

Angola Peace Monitor

Volume III, Issue 4, 16 December 1996

## MILITARY THREAT REMAINS DESPITE UNITED NATIONS OPTIMISTIC FACE

The United Nations Security Council meeting on 11 December confirmed the planned withdrawal of its peacekeeping force from Angola, despite the continued threat to peace from UNITA's substantial clandestine army.

The Security Council decided that the peacekeeping force in Angola, UNAVEM III, should begin closing down its operation in February 1997. Threats of sanctions against UNITA (see APM no.2 vol III) were dropped, despite the acknowledgement that UNITA have not handed over all their arms, and that over 15,000 troops have deserted from UNITA's quartering areas (possibly to join UNITA forces left unregistered).

One reliable source, associated with the UN, reported last week that he had observed "mountains of equipment and fuel coming into a UNITA base east of Malanje. DC-6 planes were landing and leaving as if it was an airlift".

A military intelligence assessment suggests that UNITA maintains 26,000 fully equipped troops under arms, including its special forces. They are said to have recently received substantial amounts of new French-made war materiel.

Also, the Portuguese newspaper O Independente stated on 29 November that UNITA's special forces are located mainly in the Lundas and Dembos regions, under the command of UNITA vice-president General Antonio Dembo.

Some observers now compare the situation to the run-up to the elections in 1992, when UNITA maintained its military capacity. There is a growing fear that, in the absence of decisive new international action, when the Government attempts to take administrative control of the whole country, as envisaged under the Lusaka

Protocol, military clashes could lead to full scale war.

#### UNITA FORCES ISOLATED

Following UNITA's official declaration of its full demobilisation, its remaining military forces have lost the protection hitherto given under the Lusaka Protocol.

On 11 December, just prior to the United Nations Security Council meeting on Angola, the rebel movement UNITA declared that it had quartered all of its troops and handed over all its weapons to the UN.

This late declaration was criticised at the Security Council by Zimbabwe's ambassador to the UN, Machivenyika Mapuranga, who said that it was "a typical example of the refusal of UNITA to make a positive move until heavy pressure was exercised". The diplomat also stressed that "statistics on cantonment, demobilisation and reintegration could not alone impress either the people of Angola or the international community".

The UN ambassador from Mauritius, Taye Wah Michel Wan Chat Kwong, argued that the Council should still consider measures against UNITA, stating that "while UNITA had made some positive gestures, one should question whether those efforts were genuine. The past did not seem to vindicate UNITA's sincerity".

The declaration by UNITA was made under intense pressure, with a threat of further sanctions against the organisation hanging over it. UNITA vice-president Antonio Dembo, stated to UNITA's Radio Vorgan on 30 November that UNITA "would only do so for the sake of peace" adding that "it gives the Government a legal basis to act against alleged UNITA military targets".

#### NEXT STAGE ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL

The UNITA declaration formally represents an end to one element of the Lusaka Protocol. The next stages of the Lusaka Protocol include the extension of State administration throughout the country, and freedom of movement.

Much of the country has been under the control of UNITA since it returned to war in 1992, after rejecting the

results of the UN-monitored elections. Now UNITA is due to hand control back to the Government, and this is leading to military tensions.

The Security Council meeting on 11 December adopted resolution 6301 which, inter alia, "urges the Government of Angola to avoid offensive military operations which go beyond those strictly necessary for the restoration and maintenance of law and order in areas formerly occupied by UNITA".

The UN Secretary General, Boutros Boutros Ghali had placed a report dated 2 December (S/1996/1000) before the Security Council, in which he noted that the number of cease-fire violations, which had increased in early November, had since decreased. Among the contributory factors was "the withdrawal of Government forces from several locations in Huila, Benguela, Bie and Lunda Sul provinces which they had taken over during the last two months".

The issue of UNITA control over areas is vital for two reasons. Firstly, during the election in 1992 UNITA maintained control over a large area of the country, and had a physical control over the population in those areas. Many observers suggest that without that control UNITA would break up as an organisation.

Secondly, UNITA has made a vast fortune out of the sale of illegal diamonds. UNITA has used its occupation of much of the diamond regions of the country to extract a fortune for its war chest. Diamond specialists estimate that UNITA has smuggled a minimum of \$2.1 billion worth of diamonds between 1993 and the end of 1996.

When the Government regains control of the diamond areas, in particular the Lundas provinces, there should be an end to illegal diamond mining. It is believed that UNITA is in negotiations with the state diamond mining organisation, Endiama, over diamond concessions. However, this would be on a smaller scale, and subject to national taxation.

#### VEILED INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF UNITA ARMS IMPORTS

The international community has de facto accepted UNITA's declaration that it has quartered all its troops and handed over its arsenal. This is despite

evidence that UNITA has stockpiles of weaponry and continues to import more.

In his report to the UN Security Council on 19 November (S/1996/96) Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali stated that "at the beginning of October, the UNAVEM Force Commander [General Sibanda] submitted to the Joint Commission a comprehensive evaluation report, in which, while commending the effort made by UNITA, he recommends that it hand over to the United Nations additional and substantial quantities of various weapons. The main conclusion drawn in his report was that UNITA had not fully implemented the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol in this crucial area. Although UNITA challenged the report's basic assumption, stating, in particular, that large quantities of its military equipment had been lost during the hostilities between September and November 1994, the Joint Commission approved its main recommendations. UNITA is therefore expected to make additional efforts to surrender more weapons and ammunition."

However, reference to UNITA's need to surrender more weapons was dropped in his report of 2 December. Between the report of 19 November and 7 December (latest available figures), UNITA handed over to the UN a further 597 personal weapons and 403 crew-served weapons. During the same period 4,459 UNITA personnel were registered at the quartering areas. A further gathering of arms from UNITA was reported by the Secretary General, who said in his December report that UNITA has now allowed the UN to remove a stockpile of arms that the UN discovered in Negage (see APM no.3 vol.III).

The refusal of the Security Council meeting to confront UNITA over its continued military capacity, and to take action against the organisation, is a clear sign that the UN wishes to concentrate on dealing with the political aspects of the Lusaka Protocol.

In a move which accepts that UNITA has been importing arms and oil, the Security Council has reaffirmed the mandatory sanctions placed on UNITA in 1993, and expressed "deep concern that the failure by States, especially those neighbouring Angola, to do so is inconsistent with the peace process and undermines economic recovery"

## UNAVEM MANDATE EXTENDED

The Security Council on 11 December decided to extend the mandate of UNAVEM III until 28 February 1997, and has approved the Secretary General's recommendation that after withdrawing four military support and infantry units (see APM no.3 vol.III), the next withdrawal should be in February 1997, with a view to a full drawdown within six or seven months. This will entail the repatriation of four of the six UNAVEM III infantry battalions and additional support units and some military headquarters personnel by mid-June 1997. The remainder should be removed by the end of July or August.

However, the withdrawal is to be "commensurate with progress achieved in the quartering areas, in demobilisation and in the extension of state administration".

The Secretary General recommends that "a rapid reaction force should be retained, comprising six company-sized infantry groups, one of which would be deployed in each of the operational regions of Angola until completion of the withdrawal of all military contingents, unless the political and security conditions permit a more expeditious drawdown".

## DEMOBILISATION DELAYED BY LACK OF TRUST

The demobilisation of over 100,000 troops from both the Angolan army and UNITA has been greatly delayed because of UNITA's efforts to place its demobilised troops back into secret military structures.

According to answers to questions raised in the British parliament by Robert Hughes MP, UNITA had registered 69,821 troops by the 7 December [UNAVEM admitted on 14 December that desertions had reached 15,372 with a further 3,233 "absent"]. The answers also show that UNITA had handed over 30,180 personal weapons and 4,857 crew-served weapons, representing one weapon for every two registered "soldiers".

So far only 629 UNITA troops (mainly under-age soldiers) have been demobilised. The UN Secretary General, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali stated in his report of 2 December that those soldiers had "received the necessary discharge documents as well as the

demobilisation benefits provided by the Government and the international community. However, serious difficulties arose as a result of repeated violations by UNITA officials of the soldiers' right to choose freely where they would be resettled".

This referred to incidents where UNITA officers were forcing demobilised soldiers off the buses intended to take them home, to reintegrate them into secret units.

#### INTEGRATION OF UNITA PERSONNEL INTO ARMY SPEEDS UP

The pace of selecting UNITA soldiers into the Angolan army, FAA, has increased rapidly as a result of the Government lifting strict age and education requirements for selection.

The Secretary General reported on 2 December that 18,738 of the expected 26,300 UNITA troops had been selected for incorporation into FAA.

Radio Vorgan on 5 December claimed that "12,000 UNITA soldiers were rejected by the Government's selecting teams in the 15 assembly areas simply because they were slightly older than 30".

In a further development, on 11 December Angola's President, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, had ordered the appointment into FAA and the Ministry of Defence of the nine UNITA generals sent to Luanda. They are expected to be sworn in before the end of the year.

#### REPORTS OF ZAIRE ROLE FOR UNITA

Reports are circulating that UNITA may be considering intervening in the crisis in Zaire to shore up its international support.

Recent fighting in Zaire has left much of the country under the control of rebels opposed to President Mobutu Sese Seko. President Mobutu is recuperating in France following treatment in Switzerland for cancer, and the large and relatively easy territorial gains by the armed factions has led to political chaos in the Zairian capital, Kinshasa.

UNITA has for many years relied on Zairian diplomatic and logistical support, and the threat of losing this

"rear base" has led to allegations of offers of UNITA support for the Zairian regime.

The independent Angolan newspaper, *Folha 8*, said on 6 December that UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has offered to the Zairian regime to send elite troops to fight on the side of President Mobutu. These elite troops are said to be under the control of UNITA vice-president Antonio Dembo.

*Folha 8* raised doubts over the veracity of the allegations, first published in the Portuguese paper *O Independente*. *Folha 8* sources the rumour as emanating from UNITA, suggesting that this may be a UNITA smokescreen.

However, the alleged offer of UNITA troops to fight in Zaire is also a reflection of the growing isolation of UNITA internationally.

French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette visited Angola on 29 November, and indicated a shift in French foreign policy on UNITA. In a very significant sign, Jonas Savimbi has been refused an entry visa to visit France.

Previously, UNITA had received French political support as part of the European country's strategy of influence in the region. However, the Angolan Government now has increasing support from the United States, Britain and Portugal. There are now very large commercial opportunities in Angola which France wishes to have access to.

In particular, France has an interest in developing a recently discovered off shore oil reserve at Bloc 17. Specialists say that this could be the largest reserve in the southern hemisphere with a possible output of three million barrels a day.

Following the visit to Angola by the French Foreign Minister, Radio France Internationale reported that "France has been given permission by Angola to develop a new oilfield". The French companies Elf Aquitaine and Total are competing with the US companies Exxon, Chevron and Texaco, and Britain's BP.

It is possible that the rumours of UNITA involvement in Zaire were based on an attempt to gain sympathy from

the French, who have been strong supporters of President Mobutu. However, the French Government's clear intention to strengthen bilateral ties with Angola may be a sign of a wider re-evaluation of France's regional policy.

[Return to index](#) [Return to index](#)

Angola Peace Monitor

Volume III, Issue 3, 30 November 1996

Special Representative upbeat on deadline compliance

The United Nations Secretary General's Special Representative to Angola, Alioune Blondin Beye, has hailed progress in the peace process made in the last month. This appears to have removed the immediate threat of sanctions on the UNITA rebel movement and makes way for the withdrawal of UN peacekeepers.

At its last meeting, in October, the UN Security Council gave UNITA until 20 November to complete a series of military tasks including the full quartering and disarming of its troops. The UN threatened sanctions if sufficient progress was not made.

However, there remains widespread concern that many elements of the peace process have not yet been implemented.

The Joint Commission, comprised of the two signatories to the Lusaka Protocol; UNAVEM; and the troika of the Russian Federation, Portugal and the United States, met on 21 November to consider to what extent the Government and UNITA had complied with military tasks set out under a mediation document produced by Beye (see APM no.2 vol III).

After the meeting Beye said that it is with great happiness that we noted that the tasks defined by the UN Security Council have all been implemented, some 100% and others 75% or 80%. No task defined by the UN Security Council was implemented less than 75%. Thus, the Joint Commission expressed its satisfaction to the government and particularly to UNITA, which had the most tasks to implement. The Joint Commission, however, urged the government and especially UNITA to implement

as soon as possible the remaining tasks in the next few days. I say in the next few days because soon the UN Security Council will meet to examine the UN Secretary General's report. Thus, it is always possible to send to the headquarters or brief Mr [Hedi] Annebi on the recent tasks implemented before the UN Security Council meeting.

The Joint Commission session was attended by Mr Annebi, director for Africa of the UN Disarmament Department. UNITA claim disarmament

UNITA have claimed that over the past month they have disbanded their military component.

UNITA's Radio Vorgan announced on 19 November that UNAVEM III has registered all UNITA officers and soldiers in accordance with the Lusaka peace accord. According to the report, registration was completed on 16 November, when the last UNITA regional commands were registered, including senior officers in UNITA's General Staff.

The report said that over 1,000 men who made up the regional commands were quartered in the central, southern, southeastern, northern and northeastern regions. However, the report stated that they handed over only 300 weapons. Communications equipment used during the war has been kept by UNITA to help them in their political work .

On 20 November Brigadier Antonio Tchassanha said that UNITA had complied with the timetable and had disarmed over 63,000 troops, lifted 35 remaining road control posts and handed in lists of its legislators for a government of national unity.

UNAVEM III put the figures for UNITA personnel registered at the quartering areas by 20 November at 68,310. However, of these 12,543 had deserted, leaving only 55,013 in the camps. 7,000 of those registered were under the age of 18. In all, according to an estimate by leading aid and UN officials, over 70% of those quartered were not combat troops. The poor quality of arms and soldiers quartered has been consistently stressed by the UN Secretary General in his reports to the UN Security Council.

Brigadier Tchassanha said that UNITA had presented 32,633 troops for selection into the single army: All we are missing are about 1,000 police members who are awaiting UN transportation to assembly camps .

UNITA complain that the selection process has been slowed down by the FAA s strict criteria for UNITA s integration into the army. The army is insisting that the new recruits are over 18 and under 30, that they are fit, and that they have a minimum level of schooling.

Following a meeting with UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi, Alioune Blondin Beye pointed out a problem UNITA were having sending its so-called policemen to quartering areas. He reported that UNITA says it has had two difficulties. Specifically, UNAVEM III no longer has room to accommodate the 5,011 policemen, of whom 2,400 have been registered .

Regarding Cabinda, Beye said UNITA confirmed that its men had been waiting to be transported by ferry since 11 November. I admit that the ball is not in UNITA s court, but in UNAVEM III s because we should have made aircraft available with the government s help.

On 16 November UNITA handed over a further 60 tonnes of weapons to UNAVEM III. The weapons, including AK-47s, G-3s, RPG-7s, machine guns and grenade launchers were handed over in Negage, Uige.

Consignment of peacekeepers homebound signals start of UN withdrawal

The United Nations announced on 21 November that around 600 UN peacekeepers will be sent home at the end of December. Two infantry companies from Brazil and Romania and two bridge-building companies from Korea and Ukraine will be the first to leave Angola.

UN official Annebi told Reuters that the UN could no longer afford to keep troops in Angola and a downscaling was necessary ahead of a larger withdrawal in February: We don t want to unnecessarily keep troops here. It is expensive .

The UN hopes to complete the withdrawal of troops by February, and engineer a complete closing down of the operation by June 1997. UNAVEM III was set up by the UN

Security Council on 8 February 1995, when it stated the expectation that UNAVEM III would complete its mission by February 1997. It is expected that UNAVEM's mandate, which runs out on 11 December will be extended until February at the next Security Council meeting on Angola.

Serious allegations of UNITA arms imports raise doubts on UNITA's motives

Many analysts reject the notion that UNITA has disarmed - highlighting evidence that UNITA maintains considerable military capacity on the ground, bolstered by continued arms imports.

In November the head of UNAVEM's military component, General Sibanda, delivered a report to the Joint Commission stating that UNITA had not handed over their heavy weapons. This followed an incident at the end of October when an arms cache was found by UNAVEM in Negage, with weapons and explosives powerful enough to equip a 150-strong unit.

On 19 November the London-based Independent newspaper reported that arms traders with links to old guard members of South African military intelligence were supplying arms to UNITA via Kinshasa airport in Zaire.

The newspaper claims that arms and ammunition are flown by C-130 transport aircraft from Lanseria airport near Johannesburg to Kinshasa, from where they are flown to Angola to supply UNITA. According to the paper, the arms are shipped as mining equipment by an Angolan company known as CMC.

The newspaper states that operations run by serving and retired members of the South African Security Service, outside of governmental control, is motivated by financial rewards rather than political.

The Independent report confirms that UNITA is using Kinshasa for sanctions busting.

There have also been allegations from reliable sources that the large quantity of ammunition handed over by UNITA to the UN in Jamba were in fact bought from the Botswanan army's old stock specifically for that purpose.

On 27 July 1996, UNITA handed over 770 tonnes of weapons and munitions in Jamba. The arms included 16 tonnes of ammunition, anti-aircraft guns, rockets and multiple rocket launchers, several field artillery pieces, shells and grenades, and one T-55 tank.

The threat to the country from banditry is being taken very seriously by both the United Nations and the Angolan Government. In Mozambique gun-related crime has soared since Renamo and Government troops were demobilised following the 1992 Peace Accord. This is in large part due to the failure of the UN operation in Mozambique to disarm the rebel movement, and the large-scale unemployment that followed the demobilisation of troops on both sides.

Tension remains high as both sides cry foul

Jornal de Angola reported on 21 November that Special Representative Blondin Beye has announced that the dangers of a new war were over.

However, there have been an increased number of reports of violations of the Lusaka Protocol - though this may be accounted for as much by the political pressures caused by the UN deadline, as a real increase in incidents on the ground.

Over the last month UNITA has claimed that there have been attacks in several areas by the Government's forces, the FAA:

- \* on 5 November UNITA's Radio Vorgan reported troop and munitions movements, and recruitment by FAA in Namibe and Huila provinces. In particular, UNITA claimed that on 22 October, a plane unloaded a battalion of soldiers at Lubango airport coming from Luanda. The report also claims that government forces recruited 2,600 youths in Namibe and Huila Provinces.

- \* UNITA also claim that 3,120 special FAA reconnaissance forces were recently sent to northern Namibia. They claim that this is to destabilise UNITA-controlled areas in southeastern Angola.

- \* on 29 October Reuters reported that President dos Santos had ordered government troops in Bie province to return to barracks after tension in the area.

- \* a UN official has reported that UNITA had lodged an increased number of complaints of government cease-

fire violations in the central province in the last month.

\* in Cabinda UNITA report that a helicopter carrying UNITA soldiers from Cabinda to the Ntucu assembly area was shot at.

The Angolan Government has also alleged that UNITA has failed to fulfil its obligations:

\* on 19 November Televisao Popular Angola reported that no significant progress has been made in implementing the peace accord in Benguela province, and that UNITA continues to hinder the free movement of people and goods. It also reported continued movement of UNITA troops.

\* 8 people were killed by armed men in Benguela. It is suspected that UNITA soldiers were the culprits

\* in Andulo UNAVEM III forces were assaulted by UNITA members

\* in Lunda Norte province the Cuango traditional chief has urged the Joint Commission to assess the situation in his area, and in Canfunfo. He said UNITA has not quartered its forces.

\* Televisao Popular de Angola reported on 2 November that UNITA were restricting the free movement of people and goods in Kwanza Sul.

\* UNITA angered by constitutional change

On 13 November the Angolan Parliament, the National Assembly, amended the country's constitution, extending the life of the parliament and revoking the decision to create the position of vice-president.

The National Assembly agreed to extend its mandate for a minimum of two further years, until when the military, political, security and material conditions provided for in the Constitution and other legislation in force in the Republic of Angola have been created .

This in itself was not controversial, as both the UN and UNITA agree that conditions do not exist for elections to be held now, and the current mandate ran out on 26 November.

Another amendment to the constitution withdrew the change in the constitution, made on 1 September 1995, which allowed for two vice-presidents to be appointed. The constitution had been amended to accommodate UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi to grant him the special status of

vice-president of Angola, which UNITA had demanded - but which Savimbi in fact subsequently rejected after prolonged prevarication.

The UNITA secretary-general Paulo Lukamba Gato reacted to the constitution amendments by claiming that they represented a constitutional coup that violates the Lusaka Protocol . Gato said that the revision of the constitution is not the sole responsibility of the MPLA. However, UNITA s Deputies are at present continuing their boycott of the parliament.

Conference looks at Angolan peace

The annual Mozambique Angola Committee A Luta Continua conference was held in London on 23 November.

Sessions were held on the UN in Angola and the economic crisis facing the country. Amongst speakers on Angola were journalists Chris Gordon and Chris Simpson, economist Manuel Nunes, and Peter Hawkins of Save the Children Fund.

Secretary General report circulated prior to December renewal

The Secretary General of the United Nations has produced a report on the situation in Angola, which is to be published on 1 December, prior to the December meeting of the UN Security Council.

The Angola Peace Monitor will be produced in mid-December to enable us to bring you news of this vital meeting.

[Return to index](#) [Return to index](#)

Angola Peace Monitor

Volume III, Issue 2, 30 October 1996

UN sets UNITA 20 November ultimatum

In a significant new indication of growing impatience with UNITA's prevarication, the United Nations Security Council has given UNITA the deadline of 20 November to complete specific military tasks or face the prospect of sanctions.

Meeting in New York on 11 October to renew UNAVEM III's mandate, the Security Council expressed "deep disappointment with UNITA for delaying the full implementation of the Lusaka Protocol" (resolution 1075/1996).

The resolution demanded that UNITA stands by its commitment to transform itself from an armed opposition to a political party. To this end it called on UNITA to carry out the tasks formulated by the Secretary General's Special Representative in Angola, Alioune Blondin Beye, in his "Mediation Document", which includes to:

- \* complete substantially the selection of UNITA soldiers to join the Angolan army;
- \* stem the flow of deserters from the quartering areas and to return those who have deserted;
- \* register in the quartering areas "UNITA policemen" who have remained in areas vacated by UNITA military forces;
- \* dismantle all UNITA command posts;
- \* co-operate fully with UNAVEM in the extension of State administration throughout Angola;
- \* make available other generals and high ranking officers for duty in the Angolan army;
- \* return all elected deputies to the National Assembly;
- \* establish the free circulation of people and goods;
- \* cease interference with UN aircraft flights and with mine-clearing activities.

The resolution states the Security Council's "readiness to consider the imposition of measures, including, inter alia, those specifically mentioned in paragraph 26 of resolution 864/1993 of 15 September 1993, unless, by 20 November 1996, the Secretary General has reported that UNITA has made substantial and genuine progress in fulfilling its tasks in the Mediation Document and its commitments under the Lusaka Protocol".

In view of the situation in Angola, the Security Council only agreed to extend UNAVEM III's mandate until 11 December 1996. It took note of the expectation that UNAVEM III would complete its mission by February 1997.

Resolution reflects growing anger

Up until now the Security Council has resisted calls to threaten further sanctions on UNITA if it fails to meet deadlines. In part, the strong resolution is being read as a result of a high level delegation of foreign ministers from Southern Africa representing the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) at the meeting in New York (see separate story).

There is a growing desperation internationally at the delaying tactics of UNITA, who have once more failed to meet solemn undertakings to comply with a deadline of 20 September for the completion of the specific military tasks outlined in the Mediation Document.

Many commentators are now suggesting that November will be a watershed for Angola. Sources claim that UNITA has recently sold \$20 million worth of illegally mined diamonds, and is using the proceeds to buy arms. In another move, UNITA has begun to claim that the Government army is launching attacks on UNITA areas. Some fear this may be a pretext for military action by UNITA's forces, held in reserve during the quartering process.

However, the international political environment is increasingly supportive of the Angolan Government. A growing number of analysts are coming to the conclusion that Savimbi now faces the choice of coming into the political fold or using military force to maintain his power. The highly respected International Institute for Strategic Studies, in their annual publication "The Military Balance", published on 9 October, states that "Jonas Savimbi retains his UNITA forces and the demobilisation process has so far not been completed. The situation will not improve until the internal power struggle has been resolved".

A leader piece in The Times in London stated on 4 October that "Mr Savimbi's UNITA forces still control substantial areas of the Lundas, the Eastern provinces of Angola. Commanding an estimated \$500 million a year from their diamond fields, he grows rich while he keeps his country in limbo". It continued that "Mr Savimbi has squandered whatever sympathy the West once harboured for him. Angola's only chance of recovery is that all the warring factions should honour their agreements. Meanwhile the prospects for this war-torn country look bleak".

## SADC STEPS UP ANGOLA ROLE

The serious threat posed by UNITA has spurred the member states of the Southern African Development Community to take a more interventionist stance on Angola in an attempt to salvage the peace process.

SADC's Political, Defence and Security body met in Luanda on 2 October. Attending the summit were seven presidents, two prime ministers, one deputy prime minister and Malawi's High Commissioner. Following the meeting, a high level delegation was despatched to New York to call on the Security Council to impose sanctions on UNITA.

Zambia's President, Frank Chiluba, invited UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi to attend the summit. His failure to attend angered the heads of state, who "expressed deep disappointment at the absence at the event of the UNITA leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, at a crucial phase of the peace process".

Having received briefings on the current situation from Angola's President dos Santos, and the United Nations Secretary General's Special Representative Alioune Blondin Beye, the summit expressed concern over the impasses and slow progress in the implementation of the peace process.

In particular, the summit placed the blame for the slow progress on UNITA. It "strongly appealed to UNITA to honour its commitments within the deadlines set out in the Lusaka Protocol and UN Security Council Resolution 864/93".

In a clear signal that patience with UNITA had run out, the summit decided to send a delegation to the United Nations in New York to put forward a regional position on the peace process, specifically to call on the Security Council to "take into consideration UNITA's latest failure to comply with its commitments and, consequently, adopt measures, within the framework of Resolution 864/93, to make UNITA fully and urgently respect the deadlines established by the Security Council".

Resolution 864/93 lays out sanctions to be taken against UNITA, which include measures to restrict trade

with UNITA and to restrict the travel of UNITA personnel. (Other measures may include the closing of UNITA offices and the freezing of UNITA bank accounts).

#### EU/SADC MEETING PRESSES UNITA

The European Union has called for UNITA to abide by the Lusaka Protocol. The call came during an important meeting in Windhoek, Namibia, between the EU and SADC on 15 October.

Irish Foreign Minister Dick Spring, who is President of the EU Council of Ministers, said that "we need to get Savimbi back to the negotiating table and seek an ultimate reconciliation. They have to be ready to walk the last mile". He continued that "international pressure is already mounting on Savimbi".

The EU used the occasion to promise to fund programmes to remove mines. Dick Spring said that "this is a priority issue for the EU".

#### SECRETARY GENERAL CALLS FOR DONORS TO SUPPORT DEMOBILISATION

The Security Council meeting in New York on 11 October had before them a report from the UN Secretary General (S/1996/827), in which he called for additional support for the demobilisation process.

The Secretary General stated that "the demobilisation and reintegration process is at a critical juncture: to support the demobilisation of approximately 100,000 ex-combatants, the humanitarian community will have to increase its activities and donors will need to come forward with additional resources. Only 27.4% of the costs of the demobilisation and reintegration programmes are currently covered, and, unless the donor community provides the indispensable additional resources in the near future, the process will come to a halt".

Dr Boutros Ghali placed the blame for the slow pace of integrating UNITA personnel into the Angolan army squarely on the rebel movement. He stated that "although selection teams were deployed to almost all quartering areas, UNITA continued to procrastinate on this issue".

He also warned that "the overall quality of weapons and ammunition surrendered [by UNITA to the United Nations] remains low. Moreover, only 28,762 personal weapons and 3,969 crew-served weapons have been surrendered to the United Nations".

The head of the UN also pointed out that there is likely to be a problem with next year's harvest. He stated that "the prospects for the next planting season depend largely on the free circulation of people and goods. The presence of newly planted mines along some secondary roads which were previously considered safe is raising serious concerns among humanitarian agencies responsible for the distribution of agricultural assistance".

The Secretary General makes clear that he intends UNAVEM III to complete "most of its mandated tasks by February 1997". He is therefore aiming to start withdrawing UN infantry and support units by the end of December 1996.

#### SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE GIVES LATEST FIGURES

The Secretary General's Special Representative in Angola, Alioune Blondin Beye, stated on 9 October that there is no reason to keep the UN troops in Angola for much longer.

He continued that "The international community, Angolan civilians and even the protagonists are impatient. Everyone has in mind the fact that the second anniversary is approaching, and that we should have made more progress".

Alioune Blondin Beye has also provided the latest figures for UNITA troops quartered. He stated on 19 October that "as of 17 October, 63,704 UNITA troops have been registered in the quartering areas, but 13,476 have deserted leaving 49,658 present, of which 11,322 have been selected to join the unified national army". Under the Lusaka Protocol, 26,300 UNITA personnel are to join the Angolan army.

The Secretary General's Special Representative also stated that 455 youngsters have been demobilised.

Members of Blondin Beye's team openly admit that UNITA soldiers are at large in the country. Col. Raj Manucha,

head of India's contingent to the UN operation in Negage, stated "I'm aware that many of them have not joined. I won't be surprised if they have weapons and ammunition".

The Portuguese Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, speaking on 10 October at the UN Security Council in New York, expressed concern over the increasing numbers of desertions from the quartering areas and reports that they were not spontaneous, but occurred in an organised manner.

#### WARREN CHRISTOPHER VISITS ANGOLA

As part of an Africa tour, the US Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, visited Angola on 14 October, where he held meetings with senior figures on the current peace process.

During his five hour visit he met with President dos Santos and the Joint Commission which oversees the peace process. UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi refused to come to Luanda to meet Mr Christopher, who appointed his representative, George Moose to travel to Andulo to pass on a message from the US administration. However, due to heavy rain Moose's aircraft was unable to land and was forced to return to Luanda. The US ambassador is now delegated to pass on the message to Savimbi.

On the eve of Christopher's visit to Angola, a state department official is quoted by SAPA as saying that Savimbi has not respected all his commitments as part of the peace process in Angola while "the Government is upholding its end of the bargain for the most part". The report states that the US Government is "growing increasingly irritated with the attitude of Angola's UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi, but does not wish to cut ties with him".

#### US GENERAL REVISITS ANGOLA

Ahead of Mr Christopher's visit, the commander in chief of US troops in Europe, General James Jamerson, arrived in Luanda on 24 September. This was his third visit to the country in 1996.

During his visit he met with the Prime Minister Fernando Van Dunem, and other officials.

#### GENERALS ARRIVE IN LUANDA

A group of four more UNITA generals arrived in Luanda on 11 October to join the five that arrived on 10 September. They are to be integrated into the Angolan army's High Command. The group was composed of Generals Demosthenes Amos Chilingutilla, Job Sukuete "Longfellow", Alberto Pongolola "Bungi" and Deolindo Katata "Wenda".

It has been reported that General Paulo Lukamba "Gato" was expected to arrive in Luanda to take up a position in FAA. However, there is no indication as to when the leading UNITA general Altino Bango Sapalalo "Bock" and others are to rejoin the army.

#### UNITA BODYGUARDS ARRIVE IN LUANDA

Eighty two UNITA members arrived in Luanda on 24 September for integration into the national police force.

The UNITA members join another 27 that have already been integrated into the special force to protect diplomats and political figures. They will have the specific task of protecting UNITA figures.

#### AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL CALL FOR INVESTIGATION

Human rights group Amnesty International has called for a "thorough investigation by independent forensic and other suitably qualified experts on a mass burial ground, reportedly containing the remains of at least 60 people, apparently victims of deliberate and arbitrary killings, which was discovered by a mine clearing team working near Soyo in north-western Antola".

The statement added that according to local residents the victims were probably abducted by UNITA, who had held the area for a year from May 1993.

It continued that "among the remains were skulls with holes suggesting shots to the head, the bones of children and articles of women's clothing and Government police uniforms".

Amnesty International also brought out on 24 October a report on the human rights situation in Angola. It

warned that the "political compromise" in Angola "will unravel if it does not include mechanisms for the protection and promotion of human rights".

The report warns that without human rights peace cannot last, and calls on both the Government and UNITA to take immediate steps to ensure that members of the security forces who abuse human rights are brought to justice.

The report calls for the setting up of "a permanent, independent and impartial body which is able to monitor human rights and ensure that appropriate remedial action is taken". Copies of the report are available from Amnesty International, International Secretariat, 1 Easton Street, London WC1X 8DJ.

#### DEFENCE AGREEMENT WITH PORTUGAL

Angola has entered into a defence agreement with its former coloniser, Portugal, allowing for joint military industries.

The agreement, signed on 3 October, was reached between Angola's Defence Minister, General Pedro Sebastiao and his Portuguese counterpart, Antonio Vitorino.

The Portuguese minister was on a five day visit to the country, where he met with members of the Government and UNITA. He was also invited to address the SADC meeting in Luanda.

#### IMF PREPARES ANGOLA PROGRAMME

Following a three day visit to Angola in October, the IMF's managing director Michel Camdessus said he believed the country was serious about economic reform and pledged to set up a three-year emergency programme worth up to \$75 million.

Some donors, including Britain, have linked pledges of development aid to Angola to economic reform.

In a different interpretation of the IMF's visit to Angola, the London-based journal Southscan said on 18 October that the IMF has "warned that it will not back a reconstruction package for the Angolan economy until after a government of national unity has been formed".

## VIGIL FOR VICTIMS OF LANDMINES

The UK Working Group on Landmines, of which ACTSA is a member, staged a vigil and photo-call to draw attention to the "world's worst serial killer" - anti-personnel mines.

The vigil on 3 October at St Martin in the Fields, Trafalgar Square, London, had a one and a half tonne mountain of shoes to represent the 26,000 people every year who are injured by mines.

The vigil coincided with a three day conference in Canada which debated an action plan for working towards a global ban on anti-personnel mines.

It is estimated that there have been 75,000 landmine victims in Angola, with 4 - 8 million mines still buried.

[Return to index](#) [Return to index](#)

Angola Peace Monitor

Volume III, Issue 1, 27 September 1996

Savimbi rejects post of vice-president

On 27 August UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi formally rejected the offer of vice-presidency of Angola. The offer was made by President dos Santos following a request by Jonas Savimbi himself at a meeting between the two in Libreville on 1 March.

In response to the UNITA leader's rejection of the post the Angolan Government called on the Joint Commission - which is made up of the Angolan Government; UNITA; UNAVEM III; and the troika of Russia, the United States and Portugal - to withdraw the "special status" given to Savimbi under the Lusaka Protocol.

Although this request has been rejected, the head of UNAVEM III, the United Nations Secretary-General's Special Representative Alioune Blondin Beye stated that "after rejecting the Government's offer, it [UNITA] must now make a proposal".

UNITA generals arrive in Luanda, but progress is slow

Following strong pressure from the United States and the United Nations, five generals from UNITA's army arrived in Luanda on 9 September to rejoin the Angolan army, the FAA, and prepare the ground for the integration of UNITA soldiers. The delegation was led by General Arlindo Chenda "Ben Ben" Pena.

Under the Lusaka Protocol UNITA generals are to return to the Angolan army, which they had deserted after the elections in 1992. These generals would be responsible for working out with other officers of the FAA how to incorporate 26,500 UNITA soldiers and officers into the army, with the rest being demobilised.

The failure so far of UNITA to abide by their commitment to provide ten top generals to lead the integration of UNITA troops was seen by many as a sign of their lack of willingness to stick by the Lusaka Protocol.

UNITA promised UNAVEM's Beye that a further five generals would arrive in Luanda before 20 September - this did not happen. Equally serious is the allegation that the generals sent so far are not the top UNITA generals, who are said to have remained with their fighting units in case of a resumption of hostilities. General Pena is officially UNITA's Chief of Staff, but is not considered to be the most powerful of UNITA's 59 generals. Among notable senior generals who failed to appear in Luanda with the first contingent were General Paulo Lukamba "Gato", General Altino Bango Sapalalo "Bock" and General Demostenes Chilingutila.

The London-based Economist magazine on 14 September asked, "Is Mr Savimbi using the opportunity to clear out some dead wood and keep his best officers in the field?"

President due to meet UNITA leader

There has been a delay in plans for the Angolan President to meet with Jonas Savimbi on Angolan soil.

According to a report from the AFP news agency, the UNITA leader had agreed to meet with the President before 20 September, the date set by the Joint Commission for the completion of various military tasks (see below).

The two leaders had been expected to meet, for the fifth time since the signing of the Lusaka Protocol. This would be the first time in Angola.

Security Council to meet to discuss future of UNAVEM

The UN Security Council will meet in New York in October to discuss the renewal of UNAVEM III's mandate, which will run out on 11 October.

Amongst issues to be raised will be the selection of UNITA troops for the FAA, the demobilisation of the remaining UNITA troops, and the "special status" of Jonas Savimbi.

One crucial issue which will be raised will be plans for reducing UNAVEM's military component. It had been originally planned that UNAVEM III would complete its mission in February 1997. However, due to slippage in the Lusaka Protocol's timetable, it is expected that this mandate will be extended beyond February in a cut-down form.

Currently UNAVEM III is the biggest and most expensive UN peacekeeping operation. Other factors which may shape its future include the US presidential elections and a possible challenge for the position of UN Secretary-General currently held by Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Military deadline ignored by UNITA

The deadline for the completion of various military tasks, set by the Joint Commission at 20 September has not been met.

Quartering of UNITA troops

UNITA has failed to quarter all its troops. Under the Lusaka Protocol it was obliged to quarter 62,500 soldiers. Those quartered still fail to make this number.

However, of those quartered, over 11,000 have since deserted. The largest number of desertions has been at the camp in Andulo, where 1,478 soldiers have left. Andulo is the location of UNITA's military headquarters and the place where Jonas Savimbi resides.

According to many sources (see APM passim), a high proportion of those quartered are not real troops. The latest available figures from the United Nations show that 7,600 of those quartered are under the age of 18. Others were press-ganged by UNITA to make up the numbers. On 5 June the British newspaper, The Guardian, stated that according to UN and aid officials, at least half of those quartered were not real soldiers.

The London-based journal, New African, in its September issue states that UNITA still has "regular and penetration battalions, special force commandos and a technical and explosives brigade, in all numbering about 25,000 men".

UNITA police force still in operation

UNITA has failed to quarter its self-proclaimed police force, despite strong demands that it do so.

The UN Secretary General, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in his report to the UN Security Council on 11 July, (S/1996/503) stated that "another source of concern is the presence in areas vacated by UNITA of persons which it claims are its police, even though the establishment of such a force is contrary to the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol. It is imperative that these personnel also be quartered and their weapons handed over to the United Nations".

The Lusaka Protocol provided for the incorporation of UNITA members into the National Police so that it can function as a non-partisan institution. 12 specific principles, along with a series of modalities, were agreed on how this was to be achieved. These included arrangements for the participation of 5,500 UNITA members, including 180 officers.

However, none of the above has been implemented. Road blocks previously operated by UNITA soldiers are now under the control of UNITA "police".

Estimates of the strength of this force vary. According to a report on 23 September from the news agency Clarinet, there are 5,000 in the force. The London based journal Southscan puts the figure at 15,000.

On 18 September UNAVEM III put forward a proposal to the Joint Commission concerning the disarming and quartering of the UNITA police.

This proposals was accepted by the Angolan Government, the troika observers of Russia, the United States and Portugal. However, it was vetoed by UNITA who want the issue to be dealt with bilaterally between the two political leaders at their forthcoming summit.

UN criticises lack of weapons handed in

The United Nations has once again criticised UNITA for failing to hand over all weapons in its possession, in particular its heavy weapons and sophisticated ground to air missiles.

Some further weapons have been handed in during September. At Ntuku, Zaire Province, two tanks, seven artillery pieces, two rocket launchers, assault rifles and 14 tonnes of shells and ammunition were handed over. A further hand-over of weapons was cancelled on 16 September due to what UNITA describe as a "misunderstanding".

Other weapons were handed over at Muxinde in the north-east of the country.

According to the New African magazine UNITA still possess 100 artillery pieces, multiple rocket launchers and mortars. They also are said to have a small number of SAM-7s, SAM-14s and SAM-16s.

Savimbi waits as Government heads towards end of fourth year

A number of media commentators have recently written that UNITA is continuing with a policy of dragging out the peace process in the hope of gaining more concessions or even outright victory.

A report by the Clarinet news organisation states that "diplomats say these delaying tactics, which are reminiscent of 1992, are a way to buy time before the government mandate expires in November". It goes on to state that UNITA "is also aware of the potential for social unrest, with Angola's devastated economy suffering 10,000 percent inflation".

The report goes on to quote a diplomat as saying that "Savimbi is playing a waiting game, hoping the regime will collapse. He is trying to wriggle out of what he

signed in 1994 and is now saying the timetable should be flexible".

The report concludes that "whether or not Savimbi plans to resume fighting, he is getting rich by keeping Angola in limbo. By occupying most of Angola's diamond fields, UNITA earns around \$500 million a year".

A report in the New African magazine stated that, "though publicly UNITA says it will abide by the peace process, a secret agenda provides for the core elements to resume full scale guerrilla activity if the central authority in Luanda collapses. This could be provoked by an army coup d'etat or by serious civil unrest in the cities caused by food shortages".

In an ominous sign that the above analysis may be partially correct, Jonas Savimbi said in an interview with Agence France Press, AFP, that he is "waiting for the country to implode. then I will take it".

#### Economy stabilises

The Angolan economy has shown some tentative signs that it has begun to stabilise after the first 100 days of the new government, headed by Prime Minister Franca van Dunem.

The Angolan currency, the Kwanza, had settled at around 200,000 to the dollar following severe action taken against traders in the parallel money market, including the expulsion of some foreign nationals from the country.

The Government also introduced new controls over imports, requiring all foreign transactions to be carried out via the banking system. It is hoped that this will increase customs remittances.

Reuters reported on 20 September that the Government has halted the commercial activities of the national bank, and transferred them to the state owned Caixa de Credito Agro- Pecuaria e Pescas in a move to reduce corruption.

Most public workers have now received their pay arrears and have had their average wage increased from \$20 to \$40 a month.

The Government crackdown on currency and customs, along with the discovery of a massive counterfeit dollar ring, will lead to a shortage of goods in the short term, although it is hoped that this will stabilise the economy and take it out of the hands of the speculators.

UN General Assembly hears of Angola's plight

The Minister for External Relations, Venancio de Moura, has used the United Nations General Assembly meeting in New York to highlight the problems facing his country.

Speaking in the general debate on 23 September, the Minister called for a new Marshall Plan before the end of the century to help Africa through its social and economic crisis.

He said that the consequences of the cycles of poor capital and technologies, population growth and social unrest could be avoided if Africa could rely on the understanding and goodwill of its creditors and major international financial institutions that imposed economic management prescriptions without regard for each nation's realities.

Turning to Angola, he said that over 70 percent of the social and economic infrastructure and the agro-industrial base was destroyed during the war following the 1992 elections, compounding the humanitarian situation in the country.

US top official to visit Angola

According to the LUSA news agency, the US Secretary of State may make a short visit to Angola on 13 October if significant progress has been made in the peace process.

The news agency said that Warren Christopher's visit would be part of the preparations for a tour of Africa by Vice-President Al Gore.

State Department spokesperson Nicholas Burns states that "this [Angola] is a very important stop, it's meant to stimulate further movement towards full national reconciliation in Angola".

The trip to Africa, from 7-15 October is the first extended visit by a Secretary of State since 1987.

US sanctions against UNITA extended

President Clinton has written to the US Congress announcing that he is extending sanctions taken against UNITA in 1993.

In the letter he said that "discontinuation of the sanctions would have a prejudicial effect on the Angolan peace process". It continued "I have determined that it is necessary to maintain in force the broad authorities necessary to apply economic pressure to UNITA, to reduce its ability to pursue its aggressive policies of territorial acquisition".

Report documents war toll in Angola

A new report focuses on the devastation to the people and economy of Angola following the return to war in 1992. The organisation Saferworld's report: Angola - Conflict Resolution and Peace-building, suggests policy responses to "end the culture of political violence, restore social cohesion, rebuild the economy and establish a system of governance that provides a stake for all Angola's people".

Detailing the history of the Angolan conflict, including the inadequacies of UNAVEM II, it concludes that whilst responsibility for recovery and rehabilitation rests principally with the Angolan parties themselves, external assistance can prevent further conflict if effectively utilised. The report considers it "crucial that substantial aid commitments for rehabilitation and reconstruction are made conditional on the full and timely implementation of the Lusaka Protocol".

Copies of the report are available from Saferworld, tel (+44) (0)171 580 8886, e-mail [sworld@gn.apc.org](mailto:sworld@gn.apc.org).

The Angola Peace Monitor is produced every month by ACTSA - Action for Southern Africa, the successor organisation to the British Anti-Apartheid Movement. It is produced as our contribution towards the work of the Angola Emergency Campaign, which seeks to highlight the

need for international action in support of peace and democracy in Angola.

A subscription to Volume III of the Angola Peace Monitor is available at a cost of 10 pounds sterling in Britain and 15 pounds sterling elsewhere. Please indicate whether you wish to receive the Angola Peace Monitor by post or e-mail.

Payment should be made in pounds sterling. If you wish to pay in any other currency, you must add the equivalent of 6 pounds sterling to cover our bank charges.

ACTSA,  
28 Penton Street, London  
N1 9SA,

e-mail [actsa@actsa.org](mailto:actsa@actsa.org),  
fax +44 171 837 3001,  
telephone +44 171 833 3133.

[Return to index](#) [Return to index](#)

Angola Peace Monitor

Volume II, Issue 12, 23 August 1996

UNITA misses deadline

UNITA has failed to quarter the target of 62,500 troops by the extended deadline of 15 August, which was also the date by which 26,000 UNITA troops should have joined the Government army, the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA).

By this date, less than 59,000 UNITA personnel were in the quartering areas, and only 1,500 of its troops had been signed up to join the Angolan army.

However, some sources in Angola have criticised the mechanistic reading of the Lusaka Protocol, under which UNITA is obliged to quarter and demobilise its army. Although the estimated strength of UNITA was put at 62,500 troops, of those quartered 8,600 have deserted with an estimated 6,000 people under the age of 18 awaiting demobilisation.

Particular concern has been raised about the failure of UNITA to confine its special forces (e.g. commandos) to the quartering areas. It is becoming clear that even if UNITA reaches the target of 62,500 troops quartered, it will still have many unconfined and heavily armed troops at its disposal.

However, despite the continuing wrangling over numbers, more UNITA troops have been quartered than during the peace process aborted in 1992, when only an estimated 26 per cent of UNITA forces were confined.

#### Incorporation of UNITA troops delayed

A central feature of the Lusaka Protocol, which underpins the peace process, is the incorporation of half of UNITA's troops into the Angolan army. UNITA's failure to deliver personnel to the Angolan army is delaying progress in the political sphere. The Angolan Government has made clear that there will be no Government of Unity and National Reconciliation until UNITA demilitarises.

The UN Special Representative Alioune Blondin Beye, after a visit to Andulo on 5 August where he met with UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi, said that UNITA generals will join FAA. Under the Lusaka Protocol UNITA is to provide ten generals for the national army. The fact that they have not yet joined has led commentators in Angola to suggest that UNITA is discouraging its troops from joining the army.

However, in an interview broadcast on UNITA's Radio VORGAN on 15 August, a leading UNITA military officer, General Altino Bango Sapalalo Bok, stated that UNITA was not obliged to force its soldiers to join FAA.

General Bok said that "one of the principles we agreed on in Lusaka concerning the integration of FALA soldiers [UNITA's troops] in the FAA was the principle that soldiers must be willing to do so. This is the problem. The soldiers are encouraged when they attend physical training and we reinforce this point every day. Obviously, these men have had many years of war and most of them would prefer to leave military life. This is the problem."

A report by SAPA on 10 August states that the majority of soldiers reject joining the army or do not meet the

three requirements - reading and writing skills, 18-35 and good physical condition. According to Higino Carneiro, who represents the Angolan Government on the Joint Commission, as of 15 August only 1,500 UNITA personnel had been chosen to join the Angolan army.

Despite this, preparations are underway for the technical process of incorporating the troops. Televisao Popular de Angola reported on 8 August that the FAA command on the Military Southern Front has created conditions for the integration of 4,000 UNITA troops. In Huila Province, the process will progress in stages as soldiers are selected from the various confinement areas. The first stage will be made up of 500 soldiers selected from the district of Negage.

Demobilisation due to begin

The lack of UNITA troops able or willing to join the FAA has led to a further delay in demobilising UNITA troops and excess Government troops.

Alioune Blondin Beye stated on 10 August that demobilisation of UNITA troops was due to begin on 26 August, starting with the troops under 18 years old. Eight of the Quartering Areas housing UNITA troops are to be designated as "selection and demobilisation areas".

The Government has continued with plans for demobilisation. On 15 August the Council of Ministers [Angolan Cabinet] met and approved the National Demobilisation and Reintegration Programme. For the whole process \$66 million is needed from both the international community and the Angolan Government. The South African Press Association (SAPA) reports that the Government approved on 15 August a \$65 million financial aid package.

According to a report on Radio Nacional de Angola on 12 August, UNAVEM III has issued a communique saying that there may be problems in the first stage of demobilisation and social reintegration of soldiers owing to a lack of funds.

The demobilisation programme provides for a donation of clothing and food to demobilised soldiers in addition to training, job creation and the reunification of families.

Recent international donations to the demobilisation process include:

- a contribution of \$1 million towards the demobilisation process, which was announced by a Swedish parliamentary delegation visiting Luanda on 12 August

- a donation of \$1.45 million from Britain, with \$1 million going to the International Migration Organisation and the balance going for community services.

#### Key UNITA Congress

On 20 August in Bailundo, UNITA began its conference which will decide, inter alia, whether its leader Jonas Savimbi will take up the position of Vice President of Angola (see APM vol II, no.11).

During discussions in Andulo on 4 August with the Portuguese Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, Jose Lamego, Savimbi said that it would be a mistake to have two vice-presidents because there will be no defined tasks for the two posts. He also stated that he would not accept the post, although his decision would need to be confirmed at the UNITA Congress.

Reuters reported on 19 August that around 1,000 senior members of UNITA are due to meet from 20 August. The report states that some party officials have suggested that Abel Chivukuvuku would be UNITA's nominee for the post of Vice President.

#### Major new investment proposed for diamond industry

Televisao Popular de Angola reported on 13 August that the Ambassadors of Australia and Malaysia have put forward proposals to invest \$100 million in the Angolan diamond sector. However, the Australian Ambassador, Kerry Sibraa stated that "we need stability before we go into the kind of investment we are talking about".

#### New minister appointed

On 3 August President Jose Eduardo dos Santos appointed Pedro de Castro van Dunem Loy as Minister of Public Works and Urban Affairs.

Van Dunem Loy has previously served as oil minister, energy minister and foreign affairs minister.

Russian pilots jailed

The Russian News Agency, TASS, reported on 6 August that two Russian pilots have been jailed for two years following the crash of their AN-32 aircraft on 8 January 1996, which caused the death of around 300 people in Kinshasa, Zaire.

The pilots were accused of overloading their plane, which subsequently came down in a crowded market, killing many Zairian civilians. The exact number of deaths is unknown as a fireball engulfed much of the market, burning bodies to cinders. The aeroplane was carrying supplies for UNITA, including petroleum products which are banned under UN sanctions against UNITA.

Portuguese pledge to help Angola

The Portuguese Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, Jose Lamego, on 5 August signed a protocol with the Angolan Government for \$1 million for the construction of schools in Angola. This was at the end of his visit to the country.

[Return to index](#) [Return to index](#)

Angola Peace Monitor

Volume II, Issue 11, 31 July 1996

International donors pledge support for reconstruction as economic crisis moves centre stage  
Pledges of aid from some international donors over the last two months has marked a growth in concern over the economic crisis in Angola.

International donors have begun to nominate projects which will receive aid to rebuild the economy. Until now almost all aid to Angola has been humanitarian aid (see APM no.8, Vol II). Now development aid is

trickling in, and it is hoped that this will become a flood as donors keep their promises made in Brussels on 25-26 September 1995, when almost one billion dollars was pledged (see APM no.1, Vol II).

Recent pledges of development aid include:

\* Switzerland: co-operation agreement signed on 31 May for \$12 million for Community Rehabilitation Programme

\* United Nations Development Programme: agreement for \$10.5 million for community rehabilitation signed on 17 June

\* Germany: protocol signed on 2 July for improving facilities in Kwanza Sul and Benguela.

\* European Union: allocated \$210 million for socio-economic development on 18 June.

\* Japan: announced on 15 July aid of \$2.7 million to assist with agricultural production.

The economy is in a state of near collapse, a process started when UNITA rejected the results of the 1992 UN supervised elections and returned to war. In recent months the social crisis has placed the Government under severe pressure, leading to the replacement of Marcolino Moco with Fernando Franca Van Dunem as Prime Minister (see APM no.10 Vol II). Commentators attribute UNITA's prevarication over implementing the agreements negotiated under the Lusaka Protocol to UNITA's hope that the central Government will disintegrate with the growing social discontent.

Several measures have been taken to stabilise the economy. Subsidies of up to 50% have been introduced on fuel and flour. Maximum prices and profit margins have been set for the sale of goods, and the licensing of imports through private funds has been banned.

Although these measures are aimed at reducing profiteering, sources in Luanda have told ACTSA that there has been a sudden reduction of food available in Luanda. On 10 July Jornal de Angola published an announcement from the Government stating that if shopkeepers did not reopen for trade they could fall

foul of the law concerning crimes against the national economy.

In a further move to avoid profiteering by speculators, the Council of Ministers announced on 9 July that there was to be a single currency exchange rate.

Moose visit underlines US policy shift

In an important sign of support for the peace process, US Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs, George Moose, arrived in Angola on 11 July on a five day trip.

On 12 July George Moose met with the Joint Commission, the body which is charged with implementing the peace process. During the meeting he stated that the US administration was happy with developments in the peace process, and that progress had been recorded, although much needed to be done.

On 15 July the American official opened a USAID office in Luanda. This is seen as significant as many other countries in Africa are expecting their US aid to be reduced. The visit underlines the shift in US policy over the last year, which culminated in the visit of President dos Santos to the White House in December 1995 (see APM no.5, Vol II)

Three month extension of UNAVEM mandate

The United Nations has agreed to extend its peace-keeping force in Angola, UNAVEM III, for a further three months. The decision was taken by the UN Security Council on 11 July 1996 in New York, following advice from its Secretary-General, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

The Secretary-General in his report to the Security Council, published on 27 June 1996 (S/1996/503), pointed out that UNAVEM III has become the UN's biggest peace-keeping operation, and that its continued involvement remains essential.

UNAVEM III will end in February 1997, and the Secretary-General has initiated contingency planning for the phased downsizing of its military component as soon as the quartering process has been successfully concluded and the incorporation of the rebel UNITA troops into the Angolan army, the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA) has reached an advanced stage.

Dr Boutros-Ghali drew attention to positive developments in Angola: the adoption of the framework agreement on military matters; the promulgation of the Amnesty Law on 8 May; the beginning of the process of incorporating UNITA military personnel into FAA; the completion of the quartering of the rapid reaction police; and the second phase of the withdrawal of FAA from forward positions. The Secretary-General also drew attention to the fact that UNITA have submitted proposals to change the status of its radio station, Vorgan, to ensure that it becomes non-partisan.

#### FAA criticised over withdrawals

Under the Lusaka Protocol, which underpins the peace process, the Government army is to withdraw to its bases away from forward positions. However the UN Secretary-General criticised FAA, stating that 14 out of the 47 redeployments have been determined by UNAVEM III to be unsatisfactory.

#### UN slams UNITA over failure to quarter troops

The Secretary-General of the UN has once again shown impatience at UNITA's failure to comply with the Lusaka Protocol and subsequent agreements to quarter their troops in UN verified bases.

It had been agreed on 1 March, at a meeting in Libreville between UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, that UNITA would complete the quartering of its troops by the end of May 1996 (see APM no,7 Vol II).

On 14 May the UNITA leader promised that 50,000 soldiers (out of a declared total of 62,500) would be quartered by 15 June. Subsequently, on 21 May, an agreement was reached between the Government and UNITA that all of the rebel troops would be quartered by the end of June.

The self-imposed target of Jonas Savimbi was met on 17 June. However, Dr Boutros-Ghali in his report to the Security Council points out that in the second half of June the pace of quartering decreased significantly. As at 25 June, 51,597 troops had been registered. The UN report also stated that over 5,628 UNITA troops had deserted from the quartering areas, stating that "it is believed that many of them are civilians or members of local militias who had been brought forcibly to the camps". Sources in Luanda state that there has recently

been an improvement in the quality of troops quartered, with "real soldiers" entering the camps. These soldiers are said to be under tight military discipline from their UNITA officers.

Figures given by British foreign office minister Jeremy Hanley MP, in response to a Parliamentary Question by Robert Hughes MP, show that as of 10 July the total number of UNITA troops quartered had only risen to 52,906. However, the number of desertions had risen to 6,894. As Sylvana Foa, the spokesperson for the Secretary-General, told journalists on 3 July, "some are coming in but a lot are going out".

The figures given by the British Minister also show that as of 10 July, 1,148 of those quartered were under the age of 15. A further 3,931 were between the age of 15 and 18.

The Secretary-General stated in his report that the UN "will not be in a position to declare that it [the quartering process] is complete unless convincing evidence is provided that all regular, commando, engineer, support and other units of UNITA have been effectively cantoned or otherwise accounted for. Another source of concern is the presence in areas vacated by UNITA of persons which it claims are its police, even though the establishment of such a force is contrary to the provisions of the Lusaka Protocol. It is imperative that these personnel also be quartered and their weapons handed over to the United Nations".

15th quartering area set up in the Lundas Agreement has been reached on the site for the 15th and final Quartering Area. It will be at Kapenda Kamulemba, Muxinda in Lunda Norte. This is the site where UNITA troops from the Lundas are required to be confined until they are demobilised. The Lundas are the two provinces with the richest diamond deposits, making it a crucial area for UNITA. If the area comes under the administrative control of the Government, illegal diamond mining will be curtailed. There has been continued violence associated with this illegal trade.

The acting head of the state diamond mining company has visited the UNITA stronghold of Bailundo to discuss the future of diamond mining. Speculation suggests that UNITA have been offered a diamond concession.

#### UNITA hands over heavy weapons

UNITA have handed over a significant amount of heavy weapons to the UN, following criticisms from many quarters, including the UN Secretary-General, over the lack of quantity and quality of weapons given in.

On 27 July UNITA handed over to the UN in Jamba 770 tonnes of weapons and munitions. The arms included 16 tonnes of ammunition, anti-aircraft guns, rockets and multiple rocket launchers, several field artillery pieces, shells and grenades, and one T-55 tank.

According to UNAVEM II Commander, General Philip Sibanda, the arms and munitions turned in were new. The 770 tonnes has been transported to Menongue, where UNAVEM III have their regional base.

Some weapons have already been destroyed in situ. On 11 June the commander of UNAVEM III, General Sibanda, witnessed the destruction of 11 tonnes of explosive devices including 2,019 anti-tank mines, 575 Soy mines, 6,768 anti-personnel mines, 12,569 Cardoen charges and 3,552 Claymore mines.

The Acting Chief of Staff, General Sapalalo "Bock" said that "the people of Angola and the international community should recognise that these are our last stocks".

#### UNITA maintains stockpiles

Although the amount of weapons in UNITA's armoury is not public knowledge, what evidence exists show that UNITA continues to be a well armed organisation.

According to the highly respected London-based organisation, the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), UNITA are in possession of, inter alia:

T-34-85 tanks; T-55 tanks; miscellaneous armoured personnel carriers; BM21 multiple rocket launchers; field artillery - 75, 76, 122 and 130mm; mortars - 81, 82, 120mm; anti tank weapons - RPG-7, and 75mm rocket launchers; anti-aircraft - 12,7, 14.5, 20, 23mm; and SAM-7 and Stinger surface to air missiles.

It has been reported by Africa Watch that the Stinger missiles were returned to the US in late 1990, however the International Institute for Strategic Studies say that this is "highly unlikely".

In addition to the above weapons, the Angolan Government also report that it captured from UNITA in 1994 80mm and 106mm and 120mm artillery, 60mm mortars, and M-60 grenade launchers.

Recent information given to ACTSA by highly placed military sources suggest that UNITA have substantial quantities of weapons beyond what has been handed over to the UN. Whilst the threat from tanks is minimal (with UNITA possessing roughly a dozen, of questionable use), a greater threat is posed by UNITA's ground to air missiles, with UNITA said to be in possession of roughly 150 stinger missiles. UNITA are also known to have quantities of SAM-7, 14 and 16 missiles.

UNITA also has many hundreds of hand-held rocket propelled grenade launchers - RPG-7s. For its basic troops, UNITA have substantial quantities of rifles (AK47's given to them by the old Apartheid regime, supplemented by others bought on the open market). They also have roughly 60 armoured personnel carriers.

In addition, it has also been suggested that UNITA have the highly sophisticated US made TOW anti-tank missiles. However, both the IISS and Janes Defence Weekly were surprised at this suggestion.

The calculation of the quantity of UNITA arms is further confused by Jonas Savimbi's recent remarks that UNITA has sold many of its weapons (to unnamed buyers).

Some observers point out that even if UNITA is successfully integrated into legal political activity, without full disarmament the door will be left open to banditry.

#### Completion of armed forces

The process of incorporating UNITA's military force into the Government army is back on track after its suspension by the Government.

It was envisaged that UNITA generals would return to the FAA by mid-July, and that the incorporation of 26,300 of its troops into FAA would be completed by the end of July. However, on 10 July the Chief of Staff of FAA, General Joao de Matos announced the suspension of the incorporation process, accusing UNITA of bad faith.

In particular, the quality of troops was judged to be too low. The FAA wanted to incorporate "real soldiers".

However, by 25 July it was reported that sufficient guarantees had been made by UNITA that the Government was prepared to restart the integration process. It was reported by the official Angolan news agency, ANGOP, that 667 soldiers and 70 surgeons were to be incorporated in Bie province "over the next few days".

Offers of assistance for demobilised troops have continued to come in from the international community, with the latest offers coming from the United States, Israel, and Germany. However, as US Ambassador to the UN, Karl Inderfurth, pointed out to the UN Security Council on 11 July, "only \$10 million of the \$42 million required for the first year of the demobilisation/reintegration process has been received. We call on other member states to give this urgent requirement their fullest attention. Demobilised combatants must have a real stake in peacetime Angola - they must be convinced that there is indeed "life after Lusaka".

Disarming of civilians begins

The disarming of the civilian population, as demanded under the Lusaka Protocol, has begun. According to General Higino Carneiro citizens who hand in weapons will receive a reward.

On 6 July, Televisao Popular de Angola reported that the National Police had collected 250 weapons in Luanda. However, estimates put the total number of weapons in civilian hands at one million. According to the London-based journal, Southscan, 700,000 weapons were distributed by Government forces to civilians in Luanda after UNITA returned to war in 1992.

Government and UNITA agree to keep post of Prime Minister

The Portuguese radio station, Radio Renascenca, reported on 4 July that the Angolan government and UNITA had agreed to maintain the post.

Savimbi prevaricates over vice-presidency

The leader of UNITA, Jonas Savimbi, has maintained that it will be up to the UNITA Congress, due to be held in August, to decide whether he will take up the post of vice-President or remain to be the leader of UNITA.

Despite the fact that Jonas Savimbi pushed to be offered the post when he met with President dos Santos in Libreville in 1 March 1996, he now maintains that it is impossible to hold the two posts. A further issue under discussion between the Government and UNITA is the function of the two vice-Presidents, with Savimbi calling for them to have executive powers along with the abandonment of the post of Prime Minister.

#### Savimbi meets Mbeki

The leader of UNITA, Jonas Savimbi, met with South Africa's Deputy President, Thabo Mbeki, in Pretoria on 8 July. An official statement from the Deputy President's office stated that Savimbi briefed Thabo Mbeki on the peace process. Savimbi warned that the success of the peace process required that donor countries fulfilled their pledges of financial assistance to Angola.

#### UNITA blamed for aviation accident

The pilots who miraculously survived an aviation accident in January 1996, in which at least 225 people were killed, have blamed UNITA for overloading the aircraft.

The Soviet-built Antonov crashed into a market shortly after taking off from Zaire's Kinshasa airport. The pilots, who are on trial in Zaire, state that they were on an illegal mission to deliver supplies to UNITA.

The fact that so many people died in the incident has been put down to the fact that the aircraft was carrying petroleum products that ignited after the crash, burning the victims to death.

Former Prime Minister to head of Lusophone Commonwealth Marcolino Moco, who was replaced as Prime Minister of Angola in June (see APM no.10, Vol II) has been confirmed as head of the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP).

The Commonwealth was formally launched on 17 July in Lisbon, where heads of state signed the founding declaration. The members of the Lusophone Commonwealth are Portugal, Angola, Brazil, Sao Tome and Principe, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

Return to indexReturn to index

Angola Peace Monitor

Volume II, Issue 10, 14 June 1996

#### New Government Formed to Tackle Economic Crisis

On 3 June Angolan President Eduardo Jose dos Santos announced a dramatic reshuffle of his Government to deal with the growing economic and social crisis facing the country.

The sacking of the Prime Minister, Marcolino Moco, by President dos Santos had been predicted by analysts during the previous month. One reason for this was growing discontent at the performance of the economy, with calls for demonstrations in Luanda against the Government (which were in fact unheeded).

Various commentators have suggested that the position of Prime Minister is likely to disappear with the creation of two posts of Vice-President, with Moco vying for one of these positions.

The reshuffle also leaves space for UNITA nominees to join the cabinet, as envisaged under the Lusaka Protocol.

#### President Places Responsibility on Government Failures

In an address to the nation on 3 June, broadcast on radio and television, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos warned that the country faced the most serious socio-economic crisis ever.

He stated that "the successive experiments undertaken to overcome that crisis over the past three years have failed. The consequences of that are the virtual paralysis of the productive sector, except oil production; the drastic erosion of the social infrastructure, notably electrical power and water; hyper-inflation whose annual rates exceed 3,000 per cent; the worsening of the budget deficit; the unbridled expansion of economic credit; a huge increase in the issuing of money, but with no return; the practical existence of two currencies that has discredited and undermined the banking system; a major lack of control over foreign exchange; and so on".

The President went on to criticise the speculative commercial sector, and its parallel financial system, which amount to over 90 per cent of the country's overall imports. Commentators have pointed out that this system has led to vast fortunes being made by those with access to hard currency at preferential exchange rates.

President Dos Santos drew a grim picture of the social crisis, pointing out that "most salaries have become virtually symbolic, notably salaries in the civil service", and that "the state health and education sectors have almost collapsed due either to the resignation of many of the officials and workers or to the worsening of basic working conditions".

Criticising Government inaction, the President said that "the 1996 programme of action and the state budget proposed by Government, and approved by the National Assembly, merely comply with the economic management philosophy and Government action responsible for the aforementioned situation. Since the beginning of the year, the Government, from a practical and economic stand-point, has done nothing but propose and approve new fiscal laws to review successively the official foreign exchange rates and "rehearse" the payment of a new salary scale for the civil service sector, though not fully covering the entire sector."

Turning to the Government, the President said that "the time of reckoning has come. Those that have failed must modestly take responsibility for their mistakes. One must change, and to do that we must identify precisely the fundamental causes that have led to this state of affairs".

Whilst the President put the economic crisis in the context of the return to war after UNITA rejected the results of the 1992 elections, he also firmly placed blame upon the influence of speculation and illegal diamond mining on the economy.

New Government Sworn in

In the light of the situation outlined in the President's speech to the Angolan nation, the President on 3 June relieved Marcolino Moco of his duties as Prime Minister, and appointed in his place Dr Fernando Jose de Franca Dias Van Dunem.

Van Dunem is 61, and has represented Angola as Ambassador in Belgium, Holland, Spain, Portugal and the European Community. He has also acted as Minister of Justice and of Planning as well as Vice Minister of Foreign Relations. From 1991 until 1992 he was Prime Minister of Angola. Since the 1992 election, he has been a Deputy at the National Assembly, as well as President of the Assembly. He has been a member of the MPLA's Political Bureau since 1990.

Under the constitution, Van Dunem was given five days to appoint the Government. On 8 June the following were sworn in as Ministers:

- \* Defence: General Pedro Sebastiao (\*)
- \* Interior: Santana Andre Pitra (Petroff) (\*\*)
- \* External Relations: Venancio da Silva de Moura (\*\*)
- \* Territorial Administration: Jose Anibal Rocha (\*\*)
- \* Agriculture and Rural Development: Isaac Maria dos Anjos (\*\*)
- \* Industry: Manuel Diamantino Borges Duke (\*\*\*)
- \* Culture: Ana Maria de Oliveira (\*\*)
- \* Oil: Albina Faria de Assis Africano (\*\*)
- \* Planning and Economic Co-Ordination: Emanuel Moreira Carneiro
- \* Finance: Mario de Alcantara Monteiro
- \* Education: Antonio Burity da Silva
- \* Fisheries: Maria de Fatima Monteiro Jardim (\*\*)
- \* Transport and Communications: Andre Luis Brandao (\*\*)
- \* Trade: Manuel Francisco Gomes Maiato (\*\*)
- \* Information: Pedro Hendrik Vaal Neto (\*\*)
- \* Assistance and Social Reintegration: Albino Malungo (\*\*)
- \* Justice: Paulo Tchipilica (\*\*)
- \* Youth and Sports: Jose da Rocha Sardinha de Castro (\*\*)
- \* Public Administration: Antonio Pitra Neto (\*\*)
- \* Minister Without Portfolio, and head of Government delegation to the Joint Commission: Fernando Faustino Muteka (\*\*)

(\*) previously acting Minister of Defence following the death of Pedro Maria Tonha (Pedale).

(\*\*) no change

(\*\*\*) previously Deputy Minister

None of the Secretary of State positions have altered, except for the scrapping of the post of Secretary of State for Co-operation. Three ministerial positions have been left vacant: Health; Geology and Mines; and Public Works and Town Planning. Under the Lusaka Protocol, UNITA are to hold the following ministerial posts: Health; Geology and Mines; Trade; and a created post of Hotel Business and Tourism.

Also removed in the reshuffle was Antonio Gomes Furtado, the Governor of the central bank. He has been replaced by Sebastiao Bastos Lavrador, who was Governor of the National Bank of Angola in 1992.

The other important new appointment was that of Secretary to the Council of Ministers, who is now Antonio Pereira Van Dunem.

First Unita Officers Incorporated into Angolan National Army

The first fifteen officers from UNITA's military forces have been incorporated into the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA). This follows an agreement between the Government and UNITA for the incorporation of 26,000 UNITA soldiers into the FAA between 1 June and 30 July (see APM 9).

On 3 June, the first fourteen officers were integrated: a colonel, five lieutenant colonels, four majors and four captains took their positions in the FAA at a ceremony at the army's communication regiment in Luanda.

On 12 June as UNITA's self imposed deadline of quartering 50,000 of its troops by 15 June approached, UNITA had quartered 44,518 people. However, on 3 June (the latest available figures) 5,389 had deserted.

The Guardian in London on 5 June stated that according to UN and aid officials, at least half of those quartered were not soldiers. A UN official is quoted as saying that "UNITA has not even begun a serious effort towards disarming and demobilising, 18 months after the Lusaka accords, and there is no sign of any change in their attitudes".

General Philip Sibanda, the head of UNAVEM's military component said that "it is clear we do not have the best troops in the quartering areas, we do not have the

best weapons, we do not have ammunition or other war stores, explosives, communications equipment". By June 11 only 26,995 weapons had been handed in.

However, sources in Luanda talk of growing optimism in the capital. It is understood that UNITA have begun to quarter "real" soldiers.

#### Mandela Cancels Trip

A planned visit to Angola by South African President Nelson Mandela, set for 11 to 13 June has been rescheduled at the South African premier's request, following the reshuffle in the Angolan Government.

Mandela was due to visit the country to honour a long standing invitation by President dos Santos. It would have been his first official State visit to the country. He was scheduled to address the National Assembly, meet with members of the UNITA leadership, as well as with members of the Joint Commission (who are charged with overseeing the implementation of the peace process). He was also to have visited Lubango in Huila Province, where a number of South African firms have invested.

A bilateral co-operation agreement was also due to have been signed. According to President Mandela's office, Mandela instructed Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alfred Nzo, to visit Angola on 10 June to convey a personal message to the Angolan President.

#### Savimbi Calls off European Visit

A tour of European capitals by UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi planned for early June has been cancelled.

The official UNITA explanation of the cancellation was that the political situation in Angola was the cause. However, sources in Europe suggest that Jonas Savimbi was unhappy with the lack of importance placed on his visit by the host countries. One factor raised by the Portuguese radio station, Radio Renascence Lisbon, was that the planned timing of the visit clashed with a major Lusaphone conference.

#### General De Matos Continues with Itinerary

In contrast to the cancellation of the trips of Savimbi and Mandela, the head of the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA), General Joao de Matos has continued with his planned visit to Germany and Britain.

General de Matos was in Germany to visit General James Jamerson, second in command of American forces in Europe. He then arrived in Britain on 8 June at the invitation of the British Government. Amongst others, he met with Baroness Lynda Chalker, Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

#### Unita Want to be the Opposition

A communique issued by the Political Commission of UNITA on 4 June stated that UNITA want to continue to be an opposition party. At the same time, it demands that all the opposition parties represented at the National Assembly be included in the Government.

It stated that "UNITA would like to emphasise that it will only participate in a Government of National Unity and Reconciliation if it will reflect the consensus of the Angolan parties within the National Assembly. UNITA should be seen inside and outside Angola as an opposition party to the MPLA government".

#### Reports of Military Action in Cabinda

Separatist forces in the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda have claimed that a battle has taken place between its forces and those of the Government.

The news agency AFP stated on 6 June that the separatists have claimed that 150 have died in fighting around Nekuto since 10 May. The Cabinda Liberation Front - Cabindan Armed Forces (FLEC-FAC) claimed that the FAA launched an attack on the town with tanks and helicopters.

As previously reported in issue no.9 Vol II of the Angola Peace Monitor, an agreement on a cease-fire was signed between the Government and FLEC-FAC on 15 May.

#### De Beers Sign Agreement with Government

Endiama, the state owned diamond company, has signed an agreement with De Beers for diamond prospecting. The agreement commit De Beers to spend \$50 million on prospecting.

In another significant move, the Director of Endiama, Paulino Neto, and Government representative Higino Carneiro, have visited Bailundo to discuss with Jonas Savimbi the future of the diamond industry after the

Government resumes administrative control of the whole country.

#### Refugee Return Delayed

The Minister for Assistance and Social Reintegration, Albino Malungo, warned on 10 June that the repatriation of 100,000 Angolan refugees from Zambia will be delayed.

The refugees should have returned in June, but conditions for their return have not yet been met. Shelters have not been provided for, due to the lack of freedom of movement in the country. The unfinished quartering of UNITA troops has also delayed the repatriation, the Minister stated.

The return of the refugees is now scheduled for August or September.

Return to indexReturn to index

#### Angola Peace Monitor

Volume II, Issue 9, 27 May 1996

#### Army amnesty moves opens path to peace

The Government of Angola and the rebel movement Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola, UNITA, on 21 May completed negotiations on the important issue of the integration of UNITA military personnel into the Angolan national army, FAA. This is a key provision of the Lusaka Protocol. If matched by political will from UNITA, this agreement paves the way for the disbandment of UNITA's military forces and the completion of the peace process.

According to reports from the Portuguese radio station RDP Antena 1, and the Angolan News Agency, ANGOP, an agreement has been reached that as from 1 June the selection of military personnel will begin, with the process ending on 30 July.

No agreement has been made yet over the fate of those UNITA soldiers not chosen for the national army. The Government wants them placed in a new Fourth Branch of the military, to help with the reconstruction of the

country. UNITA maintains that they should be immediately demobilised into civilian rehabilitation programmes.

On 8 May the National Assembly unanimously passed the Bill which provides for the amnesty of all crimes against military, internal state security and related crimes committed by Angolans since 31 May 1991. This was in response to a new condition for the integration of UNITA forces into the FAA raised by UNITA (see APM issue no.8, Volume II).

Last minute rush fails to win applause

At a meeting on 8 May in New York, the United Nations Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 1055 (1996), extending the UNAVEM III mandate for a further two months, until 11 July. This is one month less than the previous renewal, in a sign of greater international pressure on UNITA to comply with the Lusaka Protocol.

The resolution expressed "profound regret at the overall slow pace which is far behind schedule" and noted "with deep concern the failure of UNITA to complete the quartering of all its troops by 8 May in accordance with resolution 1045 (1996) of 8 February". It further went on to note "the recent progress in the quartering of UNITA troops and calls upon UNITA to fulfil by June 1996 its obligation to complete the credible, uninterrupted and fully verifiable quartering of its troops and to turn over to UNAVEM III all its arms, ammunition and military equipment".

In a dash to meet its selfimposed deadline of quartering 30,000 troops by 8 May, UNITA has moved thousands of its troops into official UN quartering areas, reaching a figure of 31,500 on 7 May.

The large scale movement of UNITA troops into the quartering areas in the first week of May has brought a guarded response from the UN Security Council. Speaking on 8 May during the debate on the UN peacekeeping operation in Angola, UNAVEM III, the US Ambassador to the UN, Karl Inderfurth spoke for many countries when he said that "the lastminute movements of thousands of troops to quartering areas in the final days before the renewal of UNAVEM's mandate is typical of UNITA's pattern of lurching forward in fits and starts towards

its goals. This pattern does not help cement faith in UNITA's overall commitment to the peace process. It is essential that UNITA continue the quartering process without further delay or interruption. Unless real soldiers bearing real weapons are quartered, the peace process will not move forward".

According to information supplied to ACTSA by the UN Humanitarian Assistance Coordination Unit in Luanda (UCAH), as of 15 May, a total of 33,675 UNITA soldiers were registered at the following Quartering Areas.

Vila Nova 5,007  
Londiumbali 5,212  
Negage 5,008  
Piri/Quibaxe 2,148  
N'gove 5,044  
Quibala 3,211  
N'tuco 1,759  
Catala 2,211  
Chicuma 2,991  
Andulo 1,084

An eleventh quartering area was opened on 17 May at Caiundo, Kuando Kubango Province, with a twelfth due to open on 21 May at Chitembo, in Bie. Work is still taking place on two further sites, with the location of the last quartering area still under discussion. new figures

UNITA promises to quarter 50,000 by 15 June

The UNITA General Staff on 21 May issued a communique in which they pledged to confine 50,000 troops by 15 June. This clarifies a statement made by the UN Secretary General's Special Representative, Alioune Blondin Beye, who said after a visit to UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi in Andulo on 14 May that "I am in a position to state firmly that UNITA will resume the confinement process before the end of this week and it will confine 50,000 men before 15 July".

Concern raised over those quartered

The Secretary General of the UN, Dr Boutros Boutros Ghali has warned that the patience of UNITA soldiers staying in the quartering areas may be running out.

In his report to the Security Council on 30 April (S/1996/328), he warned that "desertions from quartering sites were reported to number about 2,100, but the actual figure is probably higher, since, on several occasions UNITA commanders have prevented UNAVEM III personnel from conducting roll calls. UNITA representatives claimed that desertions were due to the harsh living conditions in the camps but there is reason to believe that some of them were covertly sanctioned by commanding officers and that others involved persons who had been forcibly recruited by UNITA for quartering. The age of some UNITA troops and the condition of weapons surrendered continue to be a major concern."

The Secretary General went on to state that "Complaints by UNITA, many of which have proved to be largely unfounded, have been carefully investigated and followed up. The [Joint] Commission, of which UNITA is a member, has concluded that the assistance being provided to the soldiers in the quartering areas is generally adequate".

He continued that "It is disturbing, therefore, that UNITA's mass media continue to disseminate allegations about substandard conditions in quartering areas".

On the issue of troop morale, he stated that "The soldiers who arrived late last year at the first quartering areas in Vila Nova and Londiumbali have now been quartered there for five months, which is the maximum period originally planned. Not only is their prolonged stay rapidly depleting United Nations resources (those allocated for first assembly will almost be exhausted in May) but discipline in some camps has started to deteriorate. These factors make it imperative to begin without delay the gradual incorporation of UNITA troops into FAA and the demobilization of those who are willing to be discharged."

Government troop quartering "positive"

The Government has received praise from both the Secretary General and the Security Council of the UN over its withdrawal to base of its troops.

Writing in his report to the Security Council, the Secretary General stated that "the major positive development was the withdrawal of the FAA to their

nearest barracks in some provinces". He also pointed out that the Civilian Police component of UNAVEM III had "verified the quartering of the rapid reaction police in Benguela, Huambo, Luanda, Luena, Lubango, Uige and most recently, in Malange. As of 25 April, 3,605 of the declared strength of 3,745 personnel had been quartered in these 7 locations. Barracking of those in Saurimo will commence on 30 April, with those in Cabinda following in May."

However, this positive view is rejected by UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi, who said in an interview in Le Figaro on 17 May that "Government troops are only pretending to return to base. These soldiers and the special police forces, the "Ninjas", are still threatening our men who are now disarmed".

Meanwhile, the Government announced on 13 May that the second stage of moving its troops to barracks was to commence, involving the barracking of 6,000 troops over the following two weeks.

UNITA leader hints at accepting vice-presidency

Jonas Savimbi has hinted that he might still accept the post of Vice-President of Angola, if certain conditions are met, in an important interview on 15 May in the French daily "Figaro".

The UNITA leader said that "First, the MPLA must accept integration of UNITA's leaders into a cabinet of national unity and the Government army. Then, if my party decides that I ought to accept this offer, I shall do so. But Dos Santos is both President of the Republic and President of the MPLA. If I become Vice-President, I will be under the orders of a party leader, although I will have renounced the presidency of UNITA. This is barely acceptable. If UNITA decides to send me to Luanda to take up the role of VicePresident, it should also elect for itself a new President".

Answering a question on whether UNITA would "keep control of the diamond producing areas in the northeast of the country, Savimbi responded that "For UNITA, this is a question of survival. In 1992 the Government was supposed to finance our campaign. It did not do so. We therefore had to secure our own means of finance,

because, one day, there will be lots of new elections, and we must finance the campaign".

The UNITA leader also called for a "transitional Government" to be in place by November. This is seemingly in contradiction with UNITA's agreement with the Angolan Government that a Government of Unity and National Reconciliation should govern the country until new elections can be held.

Military situation "calm"

The body overseeing the peace process in Angola, the Joint Commission, has noted that the military situation in Angola is relatively calm with no serious military actions registered. This analysis was confirmed by the Secretary General in his report to the Security Council, who said that "the military situation in most of the provinces remained calm, with no offensives or other significant military actions by either party". ACTSA calls for action

Action for Southern Africa, ACTSA, has written to the British Government, calling for greater international action to be taken to ensure that UNITA fulfils its obligations under the Lusaka Protocol.

In a letter to Baroness Chalker, the Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, ACTSA Chair Robert Hughes MP, wrote that "The Security Council must now be prepared to spell out a set of specific measures that will be taken against UNITA if it once again fails to comply, within the period set for the renewal of the mandate, with a minimum set of provisions; at the very least to include the full and verified quartering of its troops and the surrender of all arms, ammunition and military equipment to the UN as agreed in the Lusaka Protocol. If such steps are not made, the Security Council should make it clear what new measures it will take to ensure the full and effective implementation of existing UN sanctions on the continuing flow of arms and petroleum products to UNITA and to block revenues from the international trade in illegally extracted diamonds which finances this trade".

In her response to ACTSA, Baroness Chalker wrote that "as you rightly suggest, further procrastination in the quartering and disarming of UNITA troops cannot be

justified". She continued that the UN Security Council Resolution of 8 May "renews the mandate of UNAVEM III only for a period of 2 months, until 11 July 1996, and in this period UNITA will be expected to maintain the momentum of quartering achieved earlier this month. If UNITA have failed to make significant progress by the expiry of the current mandate, this will certainly influence the Security Council when it next considers the mandate's renewal".

Government signs agreement with Cabinda rebels

The Gabonese radio station, Africa No 1, has reported that on 15 May in Libreville, Gabon, an agreement on a ceasefire was signed between the Government and the Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave Cabinda Armed Forces (FLECFA).

Jonas Savimbi to visit Europe

UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi is due to visit Europe at the beginning of June. He is expected to visit London where meetings with Government officials are anticipated.

Return to indexReturn to index

Angola Peace Monitor

Volume II, Issue 8, 29 April 1996

Envoys extract promises from Savimbi as deadline approaches

UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has met with a series of high level delegations in which he gave assurances that the implementation of the peace process would be speeded up in the run up to the United Nations Security Council meeting on 8 May to decide whether to continue with its peacekeeping operation in Angola.

The US Presidential Special Representative, Paul Hare and US Ambassador Donald Steinberg; the British Ambassador, Roger Hart; and the UN Secretary General's Special Representative in Angola, Alioune Blondin Beye, all went to Andulo on 25 April, and met separately with Jonas Savimbi.

According to sources in Luanda, the dignatories extracted assurances that at least 30,000, and possibly even 35,000, UNITA troops would be quartered by 8 May, the date when the UN Security Council meet in New York to discuss the future of the UN mission in Angola.

The UNITA leader also gave assurances that the quality of weapons handed in to United Nations officials at the camps would improve.

Ambassador Hart, who delivered a letter from Baroness Chalker to Mr Savimbi, told ACTSA that he was cautiously hopeful that 30,000 UNITA troops would be quartered by the deadline. In particular he noted that UNITA should not encounter logistical problems in getting their troops to the camps as they have many troops in the immediate vicinity.

However, he also said that even if 30,000 UNITA troops were quartered, this would only represent half of UNITA's troops and that much more still needed to be achieved if the schedule agreed between President Dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi in Gabon on 1 March was to be met.

It is expected that the mandate for the UN mission will only be renewed for three months or less to maintain the pressure on UNITA. It is unclear whether any discussion will take place at the Security Council meeting over the implementation of existing sanctions on UNITA.

Patience strained over UNITA's failure to quarter its troops

Both international and internal goodwill is fast disappearing as UNITA once again has failed to send substantial numbers of its armed forces to be quartered and disarmed prior to their demobilisation.

The second phase of the confinement of UNITA troops began on 25 March, with personnel moving into Ngove, Ntucó and Quibala quartering areas. The latest net figure, including deaths and desertions, was 20,900 on 26 April. As of 17 April 22,000 troops had been quartered in the following areas:

Vila Nova	5,007
Londuimbali	5,202

Negage	5,008
Quibaxe	2,148
Quibala	931
Ngove	3,177
Ntuco	519

UN rejects UNITA leader's criticisms of conditions

UNITA leader, Jonas Savimbi, has complained of a lack of medicines, tents and food, and that "the UN have not positively fulfilled their promises".

This viewpoint was vigorously rejected by the UN Secretary General's Special Representative in Angola, Alioune Blondin Beye. He said on Televisiao Popular de Angola on 21 March that "the international community has established adequate conditions in the confinement centres - at a very high financial cost and with great sacrifice. We visited the areas and found them suitable and acceptable. They have clean water, tents and food, according to universal norms. The soldiers have three meals a day, medicine, doctors and nurses. I therefore believe it is not fair to accuse the international community of bad faith. These accusations are baseless".

He went on to add that "people should therefore not use this as a pretext to justify other actions. It is not fair. I strongly oppose this tendency".

Head of UN warns of poor quantity and quality of those quartered

The UN Secretary General, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in his report to the Security Council on 4 April (S/1996/248) stated that 1,163 of those quartered have subsequently deserted the camps. Some of those have since claimed that they were press-ganged by UNITA solely to make up the numbers in the camps. One unconfirmed estimate is that between 35 and 40% of those quartered were rounded up into UNITA forces for the purposes of making up numbers for quartering, leaving most of UNITA's fighting units intact. It is understood that of those quartered, most are made up of local UNITA militia rather than battle-hardened troops.

The Secretary General further pointed out that "the age of some UNITA troops and the quality of surrendered weapons continue to be a major concern, as described in

paragraph 12 of my previous report to the Council. Moreover, UNITA armed elements are still present in some areas that were expected to be vacated upon quartering of UNITA troops".

On the subject of arms, a military expert has informed ACTSA that UNITA is not handing over heavy weaponry, and that few of the weapons handed over are the sophisticated US and South African hardware in UNITA's possession.

Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali stated that "Much remains to be done to fulfil the tasks that the two sides agreed to undertake in accordance with the recently adjusted timetable; implementation is once again behind schedule. Further delays and procrastination could still jeopardize the peace process. Complete and fully verifiable quartering by UNITA of its troops is the key element. The results so far are inadequate. I recognize the political, military and psychological difficulties associated with this aspect of the process. But if it is not executed in good faith, the implementation of other essential aspects will be undermined, including the withdrawal of FAA to the nearest barracks, the completion of the quartering of the rapid reaction police, the disarmament of the civilian population and the integration of UNITA elements into FAA".

Rumours have continued to circulate that UNITA is moving its best troops and weapons into Zaire. Stories are also beginning to circulate in some circles that UNITA has only 40,000 troops.

Angolan Government withdraws from Joint Commission

In a serious sign of frustration with UNITA prevarication, the Angolan Government has suspended its participation in the Joint Commission which oversees the peace process.

On 23 April the Government announced that it was suspending its participation in the Joint Commission until UNITA had clarified its position on the quartering of its troops, and on whether Jonas Savimbi would accept the offer of Vice-Presidency of the country.

A senior Government source said that after delays and UNITA's "double-dealing", the Government had decided

that "enough is enough", until UNITA had resumed "serious dealing". However, meetings seem likely to start again if UNITA meets its target of quartering 30,000 troops by 8 May.

Savimbi optimistic

Asked whether the June deadline for the quartering of all UNITA's estimated 62,000 troops, as agreed by President Eduardo dos Santos and UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi, would be met, Savimbi stated on Radio France Internationale on 26 March that "It must be. We must be able to finish the confinement and disarmament of our soldiers by June, because June is the deadline to be respected, so we think that in July there will be a chance to form a government of national unity".

President of UN Security Council speaks out on UNITA delays

Despite the usage of diplomatic language, the President of the Security Council, the Chilean Ambassador Juan Somavia, has pointed the finger of guilt at UNITA for holding up the peace process.

In a statement read out on behalf of the Security Council on 24 April, the President stated that "the Security Council notes that the Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA) has quartered more than 20,000 of its forces, but expresses concern over delays in the quartering of UNITA troops and urges UNITA to move expeditiously to achieve full quartering of its troops. The Council expresses concern about the quality of weapons surrendered by UNITA and urges UNITA to fulfil its commitment to turn over all of its arms, ammunition, and military equipment as the quartering process continues. It reiterates that the quartering process is a crucial component of the peace process and stresses the need for quartering to be credible and fully verifiable".

In contrast, the statement said that "the Security Council recognises with satisfaction the progress by the Government of Angola in the implementation of its commitments under the Lusaka Protocol and the current timetable, and encourages the Government to continue this progress".

The statement also raised the long-running concern of the UN over the failure of the Angolan Government to provide facilities for the establishment of an independent United Nations radio service in the country.

The Council reaffirmed the "obligation of all States to implement fully the provisions of paragraph 19 of resolution 864 (1993) of 15 September 1993". This refers to the mandatory sanctions against supplying oil and weapons to UNITA.

It also noted "with concern credible reports of continuing purchases and delivery of weapons to Angola".

Further developments reported

Meanwhile, the first phase of the return to barracks of the Angolan Armed Forces was completed on 31 March with 445 troops being confined.

On 2 April Radio Nacional de Angola reported that the Rapid Intervention Police had confined 3,367 men to barracks in Huila, Moxico, Uige, Luanda, Benguela and Huambo provinces, and that the second stage of confinement was expected to begin shortly.

In a separate development UNITA confirmed on 1 April that 20 prisoners of war were released in Bailundo.

Government ready to bring UNITA into FAA

General de Matos, Chief of Staff of the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA) stated on Radio Nacional de Angola on 10 April that "we are ready at any time to begin integrating UNITA troops into FAA forces". He confirmed that it was not necessary for UNITA to confine at least 20,000 to the quartering areas, as had previously been agreed.

One major sticking point is the UNITA demand for a presidential declaration of an amnesty, despite there already being an agreement on amnesties. It seems likely that the Government is willing to accommodate UNITA on this point. It has been stated that once this issue is overcome, the UNITA generals will go to Luanda.

The UN Secretary General reported to the Security Council on 4 April that under the agreement of 9 March, "UNITA will provide the joint army with 18 generals and will fill several important positions, including that of Vice-Minister of Defence, Deputy Chief of the General Staff, Commander of one of the military regions and Commander of the planned "fourth branch" of FAA.

Under the agreements reached between the Government and UNITA, nine of the UNITA generals in FAA would be allocated to the "fourth branch". However, Jonas Savimbi has raised new criticism of the "fourth branch" which is planned to be set up to assist with the reconstruction of the country. On 27 March on UNITA's Radio Vorgan, Jonas Savimbi stated that "the fourth branch of the army was invented in Luanda. Already I have so many headaches. I will not have my men sent somewhere else to become foremen".

Think-tank point to UNITA strategic gains

The International Institute for Strategic Studies has questioned UNITA's good faith, and claims that its behaviour is paying them dividends.

In its annual summary of world events, the Strategic Survey 1995/96, published on 24 April 1996, the Institute states that "in Angola, the site of Africa's longest-running war, nothing has changed. The United Nations demobilisation stations are almost empty and the process is months behind schedule. It is clear that Jonas Savimbi, the Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA) leader, has no intention of trading his army for a seat in government. He will instead hold out for both, using, as ever, his dual-track policy of diplomacy and war".

Writing on the weakness of the United Nations the Report states that the situation in Angola "has highlighted that outsiders cannot impose solutions in Africa. In Mozambique, an agreement held because both sides stuck to it. In Angola, the weak and depleted UN could do little when UNITA broke, and continues to break, the peace accord, and the government compounds this breakdown. It now seems likely that UNITA will not only have a place in central government, but will also retain some territorial control, possibly being offered a diamond mine as a source of income and retaining some of its fighting capacity".

## Oxfam official murdered

An official of Britain's aid organisation OXFAM was murdered along with two military observers whilst travelling in a vehicle between Cubal and Benguela on 3 April.

A UNAVEM-led team will go to the site of the attack to investigate the incident. UNITA issued a communique stating that it "would like to condemn in the strongest terms this act of pure vandalism". The head of Angola's army, General Joao de Matos said on 10 April that "these attacks are carried out by bandits and we must prevent them when they are carried out in government- or UNITA- controlled territory".

The London-based journal "Southscan" stated on 12 April that the attack was carried out by UNITA troops.

As the Angola Peace Monitor goes to press the enquiry continues.

## 1996 aid appeal launched as donors watch peace process

On 19 April in New York the UN launched its 1996 Humanitarian Appeal, while spelling out the remaining shortfalls in support for last year's appeal.

The appeal provides for assistance to the 200,000 refugees expected to return to Angola, and the 700,000 internally displaced Angolans. It continues with the Mine Action Programme, and the programme for the assistance for the demobilisation and reintegration of former combatants.

The total cost of this year's programme is \$187 million. By 23 April the total amount pledged or carried over from last year was \$61,010,678.

## Delays in peace lead to delays in aid

The failure of UNITA to quarter its rebel forces in line with the timetable set under the Lusaka protocol has led to urgently required aid being withheld by international donors.

The war-torn country had been expecting a significant amount of international assistance to help put the

country back on its feet after decades of destructive war. However, figures produced by the United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs show that even the most basic aid - in the humanitarian field - has not reached the country.

The DHA has told ACTSA that donor interest in the country is very strong, but that donors have delayed for a period for observation before committing their funds. There are two interlinked issues: first, donors are waiting to see if the peace process will continue; second, many of the proposed projects can only be implemented once the process has reached a certain stage - for example demobilisation.

In 1995 the UN launched its Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for Angola to mobilise international help for urgently needed projects, totalling \$303,338,748. However, figures obtained by ACTSA show that as of 29 February 1996 only 47.9% of these requirements were met.

The Appeal was split into three components: the Demobilisation and Reintegration Programme, the Humanitarian Assistance Programme, and the Mine Action Programme.

#### Demobilisation and Reintegration Programme

In the Quartering Phase of this programme 59% of required aid has been provided.

The main task in the Quartering Phase is to provide the necessary humanitarian inputs, such as food and health provision for the UNITA troops. Of the planned requirements, the international community has met 84% of the needs.

However the projects covering humanitarian assistance for disabled and underage soldiers, and projects for technical coordination and institutional strengthening, only received 34% of required inputs.

UNITA has made several complaints about the conditions in the quartering areas, which it claims is responsible for the death of several of its troops. However, the UN Humanitarian Assistance Coordination Unit in Luanda (UCAH) reported on 11 April that "existing shortcomings in the implementation of the humanitarian assistance

programme reported by UNITA were a direct result of the large and sudden influx of soldiers to the quartering areas". They also pointed out that from individual medical examinations of troops upon arrival at the quartering areas, 15 different health problems had been reported and were being treated.

In the other two phases in this programme, the demobilisation and reintegration phase in year one and two, no aid has been provided. This is a reflection of how far behind schedule the process has become.

#### Humanitarian Assistance Programme

The Humanitarian Assistance Programme was an ambitious set of projects to stabilise the situation in Angola, covering emergency food aid, sanitation, health, environmental protection, and many other emergency projects.

The total amount required to cover the Humanitarian Assistance Programme was \$179,192,206 of which 58% of needs were met. Broken down into ten sub-totals, the programme was met as follows:

sub-heading	requirements	% met
Food Production and Rural Capacity	\$22,835,097	52%
Food Aid	\$67,130,262	100%
Nutrition	\$3,896,000	20%
Water and Sanitation	\$8,025,000	26%
Health	\$19,040,040	26%
Shelter, Relief and Survival	\$33,156,000	12%
Education and Assistance to Children in Difficult Circumstances	\$2,284,870	31%
Logistics	\$13,012,230	57%
Agency Operational Support	\$3,380,000	83%
Coordination and Capacity Building	\$6,432,707	33%

#### Mine Action Programme

The Mine Action Programme was set up to deal with the estimated ten million land mines buried in the ground.

Already 70,000 Angolans have been maimed by landmines, and the remaining mines not only endanger the population, but stifle the recovery of Angolan agriculture.

The total amount required for the programme was \$13,182,331, of which 24% has been met.

As of 29 February 1996, no monies had been pledged to the Central Mine Action Training School which opened on 19 December 1995, and has so far trained 61 Angolans who will be demining in Malange and Kuito.

First Brussels Round Table monies arrive

In another positive sign, \$110 million has been donated to Angola to assist with its reconstruction and development. This is the first money to come out of the Brussels Round Table meeting last September, when a billion dollars was pledged to help rebuild the country.

Prime Minister Marcolino Moco said in Luanda on 25 March that despite the reticence and hesitation of some countries, the first \$110 million had been received.

IMF link aid to reform, and reform to peace

Many donors have been reticent in providing money for reconstruction and development, citing the decision of the International Monetary Fund to suspend its IMF staff-monitored programme in December 1995. This programme was to oversee the implementation of certain macro-economic policy changes, and did not involve any lending to Angola.

The suspension was based on a detailed inspection late last year. According to Frederick Ribe, Deputy Division Chief for the Africa Department at the IMF, in an interview with ACTSA, there was a "widespread failure to implement even the most simple reforms, including flagrant abuses".

Examples given included the "subversion" of the National Bank, the breaking of a formal agreement for control procedures by 1 October on the "petroleum account" at the Presidents office, and the failure to unify the two foreign exchange rates for the Kwanza currently operating in the country. According to the

IMF official, this last condition was not met as it had been personally vetoed by the Angolan President.

Another senior official at the IMF pointed out that the fortunes of the peace process and economic reform were inseparable. Economic reforms were not expected without improvements in the security situation, and the peace process was more complicated than expected. Frederick Ribe was in Angola at the end of April discussing the economy.

The Secretary General of the UN, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, stated in his report to the UN Security Council on 4 April that "while the IMF remains in contact with the Government, negotiations on a new programme are not expected to begin before at least the middle of 1996. In the meantime, the IMF continues to provide significant technical assistance to the National Bank of Angola and the Ministry of Finance".

[Return to index](#) [Return to index](#)

Angola Peace Monitor

Volume II, Issue 7, 29 March 1996

UN Secretary General questions UNITA's good faith on quartering

The Secretary General of the United Nations, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali has given a stern warning that time is running out for UNITA to send their troops to bases set up by the UN.

The Secretary General, in his report to the UN Security Council on 6 March (S/1996/171), said that "in recent days, the quartering of UNITA troops has slowed dramatically. Instances of forced recruitment and the substandard quality and quantity of weapons, equipment and ammunition brought to the quartering areas are bound to raise doubts about the good faith of UNITA in its approach to this process".

Eighty one individuals who registered at Tchikala Tcholohanga / Vila Nova subsequently fled the camp and turned themselves over to the Angolan National Police,

claiming that they had been forcibly recruited by UNITA specifically for quartering, said the UN.

The Secretary General said that reports from UNAVEM III in Huambo Province confirm that this practice has indeed taken place in some areas. UNAVEM III has also observed that some UNITA troops arriving in quartering areas are "below or above the usual age for military service".

The report also raises the concern that "30 to 40 per cent of the personal weapons collected are in very poor condition or not serviceable. UNAVEM III is actively pursuing these matters which have a direct bearing on the credibility of the whole process".

According to a ministerial reply to a British Parliamentary Question by Robert Hughes MP, the figures for UNITA military personnel quartered by 19 March 1996 were as follows:

Quartering area	total	under 17 years old
Vila Nova	4,816	954
Londuibali	4,442	576
Negage	5,003	359
Quibaxe	2,145	237

Total 16,406 2,126

Of these 957 have deserted and 12 have died. A UN source quoted by the South African Press Association (SAPA) said that "the UN has not been able to find any solutions to the constant problems of medication and food". A total of 9,176 family members - 3,147 women and 6,029 children - have gone to the camps.

In response to a separate Parliamentary Question by Robert Hughes MP on weapons handed in by UNITA personnel at the quartering areas, the following figures were produced for 19 March:

	Vila Nova	Londui- mbali	Negage	Quibaxe	Total
Personal	3859	3127	4455	835	13276
Infantry	437	361	211	35	1044
Artillery	8	4	7	0	19
APC/tanks	1	0	0	0	1
Other	7	17	12	18	54

The Government and UNITA have set a deadline for the quartering of all UNITA military personnel by 8 May, which is the day that the UN Security Council will meet in New York to discuss whether to extend the mandate for UNAVEM III.

Secretary General reports some progress

Dr Boutros-Ghali did report some signs of improvement in the situation to the Security Council.

His report said that "among the positive developments of the past month are a decrease in the number of cease-fire violations; a further reduction in hostile propaganda; the release of additional prisoners registered with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) - while the Government has freed all 353 such prisoners held by it, UNITA has so far released 139; the disengagement of government forces from some forward positions; and continued quartering of the rapid reaction police in 3 out of 10 planned quartering areas. However the implementation of many other elements is still behind schedule, particularly the crucial quartering of UNITA troops. Delays in this process have affected the implementation of other key provisions of the Lusaka Protocol, including the extension of State administration throughout the country."

President meets UNITA leader in Libreville

For the fourth time since the signing of the Lusaka Protocol, Angola President Jose Eduardo dos Santos met with UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi on 1 March in Libreville, Gabon. The main points coming from the meeting were:

- the completion of the quartering of UNITA troops in May 1996, leading to the finalisation of the formation of FAA by June 1996. By July a Government of Unity and National Reconciliation is to be formed.

- the UNITA leader handed over a list of nominees for the government and administrative positions reserved under the Lusaka Protocol for UNITA. Names were also given for UNITA nominees for the 70 seats in the National Assembly left vacant by UNITA after they rejected the results of the 1992 elections.

- the two leaders agreed that the present National Assembly will be extended beyond November 1996. Sources said that the UNITA leader accepted the principle of postponing elections until the year 2000.

- it was agreed that further meetings between the two leaders would be held in Angola.

#### Savimbi speech sends mixed signals

There still remains considerable doubt over whether Jonas Savimbi will take up the position of Vice-President that was offered to him by the Angolan Government.

In an emotional speech to a rally in Bailundo on 13 March, the UNITA leader surprised many with his comments, leaving journalists and pundits with differing interpretations. (Extracts of the speech available from the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts (AL/2563) and the Angolan Embassy in London.)

The UNITA leader said "now that we are marking the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola's 30th anniversary, I would like to make it clear that one of our greatest errors was to sign the Bicesse Accord in 1991. It was a major error and I am here to admit that error. UNITA had everything to continue its unstoppable struggle. It was an error and I fully admit it."

Turning to the issue of disarmament, he said that "to confine soldiers is not a problem, but disarmament is. We have been fighting alongside these comrades for the past 30 years. My role is to disarm. To establish a single army for Angola is not only a patriotic duty, but a political one. My task is to disarm. For the thousands of people here today my task is to disarm. Soldiers in Vila Nova, Londuimbali, Quibaxe and Negage say: Savimbi has told us to surrender our weapons. You must understand how difficult and critical this is for me. I would prefer to surrender weapons and die afterwards: my life will become meaningless. Once weapons are surrendered, I will not be suitable for the vice-presidency. My task ends. I am telling you this so that no-one leaves this hall with doubts. I will fulfil my duty. I have assumed the duty to disarm troops, but you should understand that once you disarm I will have nothing else to do. As UNITA leader, my biggest pain

right now is to disarm soldiers. I have not known of any historic leader who disarmed his forces and stayed in power".

He also had some positive news on the FAA: "There has been progress in the establishment of a single army. Also I believe that the President of the Republic was sufficiently accommodating and permitted 18 UNITA Generals to join the Angolan Armed Forces Supreme Command".

New conditions raised

Jonas Savimbi also revealed that he was creating new conditions for UNITA taking up Government positions: "I agree to UNITA members joining a Government of Unity and National Reconciliation only if it is a broad government".

Referring to Filomeno Vieira Lopes of the Front for Democracy and Analia Victoria Pereira from the Liberal Democratic Party, both of whom were in the audience, and Holden Roberto of the FNLA who was not present, Savimbi stated that "I spoke directly to the President of the Republic and asked that Analia and Filomeno should join, but that Holden and his group should join first. I won't join unless he joins, and my word is sacred. If he doesn't join I won't. UNITA will only join if the opposition joins".

The UNITA leader also raised the question of whether he was prepared to become Vice-President. He said: "ask Angolans, do you really need Savimbi as Vice-President of the Republic. Do you? Perhaps I would be more useful telling the truths I do, rather than being gagged. I would also not like to die of a heart attack just because I was not received by the director of the Office of the President. I think I would be much more useful outside than inside. However, what finally counts is the opinion of my party, the views of Angolans. Angolan opinion is very divided. I have received hundreds of letters from Luanda, from all sides: 'accept the vice-presidency, it would be good', 'don't accept, it's a trap'. I no longer know what you want."

UN assured after speech

On 18 March the UN Secretary General's Special Representative in Angola, Alioune Blondin Beye, accompanied by General Sibanda (military commander of UNAVEM III) and the ambassadors from the troika observers of Portugal, Russia and the United States visited Bailundo to clarify the contents of Jonas Savimbi's speech.

Following a meeting with the UNITA leader, Mr Blondin Beye said on Televisao Popular de Angola "I am very much in a position to give you assurances relating to the firm commitment - I repeat, the firm commitment - of UNITA's political and military leadership and its president to the Lusaka peace process. What is more, UNITA, its political and military leadership, and particularly its president, firmly reaffirmed the spirit and letter of the Libreville agreement. Assurances were given with regard to the resumption of the confinement in the three new areas that we declared open - Ngove, Qibala and Ntuko". (note: there are now seven quartering areas open, the eighth being at Andulo.)

Deal on armed forces reported

An agreement was reached on 9 March between representatives of the Angolan armed forces, FAA, and UNITA on the thorny issue of the final make-up of FAA after UNITA's troops have been quartered.

This will complete the process of integrating UNITA troops that was stalled when UNITA rejected the results of the 1992 elections and returned to war.

The Chief of General Staff of FAA, General Joao Baptista de Matos, said on Televisao Popular de Angola that UNITA generals would be given nine posts in the army and a further nine in the "fourth branch" (this branch will assist in the nation's reconstruction). In addition, a "considerable number" of UNITA colonels will have positions in the FAA. A total of 26,300 UNITA soldiers will join the FAA.

Radio Nacional de Angola reported on 5 March that a further 36,000 UNITA troops will form part of the "fourth branch", and that the national army is expected to have a total of 90,000 troops.

SCF highlight need for freedom of movement

A senior official of the Save the Children Fund (UK) has warned that a key area of the Lusaka Protocol has not been met, leading to serious economic and political problems.

Don Redding, SCF's senior press officer reported, following a visit to Angola in late January 1996, that the issue of freedom of movement is essential to improve the health, education and economic prospects of Angolans.

He states that "although some people are moving back and forth across the lines there is no freedom of movement". Recent reports also document how UNITA taxes people's movements and subjects them to close scrutiny, with the threat of taking their goods and handing out beatings always implied.

Looking at the future for the country, Redding comments on the resources pledged at the Donors Round Table in Brussels in September 1995, saying that: "money or no money, development is not possible while the population remains divided geographically and militarily. The lack of freedom of movement poses a two-way problem of access: agencies will have difficulty getting proper access to people in UNITA zones; but also those people will have difficulty getting access to services. For example, some of the health posts and centres SCF is helping the Ministry of Health to restart in the Bocoio-Balombo valley are cut off from half their potential users by front lines".

He continues that "this problem of access also applies to economic security. the basic marketplace is severely distorted because of people's lack of freedom to move from one zone to another to trade".

On a positive note, Don Redding points to the rapid recovery possible. He stated that "where trade becomes possible and markets restart, as between Lobito and Bocoio/Balombo, there is a rapid increase in well-being, the basic exchange being agricultural produce for basic consumer goods. Livestock also reappears as, for example, cattle-herders return to previously unsafe areas".

UNITA leader meets Mandela

Jonas Savimbi met with South African President, Nelson Mandela, in Togo on 4 March. According to UNITA's Radio Vorgan "sources close to the UNITA presidency described the meeting, the second in less than a year, as useful, but did not elaborate".

A previous meeting between the two had been cancelled earlier in the year due to a health check-up on the President.

[Return to index](#) [Return to index](#)

Angola Peace Monitor

Volume II, Issue 6, 29 February 1996

United Nations signals impatience as it renews UNAVEM III

The United Nations Security Council on 8 February renewed the UNAVEM III mandate, but expressed its "deep concern at the slow pace of quartering and disarming" UNITA troops.

The Secretary General, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, had asked in his report to the Security Council (S/1996/75) for a six month extension to the mandate. However, the Security Council would only give a three month extension, and asked that the Secretary General report to them monthly rather than his preference of bi-monthly.

US Ambassador Madeleine Albright said that: "UNITA's poor performance under the peace protocol has jeopardised the peace process and undermined the viability of the peacekeeping mission". According to a report in Associated Press, the British Ambassador to the UN, John Weston, "praised the Government's steps to withdraw troops from offensive positions and to begin demobilising some of its forces". He went on to say that "there will be no excuse for UNITA's failure to quarter the 16,500 troops by 8 February".

The resolution called on UNITA to "conclude all quartering within the limit of this mandate renewal". However, it was not made clear what sanctions will be taken if UNITA fails to quarter its troops by May.

### Growing anger

Statements made at the United Nations are a clear signal that the international community is growing increasingly frustrated by UNITA's lacklustre performance in implementing the Lusaka Protocol. The major stumbling block continues to be the slow pace of the confinement of UNITA's troops, though other substantial provisions of the Lusaka Protocol, such as freedom of movement, also remain unfulfilled.

The important moves by the Angolan Government in January, including the returning to base of its Rapid Intervention Force, the ending of the contract with the South African-based Executive Outcomes, and the withdrawal of troops from areas of high tension, have met the concerns of some western governments, in particular the United States.

This has put the focus onto UNITA, and in particular onto their leader, Jonas Savimbi, who gave personal assurances to the Chair of the UN Security Council, Madeleine Albright. Savimbi had pledged that UNITA would confine 16,500 troops by 8 February. However, on 23 February he admitted that only 16,342 soldiers had been quartered.

### Quartering: poor quality and slowing pace

The force commander of UNAVEM III, Major General Philip Sibanda, has stated that the number of UNITA troops coming into the confinement camps fell from 1,000 per day just before the renewal of the UN mandate on 8 February, to just 300 per day afterwards.

According to UNAVEM, on 14 February 4,719 soldiers had been registered at Negage, 3,855 at Tchikala Tcholohanga (formerly known as Vila Nova), 3,006 at Londuimbali and 1,705 at Quibaxe.

While the start of quartering after the long delays was seen as a political breakthrough, there is now growing concern at the quality and slowing pace of those quartered. The Secretary General of the UN, Dr Boutros-Ghali, stated in his report to the Security Council on 31 January (S/1996/75) that "there are reports, however, that some of the assembled soldiers are under age, that they came without uniform and that they were carrying old weapons".

General Joao de Matos, Chief of Staff of the Angolan Armed Forces, stated in an interview with the Portuguese paper Expresso on 24 February, that most of those registered in the first phase of quartering at Vila Nova were recruited into UNITA at the end of 1995. Those quartered at Negage, which is in a zone controlled by UNITA, were of a superior quality. In Quibaxe and Londuimbali the quality of the troops was mixed.

It is also reported that only a third of the armaments handed in by UNITA is in good condition, with a third being semi-obsolete and the remainder totally obsolete. More seriously, the weapons have not been accompanied by ammunition.

#### Quartering far behind schedule

Although the UN Security Council has made clear that it expects the quartering of all of UNITA's 63,000 troops to be either completed, or at least close to completion, by the date for the renewal of the UNAVEM mandate in May, massive logistical problems remain to be overcome.

The Secretary General's report to the Security Council pointed out that four quartering camps were completed, with another 10 either close to completion or under way. However, the AFP news agency report quotes UN sources as saying that it will take three months to get all the confinement camps open.

There have been two main obstacles to the setting up of the camps. First, UNAVEM have had to take up the task of constructing the camps, because UNITA has failed in its obligation to provide the necessary labour force. Some sources, however, also criticise the speed of the arrangements made by UNAVEM.

Second, UNITA has been accused of actively obstructing the construction of the camps. Lt Col Carlos Serrazes, commander of the Brazilian peacekeeping unit at the Andulo quartering area, told Associated Press that UNITA was responsible for the delay in opening up the camp. He said "we'd be at 100 per cent here if UNITA would just give us the necessary permissions". The main route from nearby Kuito was not open and was in UNITA's hands. Vehicles bringing vital supplies were forced to use alternative routes, incurring long delays.

### New obstacles raised

UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has stated that the Angolan Government should reciprocate the "goodwill" shown by UNITA in confining its troops. The UNITA leader linked further troop confinements to movement in the political arena.

Speaking on UNITA's Radio Vorgan on 12 February, Jonas Savimbi said that "we cannot continue to confine and disarm 62,000 men without any political gesture". He then raised two points. Firstly, "the ban on UNITA should be lifted". Secondly, he called for a general and total amnesty.

These two points were directly addressed by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos during his opening speech to the ordinary session of the MPLA Central Committee on 16 February.

He said that "the principle of complete amnesty for crimes originating from the armed conflict is contained in the Lusaka Protocol. After approving the Lusaka Protocol, the National Assembly approved Amnesty Law No 18/94, promulgated by the President of the Republic on 10 November and published in the Government Gazette No 50, Series 1. If there are shortcomings in this law, the issue can be examined at the appropriate level".

On the second issue of UNITA becoming a fully fledged political party, the President quoted at length from the Constitution which pointed out the need for political parties to operate within the law through democratic and peaceful means. Thus, the President said "the sooner the general military incorporation of UNITA soldiers into FAA forces ends, the sooner UNITA will recover the condition of being a political party".

According to the London-based journal Southscan Jonas Savimbi is also calling for a transitional government of national unity. UNITA claims that after November 1996 the Government's mandate runs out, and states that the present Government should be replaced by a transitional one.

The Government has responded by reaffirming its commitment to the Lusaka Protocol, under which UNITA will be entitled to four ministers and seven deputy-ministers, along with a number of other posts (see APM no.5, vol II). However, the President said on 16

February that a transitional government "would be unconstitutional and undemocratic. In other words, a government resulting from an elected parliament and thus legitimate would be replaced by a non-elected government and therefore would be illegitimate".

In his defence of carrying on after November 1996, the President quoted the Constitution: "the deputies' mandate begins with the National Assembly's first session after elections and ends with the first session after subsequent elections, regardless of the individual suspension or cessation of the mandate".

There is a general consensus, both internally and internationally, that conditions do not exist for elections in November 1996. However, it is clear that this is an issue which UNITA intends to highlight in coming months.

UNITA is also seeking much greater representation for its officers in the Angolan army structure after the incorporation of UNITA's troops following demobilisation. The South African Press Association on 23 February reported that UNITA is demanding 40 top posts, whilst the Government is sticking by 11. Negotiations between the two sides are continuing.

Developments in United States send signals to Angola. A high ranking US military delegation visited Angola during the middle of February, led by General James Jamerson, second in command of American forces in Europe. In a meeting with FAA Chief of Staff, General de Matos, on 22 February, there were discussions on a programme of military education and training amounting to \$165 million, reports Jornal de Angola.

The high-level visit was also interpreted as a very significant development in cementing improved relations between the US and the Angolan Government. It was also seen as a veiled warning from Washington for UNITA to abide by the peace agreement.

However, other sources maintain that further delays in implementation by UNITA are the result of a hope that a change in US President might bring them a return of greater support from Washington.

Date for summit set

The Portuguese radio station TSF has reported that a meeting between Angolan President dos Santos and UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has been set for 1 March in Gabon.

The previous meeting, due to take place on 20 January, was cancelled by the UNITA leader at short notice. He is quoted by SAPA as saying on 20 February that "I need to see the President. I can't go on carrying out political activity from Bailundo".

#### Cease-fire violations continue

The Secretary General reported to the Security Council on 31 January that between 1 December and 25 January there had been a total of 154 cease-fire violations. Of these 58 had been attributed to the Angolan army, 91 to UNITA and 5 of unknown origin.

On 27 February an Antanov aircraft on route from Luanda to Lucapa was shot down over an area under the control of UNITA. 8 people on board died in the incident. The Joint Commission has sent a team of experts to the area to investigate.

#### Prisoners released

Dr Boutros-Ghali further reported to the Security Council that "the International Committee of the Red Cross has confirmed that the Government has released 350 registered prisoners. All prisoners identified by the Government have thus been freed. UNITA, which has so far freed only 44 prisoners, has yet to make a similar effort".

The ICRC reported on 7 February that UNITA had released a further 42 prisoners, from the towns of Luvia and Bailundo.

#### Cabinda cease-fire extended

A truce between the Government and the Cabinda Enclave Liberation Front (FLEC-Renovada) has been extended for a further four months.

The LUSA news agency reported on 26 February that negotiations in Brazzaville, Congo, successfully extended the cease-fire that was reached in September 1995. The report also said that leaders of the other

separatist groups were to meet in Libreville, Gabon, to set up a body to talk with the Government.

Secretary General calls for international support for Angolan efforts

Dr Boutros-Ghali has called on the international community to give financial support to the efforts of Angolans.

In particular, his report to the Security Council stated that "massive quartering of the Rapid Reaction Police presents a particular challenge to the Government and I appeal to the donor community to provide additional resources to support this vital undertaking".

He also drew attention to the need to support the revised version of the Department of Humanitarian Affairs inter-agency appeal. Angola Peace Monitor will provide an analysis of the appeal in its next issue.

Chalker visits Angola

Baroness Lynda Chalker, Britain's Minister for Overseas Development arrived on 19 February on a three day visit to Angola.

During her visit she met with top officials from the Government and UNAVEM. Due to her trip coinciding with the meeting of the Central Committee of the ruling MPLA, she was unable to meet with President dos Santos.

She did, however, travel to Bailundo, where she met with UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi. During her meeting she pressed him for a "substantial advance" in the quartering of UNITA troops by the end of March.

There was disappointment in Angola following her trip that she did not pledge any new aid money to the war-torn country, and help build ground-level confidence in the peace process. It was expected that the trip would be used as a platform for a new announcement of aid (see APM 5, Vol II). However she said that "for the peace process to be totally successful, the economy has to undergo major reform".

Other visitors to Angola recently have included:

\* Brian Atwood, administrator of the USAID, who was in the country from 3 - 6 February;

\* Joao de Deus Pinheiro, the European Commissioner for the ACP;

\* Jacques Diouf of the UN Food and Agricultural Organisation.

It is expected that South African President Nelson Mandela will visit Angola during March.

Malaria hits UN in Angola

Two Brazilian blue helmets have died in Angola as a result of contracting cerebral malaria, according to Sylvana Foa on 6 February.

Out of the 7,000 UN personnel in Angola, almost 1,000 cases of malaria have been reported.

Diamond mining to be targeted

The London-based journal Southscan has reported that the Government has announced a new programme to stabilise the diamond sector.

At present, UNITA raises enormous funds through the control of diamonds illegally mined in areas under its control. The Governor of Lunda Sul, Goncalves Muandumba, said that the provinces' official diamond industry was almost paralysed. The Government had embarked on major operations to clear illegal traders and miners operating in the Lundas.

However, the lasting impact of this on these activities is not clear.

Financial crisis at UN

The UN Secretary General, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali warned on 6 February that "the financial crisis has brought the UN to the edge of insolvency".

Speaking to a UN finance committee, he said that he would appeal to every debtor nation to provide him with a timetable for settling its arrears.

According to a report in the Financial Times on 7 February, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations in

New York has been told to avoid long-distance telephone calls, and to prepare for a 15 per cent cut in staff.

The UN is owed \$2.3 billion, of which the United States owes \$1.2 billion. According to the Secretary General's report to the Security Council on 31 January, the UNAVEM special account up until 31 December 1995 was owed \$26.4 million.

[Return to index](#) [Return to index](#)

Angola Peace Monitor

Volume II, Issue 5, 29 January 1996

UNITA under pressure for action as US envoy waves stick

Madeleine Albright, the US ambassador to the United Nations, has sent a clear signal to Angola that US patience is running out over the slow progress towards a peaceful settlement in Angola. Following major government concessions during President dos Santos' visit to Washington in December, UNITA is now under intense US pressure to honour its pledges to quarter its troops.

Ms Albright was on a three day visit to the country, beginning on 18 January. During her visit she met with, among others, President dos Santos, Prime Minister Marcolino Moco, and UN Special Representative Alioune Blondin Beye. She also travelled to Bailundo to meet with UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi.

The US ambassador received assurances from Savimbi that UNITA would speed up the quartering of its troops (see below).

However, in a statement quoted in the London-based journal Southscan, she said "I have to tell you that the international community is running out of patience. I even fear that, if the promise that was made to me by Mr Savimbi today is not realised, the international community may say: It is enough. A total of \$1m is spent daily in this country. So this country's leaders must take advantage of this opportunity."

Madeleine Albright will assume the position of President of the UN Security Council in February.

UNITA restart quartering of troops as UN deadline approaches

An ambitious target for the quartering of rebel troops has been set by UNITA, signalling the end of last year's suspension of cantonment. The deadline was set to coincide with the United Nations Security Council meeting in New York on 8 February, which will consider the whole future of the mission.

On 19 January UNITA leader, Jonas Savimbi, pledged to confine 16,500 troops by 8 February, which also marks the anniversary of the creation of UNAVEM III. UNITA's conference increased the pledge to 20,000, as long as UNAVEM could provide the necessary logistics.

UNITA had suspended the confinement of troops on 4 December 1995 following military clashes between Government and UNITA troops around the town of Sumba in the northern province of Zaire. The confinement of UNITA personnel had begun in late November, and the Angolan Government had complained of the slow pace of quartering, and that those troops confined were "boy soldiers with unserviceable weapons" (see APM 3,II). By 4 December only 363 UNITA troops had been quartered.

The confinement of troops restarted on 17 January at the Tchikala-Tcholohanga assembly areas (formerly Vila Nova) in the central Huambo province. Televisao Popular de Angola is quoted as stating that on 23 January 75 UNITA personnel had been quartered, bringing the total to 660. The South African Press Association (SAPA) reported on 25 January that a total of 693 soldiers had been quartered. Estimates of the total number of UNITA troops vary widely. SAPA reports that UNITA have 63,000 troops.

One unconfirmed source in Luanda reported to ACTSA that UNITA officers have received orders to demobilise a whole brigade, including heavy armour.

UNITA annual conference agrees to continue with peace process

UNITA have confirmed that they will continue with the implementation of the peace process, following decisions made at their annual conference in Bailundo. However, the conference, which was extended by over a week until 25 January, created new conditions for its continued participation.

UNITA decided that it will participate in the Government structures agreed under the Lusaka Protocol, which gives them the following positions:

- # 4 cabinet ministers
- # 7 deputy ministers
- # 6 ambassadors
- # 3 provincial governors
- # 6 deputy provincial governors
- # 20 municipal administrators
- # 25 deputy municipal administrators
- # 45 communal administrators

UNITA has stated that it will only join the Government if a common platform to deal with the social and economic crisis can be agreed. Furthermore, it has demanded that its members are not forced to leave the party, and that the "ban" on UNITA and its activities be lifted.

On the question of quartering UNITA troops, the conference demanded that the Angolan Army, FAA, should be returned to barracks. This is a new condition, as the Lusaka Protocol only requires the FAA to remain in situ, and not to occupy areas held by UNITA.

Joint Committee ask for plans

The Joint Committee, which oversees the peace process, met on 25 January and requested that UNITA provide a plan of their needs for quartering.

Riot police quartered

The Government has met another condition in the Lusaka Protocol by ordering the return to base of the Rapid Intervention Police. The anti-riot squads began their return to base on 10 January, with a movement to three bases in Luanda.

The anti-riot squad has now also returned to bases in Uige and Huambo. By 26 January 2,000 of these police

officers had returned to base, completing the first phase of the confinement process.

Executive Outcomes contract ended

Military advisers from the South African organisation Executive Outcomes have left Angola following the termination of their Government contract. It has been rumoured that Executive Outcomes personnel have now been redeployed to Sierra Leone.

Military actions continue

Following the military clashes in Zaire Province in December, many areas of the country have seen a reduction in tensions, whilst military action has continued in others.

The London-based journal Southscan reported on 5 January that UNAVEM has moved some of its Zimbabwean peace-keepers to the two most contested areas, Sumba, 40km east of Soyo, and Mango Grande, 40km south. Concern has been expressed that the movement of UNAVEM troops to the area will weaken their presence in other areas.

The Government has agreed to remove its troops from areas taken during fighting with UNITA, but only in order for UN peace-keepers to take over. The Government justification for the military actions in December was that UNITA was using those areas to launch attacks on the strategically important oil town of Soyo.

Troops have already been removed from some of the areas retaken by the Government.

The Angolan Government has also come under criticism from the United Nations over the capture of Kitoke in Uige province during the Christmas period.

Killings continue

The London-based magazine, West Africa, reported on 8 January that unknown assailants assassinated the Governor of Bengo province on New Year's Eve. Domingos Hungo was travelling to his brother's house in Luanda when he was shot and killed.

It was also reported in Southscan on 12 January, that during the previous week UNITA had attacked civilians

in Huila province. The Governor of Huila, Kundi Payama, said that UNITA had massacred 50 civilians, and the Mayor of a Huila village said that UNITA had axed 15 civilians to death.

Summit postponed

A meeting between President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi is reportedly still being arranged following the breakdown in the latest arrangements.

The two were due to meet on 20 January. However, the meeting was cancelled by Savimbi. The Angolan Government had wanted to meet on Angolan territory. However, a Lisbon radio station reported on 19 January that the proposed venue was in Gabon. It appears that President dos Santos may have conceded meeting outside Angola during his visit to Washington.

There have been three previous meetings between President dos Santos and Savimbi. None of these have been in Angola as Savimbi claims to be unhappy with the security situation.

British aid minister set for Luanda

It is understood that Britain's Minister for Overseas Development, Baroness Chalker, is likely to visit Angola in mid-February, though the Foreign Office will not yet officially confirm this. The visit would be both to assess the current progress on the peace process, given Britain's role as a permanent member of the Security Council, and the need for aid for reconstruction

The UK failed to pledge aid at the Brussels Donors' Round Table on Angola in September 1995 (see APM 1, vol II), where potential aid cuts stymied the ability of the Overseas

Development Administration to pledge aid. It is understood that the visit could augur a British aid pledge - though for what and on what scale is not known.

Government protests over Zaire flights

The Government of Angola has increased its protests over the continuing use of Zaire as a conduit for the movement of military men and materials.

The Government handed over a formal protest to the Zairean Government on 22 December, and wrote to the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity on the same day, following a plane crash on Angolan territory. The fatal crash, which resulted in the deaths of 139 Angolans, originated in Zaire. The Angolan Government claimed that the plane was being used to move weapons and personnel belonging to UNITA.

In a statement, UNITA admitted that the aircraft Electra, owned by Trans Service Airlift, was chartered by UNITA. However, it claims that the plane was carrying evacuees from Jamba.

Angola's Ambassador to the UN also wrote to the UN Security Council's Sanctions Committee on 3 January, condemning Zaire's violation of paragraphs 19 and 20 of Resolution 864 adopted in September 1993.

UN Committee on UNITA arms admits failure The UN Committee established to oversee the implementation of the arms embargo against UNITA has admitted that its effectiveness is dependent upon the cooperation of the states concerned.

The Committee was set up to monitor the mandatory sanctions against UNITA relating to the sale or supply of arms and related material, as well as of petroleum and petroleum

products. It also had the task of reporting violations to the Security Council and to make observations and recommendations.

In its report, dated 17 January, the committee stated that its activities had been to:

- \* send letters on 15 November 1993 to Botswana, Congo, Namibia, South Africa, Zaire and Zambia to ask for assistance;

- \* send letters on 19 November 1993 to Namibia, South Africa, Zaire and Zambia regarding allegations of violations;

- \* prepare a report to the Security Council on 14 July 1994.

The Committee states that since it was formed, it has

"experienced difficulty in obtaining information on alleged violations of the mandatory sanctions with respect to UNITA. As is the case with similar arms embargoes imposed by the Security Council, the effectiveness of the Committee would continue to depend on the cooperation of Member States in a position to provide information on possible violations".

Meanwhile, the organisation Human Rights Watch/Africa is to publish a report on 6 February detailing the continued use of Zaire as a conduit for the breaking of the arms embargo on UNITA.

Return to index Return to index

<http://www.angola.org/news/mission/december96/international.html>

Angola at the UN Food Security Summit

President dos Santos, joined by the First Lady, Foreign Minister Venâncio da Moura, Commerce Minister Gomes Maiato, Planning Minister Emmanuel Carneiro, Interior Minister Andre Pitra "Petroff" and Fisheries Minister Fátima Jardim, attended the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) Summit November 13-17 to discuss how the world can reduce by half the number of people who have insufficient or unstable food supplies. The President pledged his country's support for international efforts to combat hunger and malnutrition as well as poverty. The President also noted that, in Angola, food shortages are closely linked to Angola's history of war. Land mines, the destruction of basic infrastructure and large numbers of displaced persons have meant a sharp decrease in agricultural production and cattle raising. For Angola, increased food availability requires de-mining, road clearance and resettlement of refugees, the President told the conference.

While in Rome, the President also met with the Presidents of Italy and Mali, and with the Director General of the FAO. In addition, the President attended a meeting of representatives from Lusophone Africa and met with private sector representatives from Italy's petroleum company, ENI, as well as with representatives from AGIP-Angola.

## President dos Santos Visits Spain

Following the UN Food Security Summit meeting, the President and First Lady visited Madrid November 17-19. The official visit focused on improving bilateral relations and ended with the formation of an Hispano-Angolan Chamber of Commerce. In addition to meetings with King Juan Carlos and Prime Minister José Maria Aznar, the President also met with former Prime Minister and Secretary General of the Socialist Party Felipé Gonzalez and José Maria Cuevas, Chairman of the Spanish Confederation of Business Organizations.

President dos Santos reiterated his government's firm commitment to peace and reconstruction. He thanked Spain for its support of the peace process and expressed his hope that bilateral relations would continue to grow and expand. Following their meetings, Prime Minister Aznar announced that Spain would send a technical team to Angola to train elite units of Angola's police force. In addition, both the Prime Minister and the King of Spain expressed their support for the peace process in Angola. According to Spanish Foreign Minister Abel Matutes who met President dos Santos at the airport, "Spain, especially in recent times, has made a special effort in Angola to help bring peace, to help its economic development."

While in Spain the President also met with Angolan expatriates, Angolan embassy staff and business leaders. To expand economic ties between the two countries an Hispano-Angolan Chamber of Commerce was inaugurated during the President's visit.

## Brazil's President Cardoso Makes First Official Visit to Angola

Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso traveled to Angola on November 25 for his first official visit. Upon his arrival at the airport in Luanda, President Cardoso stated, "You are all well aware of Brazil's immense interest in Angola. This has always been the case and we have helped Angola stay on course for peace and democracy."

During the two-day visit, President Cardoso met with President dos Santos and signed two cooperation agreements on economic and scientific issues. President Cardoso also announced that Brazil will provide \$200,000 for Angola's national reconciliation program. A large delegation of business, government, and military officials accompanied the Brazilian President.

President Cardoso also met with the Brazilian community living in Angola and traveled to Bié province to greet Brazilian peacekeepers stationed there. With 1,000 troops participating in UNAVEM III, Brazil is the single largest contributor to the peacekeeping force.

#### Angolan-French Relations Strengthened by Two Official Visits

Angola's relations with France were in the spotlight in November when Angola's Prime Minister visited France and, shortly thereafter, France's Foreign Minister traveled to Luanda. Prime Minister França Van Dunem met with French President Jacques Chirac in Paris on November 13 to brief the President on the status of the peace process and to present him with a message from President dos Santos. After the meeting, Prime Minister Van Dunem characterized relations between the two countries as "excellent" and expressed his hope that relations would reach a new level of economic cooperation. While in France, Prime Minister Van Dunem also met with French Prime Minister Juppé, Development Aid Minister Godfrain and Interior Minister Jean Louis Debre. The Prime Minister also met with the Director General of the French petroleum company Elf-Aquitaine.

At the end of November, French Foreign Minister Hervé de Charette visited Angola to discuss ways to strengthen bilateral relations. After meeting with President dos Santos and Foreign Affairs Minister da Moura, Minister de Charette told reporters in Luanda, "we hope to continue being an active partner who will help Angola achieve economic development. We also hope to be Angola's political partner."

Italy to Provide Angola \$16 Million in Assistance

Italy's Deputy Foreign Minister, Rino Ferri, was in Luanda December 2-5 to meet with Angolan officials and review bilateral relations. After reviewing with the government the status of the peace process, Minister Ferri expressed his belief that Angola had made great strides in its efforts to consolidate peace. During his visit, the Minister met with Angolan Minister of Assistance and Social Reintegration Albino Malungo and announced that Italy would provide assistance to Angola's reconstruction efforts. Minister Ferri told reporters in Angola that Italy will provide \$11 million to promote the peace process and an additional \$5 million to non-governmental organizations for de-mining programs and the resettlement of demobilized soldiers. Minister Malungo thanked the Italian government for its support and noted that Italy was the first country to provide assistance to Angola for the reintegration of disarmed soldiers.