Understanding, in the following terms:
Object and principles

Object

• A commitment by the parties to ceasefires, the resolution of military issues and, subsequently, the definitive resolution of the armed conflict.

• The resolution of the negative military factors that blocked the 
  Lusaka Protocol, and the creation of conditions for its definitive conclusion.

Fundamental principles

• Respect for the rule of law, the democratic institutions in Angola, the observance of the Constitutional Law and of other legislation in force.

• Unequivocal acceptance of the validity of the legal and political instruments relevant to the peace process, in particular, the Lusaka Protocol and the UN Security Council Resolutions.

• A recognition that respect for democracy is essential for peace and national reconciliation.

Agenda of the memorandum of understanding

National reconciliation

Amnesty

The Government guarantees approval and publication of an Amnesty Law for all crimes committed within the framework of the armed conflict.

Cessation of hostilities and pending military issues under the Lusaka Protocol

Ceasefire

The parties reiterate their commitment to comply scrupulously with all their commitments and obligations relative to the task of re-establishment of a ceasefire (in the spirit of Annex 3 of item II.1 of the Agenda of Work – Military Issues I of the Lusaka Protocol). Parties will issue and comply with a declaration of the re-establishment of the ceasefire. This task includes:

• The definitive and total cessation of military actions throughout the national territory and the non-dissemination of hostile propaganda.

• Not conducting force movements to reinforce or occupy new military positions, and not undertaking acts of violence against the civilian population and the destruction of property.

• The regular reporting on the situation of positions the units and other paramilitary structures of UNITA military forces in areas of possible military tension.

• The guarantee of protection of persons and their property, of public resources and property, and the free circulation of persons and goods.

Disengagement, quartering and conclusion of the demilitarization of UNITA military forces

The parties reiterate their commitment to comply scrupulously with their commitments and obligations relative to the task of quartering and conclusion of the demilitarization of the UNITA military forces in the spirit of Annex 3 of item II.1 of the Agenda of Work – Military Issues I of the Lusaka Protocol.

In this regard, the Joint Military Commission, with the support of the General Staff of FAA, will proceed to quarter and demilitarize all units and paramilitary structures of the UNITA military forces. To include:

a) The reporting, by the High General Staff of the UNITA military forces, to the Joint Military Commission, on all data relative to the composition and location of the units and paramilitary structures of the UNITA military forces.

b) The establishment of monitoring mechanisms of the demilitarization process of the UNITA military forces.

c) The identification of the units and the paramilitary structures of the UNITA military forces, the establishment of quartering are as for the same.

d) The definition of the respective itineraries and means of movement and the conduct of the military units and paramilitary structures of the UNITA military forces and paramilitary structures to quartering areas.

e) The disengagement and the movement of the UNITA military forces and paramilitary structures to quartering areas.

f) The reception, accommodation and feeding, and the registration of the personnel of the UNITA military forces in the quartering areas.

g) The handing over and the collection, storage and destruction of the entire armament and equipment of the military units and paramilitary structures of the UNITA armed forces.

Integration into FAA of UNITA military personnel

The Government will proceed to integrate UNITA military personnel into the FAA, in accordance with existing structural vacancies. This process will include training and commissioning.

Integration into the National Police

The Government will proceed to integrate some UNITA Generals and Senior Officers into the National Police, in accordance with existing structural vacancies. This process will include training.

Demobilization and extinction of the UNITA military forces

The parties reiterate their commitment to comply scrupulously with their commitments relating to the demobilization of the UNITA military forces and their extinction in the spirit of Annex 4 of item II.1 of the Agenda of Work – Military Issues II of the Lusaka Protocol.

The Joint Military Commission, with the support of the United Nations, shall proceed with:

• The individual demobilization of the excess personnel from the UNITA military forces.

• The formal and definitive extinction of the UNITA military forces.

• The placement of the demobilized personnel of the ex-UNITA military forces at the administrative dependency on the General Staff of FAA, through the FAA Military Regions and Operational Commands.

Social and vocational reintegration of demobilized ex-UNITA military forces

The parties reiterate their commitment to comply scrupulously with their commitments relating to social reintegration of the demobilized personnel in the spirit...
of Annex 4 of item II.1 of the Agenda of Work – Military Issues II of the Lusaka Protocol. In this regard, the Government through the General Staff of FAA and with UNITA participation and with the assistance of the international community, shall proceed with the reintegration of the demobilized personnel into civil society, within a program of vocational reintegration. To include: the protection, accommodation and feeding of ex-UNITA military personnel in the training centres; the professional training of ex-UNITA military personnel to capacitate them for the labour market, through a program of special and urgent social reintegration.

Coordination and application of the memorandum of understanding (MoU)

Coordination of the MoU

The institutional structures of coordination:

Joint Military Commission

Composition and Management:
- Executive Member and President: Military Representative of the Government
- Executive Member: Military Representative of the UNITA Military Forces
- Permanent Observers: the Military Representative of each of the USA, Russia, Portugal and the UN

Functions:
- To promote and oversee the application of the MoU
- To analyse and resolve issues likely to impede the application of the MoU

Rules of operation:
- To decide, by consensus of the parties, adopting recommendations binding on the parties
- To assume duties on the day of signing of the MoU and cease operation when all provisions of the MoU have been complied with
- To establish its headquarters in Luanda, and being able when necessary to hold meetings in other locations of the national territory.

Technical Group

Composition and Management:
- Military experts of the FAA and of the UNITA military forces (up to 20 for each of the parties).
- Military experts of the UN (up to 10) and of the countries of the Troika of Observer States (up to 10 for each).

Functions:
- To assist the Joint Military Commission in the performance of its duties
- To oversee the application of the provisions of the MoU
- To organize ad hoc meetings of the military experts to study the causes of possible difficulties blocking the execution of the MoU or other issues considered to be of interest by the Joint Military Commission
- To draw up a detailed timetable and define activities to be executed as part of the application of the MoU

Rules of Operation:
- To meet periodically to prepare the meetings of the Joint Military Commission and, any time such a meeting is deemed necessary, to meet to analyse issues emanating from the Joint Military Commission
- At the regional level, to meet daily under the chairmanship of a FAA military expert

Timetable of application of the memorandum of understanding

The timetable consists of 7 distinct phases, beginning with D-Day and continuing until the completion of the final phase after 262 days.

Final provisions

Differences of interpretation of application of the MoU shall be submitted to the Joint Military Commission for resolution, in a spirit of friendship, tolerance and understanding.

Signatories

On behalf of the delegation of the Angolan Armed Forces: General Armando da Cruz Neto, Chief of General Staff of the Angolan Armed Forces
On behalf of the delegation of the UNITA military forces: General Abreu Muengo Ucuathcitembo Kamorteiro, Chief of High General Staff of the UNITA Military Forces
On behalf of the United Nations: Chief of the UN Mission in Angola
On behalf of the Observer States of the Peace Process: Ambassador to the USA in Angola
Ambassador of Russia in Angola
Ambassador of Portugal in Angola

Annexes

1: Quartering of the UNITA military forces

The annex provides details of general points on the quartering, and specifically on the structure, management and location of the Quartering Areas.

1/a: Quartering, disarming and repatriation of foreign military forces within areas territory under UNITA control

The annex recognizes the existence of foreign military forces in UNITA-controlled territory and indicates how the parties will proceed to quarter and disarm the forces.

2: Integration of UNITA military personnel into the FAA in accordance with the existing vacancies

The annex provides a military staffing list to guide the incorporation of 5,007 UNITA military personnel into the FAA.

3: Integration of UNITA Generals and Senior Officers into the national police in accordance with the existing vacancies

The annex provides a National Police staffing list to guide the incorporation of 40 UNITA military personnel into the National Police.

4: Vocational reintegration of demobilized ex-UNITA military personnel into national life

The annex addresses the vocational reintegration of demobilized ex-UNITA military personnel and the guarantees and methods required for the task.

5: Considerations regarding the conditions for the conclusion of the Lusaka Protocol

The annex considers that conditions have been created to guarantee the continuity of UNITA participation in the process of conclusion of the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol.
and recommends to UNITA the need to rapidly establish the necessary internal consensus to participate in this process.

Annex 6: Considerations relative to special security under the Lusaka Protocol

The annex records that the parties consider valid and applicable the provision in the Document Relative to the Special Security Regime guaranteed to UNITA leaders, in application of paragraph 3 of the Modalities of National Reconciliation of the Lusaka Protocol.

Angolan Government’s Peace Plan

Luanda, 13 March 2002

The Government of Unity and National Reconciliation of the Republic of Angola considers that the country is experiencing a unique moment in its history to take joint action leading definitively to the end of the current armed conflict, in which the issues of peace and national reconciliation should be seen in a legal and political framework, respecting the constitution, the legal order and state institutions, and unequivocally accepting the validity of the peace accords and United Nations Security Council resolutions on Angola.

In order to achieve peace, the government has set out an agenda that necessarily involves the solution of all military issues resulting from the armed conflict that started after the formation of the Angolan Armed Forces, in accordance with the Bicesse Accords and the Lusaka Protocol.

With the aim of encouraging and promoting the confidence of the entire Angolan nation in this opportunity for peace that must not be wasted, the government has instructed General Staff headquarters of the Angolan Armed Forces, FAA, to cease all offensive movements as from midnight on 13 March 2002, so as to permit the establishment of on-the-spot contacts between the military commands of FAA and UNITA’s military forces.

This step opens the way to dialogue and cooperation between the military commands, in order to achieve a general ceasefire as soon as possible and the consequent ending of all movements of forces aimed at reinforcing or occupying new military positions, acts of violence against the civilian population, the destruction of public or private property and the obstruction of the free movement of people and their belongings.

The government considers the demilitarization of UNITA, in accordance with the law, to be fundamental and decisive. In the interests of national reconciliation, the government will present a programme for the integration in national life of generals, officers and privates from UNITA’s military forces.

With regard to issues related to the full integration of UNITA into national political life, as a political party whose action is important to the consolidation of the democratic process, the government intends, within the framework of its public responsibilities, to help to create conditions in the country to permit UNITA members, internally and freely, to solve the problem of the leadership of their party and its reorganisation and functioning in accordance with the law.

The government will propose to the National Assembly the approval of an amnesty for all crimes committed within the framework of the armed conflict, the aim of this measure being to ensure the requisite legal and political guarantees for promoting and achieving the process of national reconciliation.

Within the framework of implementing the outstanding administrative tasks of the Lusaka Protocol, extending the establishment of state administration to the whole national territory and the appointment of UNITA personnel to the posts provided for should be completed. At the same time, safe conditions should be created for displaced persons to return to their home areas, so as to permit the gradual revival of the economy everywhere in the country. To this end, the government, with the support of the international community, will promote a large-scale mine clearance programme to make the free movement of people and goods possible throughout the national territory.

The government considers it necessary to find a political and legal solution to the electoral process not completed in 1992, and declares that it will implement the relevant political, legal and administrative measures for the holding of the next elections. To this end, in addition to completing the process of approving a new constitution, the government will engage in amending the electoral legislation, resettling displaced persons and electoral registration and census operations.

The government will work with all of society, especially the churches, political parties, civic associations and social and professional associations, in this whole process, continuing to hold regular consultations with these bodies, with the aim of securing their valuable contribution to action to be undertaken to consolidate peace and democracy in the country and, especially, to calm people’s minds, ensuring tolerance and mutual respect and the mobilization of resources and wills for the rapid resolution of the problems affecting war victims.

The consolidation of peace requires timely and effective action in tackling the immediate effects of war on the most affected strata of the population, working to make humanitarian assistance reach all needy people, without discrimination. Within this context, the government is preparing an Emergency Programme to support the social reintegration and resettlement of four million displaced persons, the integration in society of 150,000 demobilized soldiers from the various wars in Angola as well as ex-servicemen, the reintegration of 100,000 disabled people and provision of shelter for 50,000 war orphans.

The government recognizes the effort that has been made by the international community in respect of humanitarian aid and reaffirms its appeal to national and international donors to muster resources to support the said programme, the implementation of which should be with the effective participation...
of churches, non-governmental organizations and others in civil society, who will make their experience available to ensure transparency and the rational use of available resources.

Within the framework of its commitment to the rapid reconstruction of the country, the government will fulfil the immediate outstanding tasks in its Programme to Overcome the Crisis, an integral and essential part of which is the Public Investment programme, PIP. The implementation of the PIP will make it possible to rehabilitate economic and social facilities making possible economic activity, the provision of medical assistance to the population, raising schooling levels, the movement of people and goods and better links between provinces, municipalities and communes, and the installation, organization and capacity building of local administration. With the aim of mobilising additional resources for the great task of rebuilding Angola in peacetime, the government has taken the initiative, with the assistance of friendly countries, to hold an international donors’ conference on a date to be determined.

The government appeals to all political forces and civil society as a whole, in this crucial period in which the nation’s destiny is once again being decided, for every citizen to maintain a high sense of responsibility in his or her acts and words. The government encourages the propagation and consolidation everywhere in the country of a climate of mutual tolerance in which debate and the confrontation of ideas are possible without recourse to physical or verbal violence, insults or slander.

The government urges all Angolans to unite, so that we may together turn an important page in our history. This is a time for reconciliation, mutual forgiveness and unity. Let us bid a final farewell to arms and war and dedicate ourselves fraternally to the reconstruction of a prosperous and modern Angola, capable of guaranteeing the physical, material and spiritual well-being of all its citizens and of occupying its rightful place in the concert of nations.

Lessons for the UN from UNAVEM II (1991-93)

After completing her assignment as Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General in Angola in 1993, Margaret Anstee formulated the following list of lessons for UN involvement in peace processes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In for the long haul</th>
<th>There is no quick fix for a long standing deep-rooted conflict. The international community must be prepared for the long haul or not at all.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Involved in negotiations</td>
<td>The UN should always be involved in negotiating peace accords it is expected to monitor.</td>
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<td>Clear mandate</td>
<td>The UN must have a clear, strong mandate and adequate resources, commensurate with the task, and provided on a timely basis.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Commitment to peace</td>
<td>The antagonists’ commitment to peace is essential but they need a strong referee.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Just say no!</td>
<td>The Secretary-General ought to be able to refuse operations for which the conditions, mandate and resources are not right. This is easier said than done in the face of Security Council heavyweights.</td>
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<td>Elections</td>
<td>Elections should not be held until minimal conditions established in the peace agreements are fulfilled. There should be no arbitrary deadline.</td>
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<td>Nobody takes all</td>
<td>Avoid a ‘winner takes all’ approach to electoral systems.</td>
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<td>Bigger picture</td>
<td>It is essential to undertake concurrent confidence-building and peace-building measures (i.e. human rights, neutral police force, economic and social measures, social reintegration).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Media</td>
<td>The importance of the media internally and externally should be appreciated. An effective UN public information set-up is essential.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Logistics</td>
<td>Logistics are a political factor (e.g. elections airlift)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carrots and sticks</td>
<td>The Security Council’s verbal condemnations of UNITA in 1993 achieved nothing. The September 1993 sanctions were too little too late and easily bypassed. It would have been better to have tested UNITA’s sincerity by meeting their demands in Abidjan for a symbolic presence of 1,000 Blue Helmets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genuine concern</td>
<td>The international community must be genuinely concerned and committed. Angola was at a disadvantage as Yugoslavia and Somalia were priorities; there was growing disenchantment with peacekeeping and Angola; and it was no longer a priority for those who exacerbated the conflict during the Cold War.</td>
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Source: Margaret J. Anstee