

# **Security Council**

Distr. GENERAL

S/1994/740 20 June 1994

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

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

#### I. INTRODUCTION

1. The present report is submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 922 (1994) of 31 May 1994, in which the Council requested me to submit to it, as soon as there was progress, and in any case by 30 June 1994, a report on the Lusaka peace talks. I was further requested to state whether the parties continued to demonstrate the necessary political will to achieve a lasting peace and to make recommendations for the future United Nations presence in Angola. Since then, the members of the Council, in their informal consultations, have been regularly informed of developments with respect to the situation in Angola.

#### II. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

In its resolution 922 (1994), the Security Council reiterated its strong 2. appeal to the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA) to show the good faith and flexibility needed to reach an early and comprehensive settlement at the Lusaka peace talks. In that regard, the Council welcomed the formal acceptance by the Angolan Government of the proposals put forward by UNAVEM II and the three observer States (Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States of America) regarding UNITA's participation in the management of State affairs and urged UNITA to do likewise. In the same spirit, the Council encouraged the Government and UNITA to finalize outstanding details without further procrastination to allow the successful conclusion of the Lusaka peace talks. Moreover, the Council, while noting with grave concern the resurgence of military operations throughout the territory of Angola as well as the worsening of the humanitarian situation, reiterated its demand that both parties cease immediately all offensive military operations and condemned acts that imperilled humanitarian relief efforts.

3. The agenda item on national reconciliation has been under discussion at the Lusaka peace talks since 31 January 1994. Following an agreement on 17 February 1994 on the general principles pertaining to that question, the proceedings at Lusaka have focused on the specific principles and on the modalities for their implementation.

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4. Since my last report to the Security Council, of 24 May 1994 (S/1994/611), considerable progress has been achieved on the specific principles. At the time of that report, 6 of the original 18 specific principles had still to be agreed upon. Currently, only one specific principle remains to be agreed, namely the provision of appropriate facilities to UNITA, including adequate residences for its senior leaders.

5. As regards the modalities, the three which are most contentious pertain to UNITA's participation in the management of State affairs; the re-establishment of State administration throughout Angola; and the future status of the President of UNITA, Mr. Jonas Savimbi.

6. The first of these raises important questions relating to the allocation of senior Government posts to UNITA, including the governorships of provinces. It has been under discussion at the Lusaka peace talks since February 1994. After intensive consultations, the United Nations and the observer States put forward a number of proposals which were accepted by the Government on 28 May 1994. On the same day, my Special Representative, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, transmitted the proposals to the UNITA delegation.

7. On 8 June 1994, UNITA gave a generally positive response to the proposals. It accepted all of them which relate to the number and the identity of the posts to be occupied by its senior members, including those in diplomatic missions. However, with regard to the posts of governor, UNITA requested the additional position of Governor of Huambo. It also suggested that one of its members occupy the post of Deputy Governor of Malange, instead of Deputy Governor of Huambo.

8. My Special Representative, supported by the representatives of the observer States, has pointed out to the UNITA delegation that the proposals constitute an indivisible package, alteration of which could place in jeopardy months of negotiations. He has therefore urged UNITA to accept the proposals in their entirety, as the Government has done, pointing out that UNITA has been offered the posts of Deputy Governor and Municipal Administrator of Huambo. In this context, my Special Representative, accompanied by the representatives of the three observer States, travelled to Huambo on 18 June 1994 and held talks with Mr. Savimbi. The following day, he met in Luanda with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

9. Once the remaining issues relating to national reconciliation are resolved, the last item on the agenda, namely the future mandate of the United Nations in Angola and the role of the observer States, is not expected to present major difficulties or to take a great deal of time since a measure of agreement has already been reached on it. It will be essentially a matter of recapitulating the different roles which in the past the Government and UNITA have agreed to entrust to the United Nations and of reconciling the contents of the Lusaka Protocol with standard practices followed by the Organization in establishing peace-keeping operations.

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

10. Since my last report to the Security Council, fighting in Angola has continued to escalate and has affected 11 of the 18 provinces. Both the Government and UNITA have increased their offensive military actions, particularly in and around the provincial capitals of Huambo, Kuito and Malange. As negotiations in Lusaka continued, the two sides maintained their attempts to gain advantage on the ground and to consolidate positions. The fighting has caused further loss of life and damage to basic infrastructures and has hindered the delivery of humanitarian aid to many parts of the country.

11. According to reports, UNITA has persistently infiltrated Kwanza Sul, conducting guerrilla operations in various parts of the province. In late May and early June, intense combat took place around the town of Ebo, which is presently under the control of the Government. The latter announced that its air force had accidentally bombarded a school near Waku-Kongo, resulting in the deaths of 89 schoolchildren. Officials of the Forças Armadas Angolanas (FAA) believe that UNITA is attempting to capture the strategically located towns of Gabela, Porto Amboim and Sumbe in order to secure access to the sea and that it is determined to consolidate positions in the south-western part of the country.

12. In the meantime, heavy fighting continued intermittently in and around the city of Kuito; both the Government and UNITA have accused each other of initiating hostilities in which hundreds of civilians were killed or wounded. The humanitarian situation in the city remains catastrophic. On 4 June 1994, UNITA launched a major offensive against Malange. This was reportedly repulsed by FAA, but sporadic fighting persisted there. Since late May, UNITA has been concentrating troops around the provincial capital of Luena and in other north-eastern parts of the country.

13. At the same time, the Government air force bombed Huambo on 29 and 30 May, and on 3, 6, 8 and 10 June 1994. As a result, the United Nations and humanitarian staff from non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Huambo were forced to seek refuge in reinforced bunkers. UNITA asserted that in addition to the city, air strikes were conducted against several smaller towns and villages in the region and that hundreds of civilians were wounded or killed. In Lunda Norte Province, the areas of Cafunfo and Luremo were also reportedly the targets of aerial bombardments. While there were reports that FAA was conducting military operations in the northern parts of Cabinda, an FAA offensive was also aimed at the north-western part of the country to recapture the oil-producing area around Soyo.

14. Both the Government and UNITA appear to be determined to achieve their military objectives. In addition to taking a heavy toll on the civilian population, the escalation of fighting has had repercussions on the political situation and threatens the peace process.

15. In several previous reports, the Security Council has been informed about my efforts to develop a comprehensive contingency plan in anticipation of major progress in the Lusaka peace talks. During the period under review, the concept of an expanded operation has been further refined and existing guidelines have been updated. An agenda has been formulated for the meeting of the Chiefs of S/1994/740 English Page 4

Staff of FAA and UNITA which is scheduled to take place after the initialling of an agreement in Lusaka. In the meantime, a reconnaissance plan has been prepared for the selection of priority deployment sites for United Nations teams, quartering areas and storage facilities for weapons and ammunition. The Secretariat, together with UNAVEM II and the Humanitarian Assistance Coordination Unit (UCAH), is proceeding with an in-depth study of issues relating to quartering, demobilization, social reintegration and other essential elements of the peace process. I intend to pursue actively all relevant preparatory work, including contacts with potential contributors of troops and police.

16. There has been no change in the current status and mandate of UNAVEM II as set out in paragraph 14 of my last report to the Council (S/1994/611). In my view, the presence of the Mission in Angola remains an important factor in the strenuous effort to reach a political settlement.

## IV. HUMANITARIAN SITUATION

17. The recent intensification of military operations throughout the country has seriously affected the humanitarian assistance programme and threatens the entire effort to stabilize the condition of vulnerable populations. Emergency relief flights to four major locations - Huambo, Kuito, Malange and Uige - have been suspended since late May and stocks of food and other essential humanitarian supplies in these areas are almost exhausted. Relief flights to all destinations in Angola for the week of 13 June were suspended owing to lack of clearance by UNITA. The United Nations has had to evacuate all expatriate staff from Huambo and Kuito, and non-essential staff from Malange, as well as assisting in the evacuation of NGO personnel. On 15 June, UNITA temporarily prevented United Nations staff members and NGO expatriate personnel from leaving Huambo.

18. As a result of these developments, the quantity of relief carried by air has decreased dramatically and conditions are deteriorating rapidly in cities dependent on food supplies delivered by air. Overland transport remains difficult since many roads are mined and security clearance for the use of several main road corridors is granted only sporadically.

19. If military activities continue to affect humanitarian assistance, the significant gains achieved in the relief effort over the past six months will be quickly eroded. In those locations which have been cut off from relief flights since late May, the incidence of starvation and of death and injury to people foraging for food in mined fields has already increased. It is thus imperative that the Government and UNITA cooperate in ensuring the immediate resumption of deliveries to all destinations. The danger of a sharp deterioration of the situation cannot be averted if basic principles of humanitarian law continue to be disregarded.

### V. FINANCIAL ASPECTS

20. The General Assembly, by its resolution 48/241 of 5 April 1994, authorized me to enter into commitments at a rate not to exceed US\$ 2,098,700 gross (US\$ 1,997,000 net) per month during the period from 1 June to 30 September 1994, for the maintenance of UNAVEM II. This authorization is subject to the decision to be taken by the Security Council to extend the mandate of the Mission. The cost of maintaining UNAVEM II at its current strength will be limited, therefore, to the amount authorized by the General Assembly. In the event of changes in the strength and responsibilities of the Mission during the extension period, any additional resources needed will be sought from the General Assembly.

21. The cash flow situation of the Special Account for UNAVEM II continues to be critical. As of 14 June 1994, outstanding assessed contributions to the UNAVEM II Special Account amounted to some \$20.9 million. This represents approximately 11.9 per cent of the total amount assessed on Member States since the inception of the Mission through 30 June 1994. In order to provide UNAVEM II with the necessary cash-flow requirements, loans in a total amount of \$24 million have been borrowed from the Peace-keeping Reserve Fund (\$19 million) and from the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG) (\$5 million). These amounts have not been repaid.

#### VI. OBSERVATIONS

22. Since my last report and the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 922 (1994), the Lusaka peace talks have recorded some positive developments. Agreement has been reached on all but one of the specific principles pertaining to the question of national reconciliation. With respect to UNITA's participation in the management of State affairs, the major problem remains UNITA's insistence on the post of Governor of Huambo.

23. At the time of writing, it is not yet possible to say that both sides have demonstrated the necessary political will to reach a comprehensive peace agreement, although they are probably closer to such an agreement than they have been since implementation of the Bicesse Accords broke down in late 1992. Depending upon the circumstances prevailing when the Security Council meets to examine the present report, the Council may wish to consider the following alternative courses of action:

(a) If UNITA has given an unequivocally positive response to the proposals put forward by UNAVEM II and the observer States on its participation in the management of State affairs, the Council would not for the time being impose the further measures against UNITA provided for in paragraph 26 of its resolution 864 (1993) but would again declare its readiness to consider at any time the adoption of such new measures or to review those currently in force, if developments should so require;

(b) If, on the other hand, UNITA persists in its refusal to accept in their entirety the proposals which the Government has already accepted, the

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Council could consider implementation of the measures referred to in paragraph 26 of resolution 864 (1993).

24. Given the progress, albeit painfully slow, which is being achieved in the Lusaka peace talks, I trust that the Security Council will remain ready, as stated in its recent resolutions, to consider authorizing promptly an increase in the strength of UNAVEM II. The initial requirement would be the rapid reinforcement of the military and police components to bring their numbers, as well as those of civilian staff, to the levels existing prior to March 1993. In the meantime, I recommend that the present mandate of UNAVEM II be extended for a further three months. If agreement is reached in Lusaka during that period, I will immediately dispatch a reconnaissance mission to Angola to prepare further recommendations to the Council. Needless to say, I will keep the Council regularly informed of any major developments.

25. The military situation continues to be a cause for serious concern. Both sides are intensifying their military operations throughout the country, resulting in heavy casualties, extensive damage to property and further suffering for the Angolan people. It is imperative that all offensive military operations cease forthwith and I recommend that the Security Council renew its urgent call in this sense.

26. Meanwhile, the continuing military operations are having a deplorable effect on the humanitarian situation. I recommend that the Security Council, in addition to urging an immediate suspension of hostilities, press the Government and UNITA to grant immediately security clearances and guarantees for relief deliveries to all locations, and to refrain from any action which could jeopardize the safety of relief personnel or disrupt the distribution of humanitarian assistance to the Angolan people.

27. I once again express my appreciation to the representatives of the three observer States, which are cooperating closely with my Special Representative and rendering him all necessary support. I also pay tribute to my Special Representative, the Chief Military Observer and the staff of UNAVEM II for the determination with which they continue to discharge their duties. I should also like to pay a special tribute to the personnel of United Nations and non-governmental relief organizations who, during the past weeks, have shown an unswerving spirit of self-sacrifice and dedication to their humanitarian mission under extremely hazardous conditions.

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