



## Security Council

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### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS ANGOLA VERIFICATION MISSION (UNAVEM II)

#### I. INTRODUCTION

1. The present report is submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 932 (1994) of 30 June 1994, in which the Council decided to extend the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) until 30 September 1994. It is being submitted prior to the expiry of the Mission's mandate to update the Council on progress in the Lusaka talks and on recent developments in the military and humanitarian situation in Angola. It covers major events up to 15 September 1994. It has perforce been drafted before receipt of the report of the Special Envoy whom I sent to the field in late August (see para. 8 below).

#### II. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

2. In the statement made by the President of the Security Council on 12 August 1994 (S/PRST/1994/45), Council members expressed their impatience over the protracted nature of the negotiations and warned that the peace process could not be delayed indefinitely. The Council believed that a just and comprehensive peace agreement was within reach, and strongly urged the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) to demonstrate its commitment to peace and accept the complete set of proposals put forward by my Special Representative, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, and the representatives of the three observer States (United States, Portugal and Russian Federation). The Council also reaffirmed its intention to review the future role of the United Nations in Angola if a peace agreement had not been concluded by 30 September 1994. Council members stated moreover that further procrastination in the peace process would not be tolerated.

3. Since my last report to the Council of 22 July 1994 (S/1994/865) and the above-mentioned statement by the President of the Security Council, discussions on the modalities of national reconciliation have continued in Lusaka and significant progress has been achieved. Following the adoption of the last agenda item relating to national reconciliation, there remained two documents to be considered and approved, one concerning security arrangements for UNITA

leaders and the other regarding UNITA participation in the management of the affairs of State. After intensive consultations, the document concerning security arrangements for UNITA leaders was approved in August.

4. Discussion of the last item on the agenda of the Lusaka peace talks, namely, the United Nations mandate and the role of the observers, including the new mechanism for implementing the Bicesse and Lusaka agreements, began on 15 August 1994. My Special Representative and the representatives of the observer States drafted a compromise document based on contributions from the delegations, which is currently under discussion between the two delegations. So far, 58 of the 70 articles contained in the document have been agreed, including the entire section on the United Nations mandate in Angola relating to military issues, the police, national reconciliation and the electoral process. Had the talks not been interrupted at the request of UNITA following the aerial bombardment of Huambo on 31 August 1994, consideration of this final agenda item might have achieved greater progress. The meetings in Lusaka resumed on 5 September 1994, and the final chapters of the agenda dealing with the role of the observers and the new mechanism for implementing the Bicesse and Lusaka agreements are now being considered.

5. During the reporting period, my Special Representative, with the support of the observer States and other Governments in the region, continued his attempts to convince UNITA to accept the proposals concerning its participation in the State administration. On 20 August 1994, a message from the leader of UNITA, Mr. Jonas Savimbi, was conveyed to President Frederick Chiluba of Zambia, renouncing UNITA's claim to the post of Governor of Huambo. This message was later confirmed by a letter to my Special Representative dated 30 August from Mr. Eugénio Manuvakola, the General Secretary of UNITA and head of its delegation to the peace talks. The same day, my Special Representative and the representatives of the three observer States met with the UNITA delegation, which formally expressed UNITA's acceptance of the plan. Later that day, my Special Representative addressed a letter to UNITA regarding the outcome of his meeting with the UNITA representatives and indicated that it was his perception that UNITA had formally accepted his plan. A copy of the letter was sent to the Government of Angola, which stated that it did not consider that exchange to be formal acceptance by UNITA of the plan.

6. Following renewed contacts, on 5 September 1994, my Special Representative obtained a letter from the UNITA delegation that confirmed formal acceptance of the plan by UNITA. The Government subsequently stated, by a letter dated 9 September 1994, that it considered UNITA's letter of 5 September to be formal and unequivocal acceptance. Accordingly, the plan has now been accepted by both the Government and UNITA, and my Special Representative is of the view that the latter is thus in compliance with the conditions set forth in paragraphs 4 and 5 of Security Council resolution 932 (1994). In view of these developments, members of the Council decided, in a presidential statement made on 9 September 1994 (S/PRST/1994/52), to postpone consideration of the imposition of additional measures against UNITA as set forth in paragraph 26 of Security Council resolution 864 (1993).

7. There are still several issues to be resolved. They include the localities that will be administered by UNITA appointees (30 municipal administrator posts,

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35 deputy municipal administrator posts and 75 commune administrators), as well as 6 diplomatic missions.

8. During the reporting period, I decided to dispatch a high-level mission to Angola to prepare an assessment of the current state of United Nations efforts in the areas of peacemaking, peace-keeping and humanitarian activities. The mission was headed by former United Nations Under-Secretary-General James O. C. Jonah, and was composed of staff members from the Departments of Political Affairs, Humanitarian Affairs and Peace-keeping Operations. I will provide the Council with a report on the mission's findings in due course.

### III. MILITARY SITUATION AND STATUS OF UNAVEM II

9. In the statement made by its President on 12 August 1994, the Security Council reminded the Government and UNITA that offensive military actions threatened the progress that had been achieved in Lusaka, and that no tactical battlefield advantage was worth the tremendous cost in human suffering that is being paid by the Angolan people. This position was strongly reiterated in the further statement by the President of the Council of 9 September.

10. Since my last report to the Council, the military situation in Angola has nevertheless been marked by an increase in hostilities, although they subsided somewhat in the first part of September. Government troops made significant gains in the northern provinces and were able to consolidate their positions in the areas that the Forças Armadas Angolanas (FAA) had recently recovered. UNITA continued small-scale attacks, guerrilla activities and other military pressure throughout the country. Except for limited tactical success, it has so far been unable to launch large-scale coordinated attacks against FAA. Heavy fighting continued, however, in Cabinda, Lunda Norte and Kwanza Sul provinces and, by the end of August 1994, the military situation in the provinces of Huambo, Bié, Kwando Kubango and Bengo had also deteriorated. In other parts of the country, the situation remained tense. Use of long-range artillery and air assets intensified.

11. In the northern provinces, the situation in Cabinda remained very tense, with fighting continuing throughout July and August. After taking control of the town of Belize on 10 July 1994, the joint forces of UNITA, the Frente de Libertação do Enclave de Cabinda (FLEC) and the Forças Armadas de Cabinda (FAC) made further advances. By the end of August, however, FAA had recaptured the town and surrounding areas. In Lunda Norte and Lunda Sul provinces, the Government maintained firm control over the diamond-producing areas of Cafunfo and Cuango and several other strategically important towns. In the second half of August, UNITA attempted to take over these areas and fierce combat was reported north-east of Cafunfo, but according to FAA, these attacks, which persisted through the beginning of September, were repelled. On 14 August 1994, UNITA reportedly occupied the commune of Quicabo in Bengo Province.

12. In the central provinces, FAA launched a number of attacks on the towns of Quibal and Amboiva (Kwanza Sul Province) and surrounding areas. On the other hand, UNITA intensified its guerrilla activities along the coastline in the last week of August 1994. There were reports that a UNITA battalion had infiltrated

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the area of Porto Amboim and had laid ambushes along the road connecting that city with Luanda. During these incidents, seven persons, including an employee of the non-governmental organization Africare, as well as a priest and several nuns, were reportedly kidnapped. Despite intensive efforts to locate them, the fate of these individuals is still unknown. In Benguela Province, UNITA carried out a number of guerrilla attacks and ambushes along the Benguela-Caimbambo-Cubal road. It also kept up pressure on Ebo. The situation around the besieged city of Kuito remained relatively calm; but the Government, which continues to reinforce the city, claimed that it had fought back UNITA attacks there in mid-August. FAA reportedly further expanded its control around Kuito in the last week of August. In the meantime, the air force bombed Huambo on 31 August 1994, resulting in civilian casualties and property damage.

13. The situation in the southern provinces, in particular around Menongue, deteriorated during the last week of August 1994. UNITA reportedly shelled the city with long-range artillery, killing several civilians and causing substantial property damage, but the city remained under government control.

14. Despite the decrease in military action in recent weeks, there are widespread reports of concentrations of FAA and UNITA troops in several parts of the country and of preparations for further attacks and offensives, including against major population centres.

15. There has been no change in the status and mandate of UNAVEM II as set forth in paragraph 14 of my report to the Council dated 11 May 1994 (S/1994/611). The Mission continued to operate at its reduced strength of 50 military, 18 police and 11 military medical staff, complemented by a small number of political, humanitarian and logistical personnel. Teams of military and police observers were deployed at the headquarters in Luanda, as well as at four other locations. In addition to routine activities, the Mission has been involved in comprehensive planning for an expanded UNAVEM. Its presence in Angola remains an essential factor in ongoing efforts to reach a political settlement. Since the Lusaka peace process is at an advanced stage, it is my intention to provide UNAVEM with two additional staff members, one Professional and one General Service, primarily to assist the Mission in translating the rapidly expanding volume of documentation.

#### IV. HUMANITARIAN SITUATION

16. The Council, in the statements made by its President on 12 August and 9 September 1994, expressed its dismay at the actions of both parties, particularly UNITA, that have led to the further deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Angola, and again reminded the parties of their responsibility to facilitate the delivery of relief supplies. Nevertheless, since my last report to the Council, the humanitarian situation in Angola continued to be a source of major concern. Ongoing military activities severely limit the ability of humanitarian agencies to carry out their relief operations effectively. A recent review conducted by the Humanitarian Assistance Coordination Unit revealed that, since February 1994, there has been a further 10 per cent increase in the number of people severely affected by the war. Nearly 3.7 million Angolans, mostly displaced and conflict-affected, are now in

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need of emergency supplies, which include essential medicines and vaccines, blankets and food aid.

17. Several security incidents that occurred in the second half of August 1994 reflect the unstable and dangerous conditions in which relief agencies are working: aerial bombardment of Huambo on 31 August, artillery shelling targeted at Menongue airport, which caused the temporary suspension of United Nations cargo flights to that destination; the temporary closure of the Porto Amboim-Luanda road because of ambushes and kidnapping of civilians, including staff of international non-governmental organizations and members of their families.

18. On the other hand, there have been some encouraging developments in response to the statement by the President of the Security Council on 12 August 1994, which expressly called for the resumption of relief flights to Malange and Kuito, and the appeal I addressed to President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi. On 23 August 1994, UNITA confirmed that World Food Programme (WFP) cargo and passenger flights to Malange could resume. WFP started deliveries immediately, and United Nations agencies and NGOs re-established their presence in the city. On 29 August 1994, general food distribution began in Malange for the first time in over three months, and feeding centres are now redoubling their efforts to reach all malnourished children and adults in the area. As of 4 September, WFP had delivered over 1,800 tons of food and other relief items to this location.

19. The city of Kuito, which had not been reached by United Nations relief flights since mid-May for lack of security clearance from UNITA, finally became accessible when UNITA granted authorization for such flights on 9 September. However, following several flights carried out by the United Nations between 12 and 14 September 1994, UNITA advised that its authorization had been misunderstood and the United Nations could no longer fly to Kuito. Deaths from starvation and related diseases are reportedly increasing by the day in Kuito, a situation that is sure to be aggravated by the refusal to authorize relief flights.

20. Despite the presence of 12 relief agencies in the city of Huambo, the humanitarian situation there continued to degenerate for lack of adequate relief supplies. Since May 1994, less than 10 per cent of the cargo flights designated by WFP to reach the city have been authorized by the Government, despite public declaration of unimpeded access. Food distribution in Huambo is still subject to disruption, and a large number of nutritional centres have been closed for lack of supplies. The United Nations and NGOs are particularly concerned about the delivery before 15 September of seeds and tools needed for the current planting season.

21. Elsewhere in the country, relief agencies are already distributing seeds and tools in tandem with food aid. In the southern parts of the country, efforts are being made through extensive immunization campaigns to combat an outbreak of meningitis that has already claimed many lives. A campaign has also been launched to stop the spread of a cattle disease that is affecting vital cattle resources. Additional donor funding is needed urgently to maintain the level of vaccinations and to support the non-food sector.

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22. United Nations agencies and NGOs, in close collaboration with the Humanitarian Assistance Coordination Unit, have been consolidating plans to implement a nationwide mine-awareness campaign and develop an overall mine-action strategy. Preparatory work on demobilization and reintegration programmes is also continuing.

#### V. FINANCIAL ASPECTS

23. The General Assembly, by its resolution 48/241 of 5 April 1994, provided financial resources for the maintenance of UNAVEM II through the period ending 30 September 1994 at the monthly rate of US\$ 2,098,700 gross (US\$ 1,997,000 net). Therefore, should the Security Council decide to extend the current mandate of the Mission or entrust a new mandate to the Mission along the lines recommended in paragraphs 15 and 31 of the present report, I shall request the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session to make adequate financial provision for the extension and/or expansion of the Mission.

24. It should be noted, however, that the cash-flow situation of the special account of UNAVEM II continues to be precarious. As of 13 September 1994, outstanding assessed contributions to the account amounted to \$23.7 million. Consequently, in order to provide UNAVEM II with the necessary cash flow, a total of \$21 million has been borrowed from other peace-keeping accounts for a period exceeding 10 months. These loans remain unpaid.

25. The total outstanding assessed contributions for all peace-keeping operations on 13 September 1994 was \$1,964 million.

#### VI. OBSERVATIONS

26. The recent developments in Lusaka have been encouraging, and have given rise to some optimism that a comprehensive settlement to the tragic situation in Angola could be in sight. It is satisfactory that, by formally accepting the complete set of proposals on national reconciliation, UNITA has met the requirements of resolution 932 (1994) and that in consequence the Council decided to postpone consideration of the imposition of additional measures called for in that resolution.

27. Notwithstanding the importance of these developments, additional efforts are needed to bring the Lusaka talks to a successful and rapid conclusion. By all assessments, if both parties display the necessary political will, the remaining issues on the agenda could be resolved without protracted discussion. Further delays would result in the continuation of an armed conflict that has already brought untold suffering to the people of Angola.

28. Having said this, additional efforts and true statesmanship will be required to solve several crucial and very sensitive issues. I shall maintain the United Nations efforts to assist the two parties to reach a successful conclusion by 30 September 1994, as stipulated in the Council's statement of 9 September. But it must be emphasized that it is the leaders of the Government and UNITA who have the duty to capitalize on the recent breakthrough in the

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talks. If either of them fails to demonstrate the necessary political will to do this, I will not hesitate to suggest to the Council that it consider implementing paragraph 7 of its resolution 932 (1994) of 30 June, as reaffirmed in subsequent statements by its President.

29. Despite numerous appeals from the Security Council, hostilities have persisted throughout the country. These military actions pose a constant threat to the progress achieved so far in Lusaka. They also exact a tremendous toll in terms of loss of human life and material destruction of the nation's infrastructure. Yet there are again reports of preparations for further major offensives and counter-offensives.

30. I am also deeply disturbed by the renewed attacks against international relief personnel in Angola; their safety and security should be unequivocally guaranteed. It is also essential to ensure unimpeded delivery of humanitarian supplies throughout the country. I urge both parties, and in particular UNITA, to cooperate fully with the United Nations in this regard.

31. In the hope that the two parties will complete the negotiating process by 30 September, the date on which UNAVEM II's current mandate will expire, I recommend that the mandate be extended for a further short period, until 30 November 1994, to allow time for the talks to conclude, for follow-up meetings to be convened between the military representatives of the Government and UNITA, for the signing of the Lusaka protocols and for preparations for the expansion of UNAVEM. At any time during this period, the Council could decide to adjust the mandate if circumstances so indicated. I trust that the Security Council will remain ready, as it has indicated on several previous occasions, to authorize promptly the increase of the Mission's strength to its previous levels of 350 military observers and 126 police observers, with an appropriate number of international and local staff, if the negotiations can indeed be brought to a successful conclusion.

32. I wish to express my gratitude to President Chiluba of Zambia and to the other heads of State of the subregion for their significant contribution to the search for peace in Angola. I also wish to express once again my appreciation to the representatives of the three observer States for their cooperation and invaluable support, which have contributed so much to the advancement of the peace process.

33. Finally, I would like to pay tribute to my Special Representative, the Chief Military Observer, and the staff of UNAVEM II for the dedication with which they continue to discharge their duties, as well as to the personnel of United Nations agencies and NGOs, who continue to persevere in their efforts to deliver humanitarian aid to those in need under difficult, and often dangerous, circumstances.

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