

Security Council

**3477**th Meeting Thursday, 8 December 1994, 3.45 p.m. New York Provisional

President:	Mr. Bakuramutsa	(Rwanda)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. van Bohemen
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

# Agenda

The situation in Angola

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) (S/1994/1376)

Letter dated 7 December 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/1395)

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The meeting was called to order at 4.10 p.m.

#### Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

#### The situation in Angola

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) (S/1994/1376)

## Letter dated 7 December 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/1395)

The President (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Angola in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

On behalf of the Council, I welcome the Minister for External Relations of Angola and invite him to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. De Moura (Angola) took a place at the Council table.

**The President** (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II), document S/1994/1376, and a letter dated 7 December 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, contained in document S/1994/1395. Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/1396, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations. I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1994/1391, letter dated 7 December 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the text of a message dated 5 December 1994 from the President of the Republic of Angola addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/1994/1394, letter dated 7 December 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Mali to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the text of a message from the President of the Republic of Mali addressed to the Secretary-General.

I now call on the first speaker, the Minister for External Relations of Angola, His Excellency Mr. Venâncio De Moura.

**Mr. De Moura** (Angola) (*spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation*): I am particularly pleased to be able to address the Council at this time, when the situation in Angola is calm.

I would like to begin by congratulating you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Angola and on my own behalf, on your assumption this month of the presidency of this important body, which today is once again addressing the situation in Angola.

I wish to extend my congratulations to Ambassador Madeleine Albright on her arduous work last month.

I would also like to reiterate our appreciation for the efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, which culminated in the signing of the Lusaka Protocol for peace in Angola.

We wish particularly to highlight the performance of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Maître Alioune Blondin Beye, whose diplomatic experience, wisdom and patience made possible the successful conclusion of the Lusaka negotiating process after 12 months of complex and difficult negotiations. Throughout the negotiating process, Maître Beye, endowed with the spirit of impartiality, firmness and abnegation necessary for the conclusion of the Lusaka Protocol, showed himself to be thoroughly knowledgeable about the situation in Africa and the idiosyncrasies of Angolans. We wish here to pay sincere homage to Maître Beye, who so well represented the Secretary-General and, implicitly, this Council, and we encourage him to proceed with the same dynamism in the present phase of the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol.

We also express our appreciation to the Troika of observer States — Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States of America — for their important contribution to the work of the Angolan parties and Maître Beye to reach a consensus in Lusaka.

Finally, I wish to convey the appreciation of the Angolan Government and people to the Government of Zambia, particularly to President Frederick Chiluba, for having hosted in their country for more than a year the peace negotiations for Angola and for having contributed discreetly but effectively to the success of the negotiating process.

The negotiating process aimed at restoring peace in Angola was long, difficult and complex, as we are all aware. If we look back, we will remember that there have been various attempts to solve the Angolan conflict peacefully. We need only refer to the meetings at Nakuru and Mombassa in Kenya, at Alvor in Portugal, at Gbagdolite in Zaire, at Bicesse in Portugal, at Namibe in Angola, at Addis Ababa in Ethiopia, at Abidjan in Côte d'Ivoire and, finally, at Lusaka in Zambia. Despite the efforts of the Government and of the international community, of which the Security Council is the representative, the Angolan people's desire to live in peace seems to be potentially fulfilled only now.

Since 20 November Angolans have been saying "No" to the continuation of a destructive war that has caused hundreds of thousands of deaths, has crippled thousands of persons, caused more than 3 million people to be displaced, created thousands of refugees and orphans and destroyed significant portions of the country's economic and social infrastructure.

My Government has constantly called the attention of the international community — and of the Security Council in particular — to the danger to the peace process of the attempts to impose unrealistic formulas that completely ignored the outcome of the elections, the Bicesse Accords and the Council's resolutions on the peace process.

Those attempts led the Security Council to impose for the first time in its history an arms and fuel embargo on a political-military organization and to threaten to impose further sanctions if that organization failed to demonstrate a willingness to negotiate. The impact of that measure was indeed positive, from our perspective, because it accelerated the negotiating process and forestalled further delaying tactics.

It was due to pressure from the Security Council that those who believe in war as an option to resolve political disputes were forced to follow the path of dialogue, which prevailed over the force of arms. Now we have a signed agreement, one that must be implemented and strictly complied with. We are here today, on behalf of our Government, to reaffirm this.

The Lusaka negotiations have just reaffirmed what the Government of Angola has always maintained namely, that there was no military solution for the postelectoral crisis in Angola, that it was imperative to protect democracy and that a just solution had to be found, a solution that would have to take into account the results of the elections and lead to the creation of conditions for genuine national reconciliation. With that objective in mind, the Government of Angola demonstrated much flexibility and made many concessions. We agreed to negotiate, even though parts of our national territory were still illegally occupied. Furthermore, we agreed to expand UNITA's participation in the Government at all levels, under conditions of peace.

Those and other gestures of flexibility, witnessed by the Council, became important factors which speeded up the negotiating process that culminated on 20 November in the signing of the Lusaka Protocol between the Government and UNITA.

The Lusaka Protocol represents the beginning of a critical stage in the final resolution of the internal conflict in Angola, establishing as it does a unique opportunity to remove completely the danger of a return to war. It also paves the way to the normal operation of democratic institutions, free of armed political parties, as in any other democratic society in the civilized world.

It is important to emphasize that the Lusaka Protocol, more than being a commitment to the Angolan people and the international community, places upon us as Angolans a political, legal and moral duty to set aside, totally and once and for all, the language of armed confrontation in resolving our problems. The signing of the Lusaka Protocol also means compliance with the laws of Angola and with the country's democratic institutions on a basis of equality with all other political parties in a multiparty Angolan society. Strict implementation of those principles will create the specific conditions necessary for a genuine national reconciliation and lead to political stability and economic recovery for our country. The Government of Angola is deeply committed to pursuing those objectives, and we want to believe that UNITA is also acting in the same spirit, particularly in terms of practical deeds.

The present phase of implementation of the Lusaka Protocol requires from the international community, and from the Security Council in particular, a firm and impartial stand, without losing sight of the fact that Angola and its Government are legitimate members of that community. Past experience demands our utmost vigilance if we are to avoid recurrence of the mistakes and irregularities that occurred in the past, such as the uncontrolled circulation of arms and ammunition which led to the building-up of huge arsenals by UNITA just inside our cities.

As President José Eduardo Dos Santos has stated:

"The Government and the United Nations must this time around assume their responsibilities coherently and effectively and be in a position to prevent premeditated breaches and forcefully to reestablish the law in case of any violations of the peace agreements."

It is imperative for the international community to be prudent so that no new excuses are allowed under any circumstances to be used to hinder the strict implementation of the withdrawal, quartering, disarming and incorporation into the National Army of all UNITA troops, followed by the disbanding of any surplus forces.

A critical factor for the success of the peace process in Angola is the creation of specific conditions for the implementation of the agreements. To that end, we ask for the establishment of an adequate United Nations mechanism in Angola, particularly regarding the logistics and military forces of UNAVEM III, which should be effectively capable of strictly monitoring the cease-fire and the withdrawal, quartering, disarming and demobilization of UNITA's troops. The establishment of adequate logistics, temporary barracks, transportation and communications to cover this operation is extremely important for the successful implementation of the Lusaka Protocol.

We consider that the only way to encourage the demobilized troops to abandon war and to reintegrate them into civilian life will be the establishment of programmes of social reintegration. To this end, it is important for the international community to support, financially and otherwise, the Government of Angola which, together with the United Nations, will be facing a huge and complex task which it must strive to accomplish in implementing the Lusaka Protocol.

Though we are certain that the successful implementation of the Lusaka agreements will ultimately depend on strong political will and on the good faith of the signatories, it is also true that the United Nations has adequate means to discourage those who may wish to act contrarily, as demonstrated by the various resolutions adopted over the past two years by the Security Council.

The negotiation of the Angola peace process has been closely followed by the Council, which has devoted dozens of formal sessions and innumerable informal sessions to it. The Council has unanimously adopted 16 resolutions on this question. This in itself shows the Council's commitment, as well as the magnitude and complexity of the Angolan process. This action by the Security Council was taken to help the Angolan people find a way to end the war, and it will be satisfying to know that, from now on, the efforts of the Council will be directed towards helping the Angolans to maintain and consolidate the peace process and to reconstruct the country. In this process, the Governments represented here can also play a very important role, either bilaterally or multilaterally. In this context, the prompt deployment of the UNAVEM III forces will be an important contribution to the consolidation of peace and will prevent these hard-won agreements from being jeopardized or violated.

My Government is concerned by the fact that an excessive lag between the signing of the agreement, the entry into force of the cease-fire and the arrival of the first contingent of Blue Helmets, as provided for in today's draft resolution, might jeopardize the timetable for the implementation of the various phases of the agreement. UNAVEM III would become a reality in Angola only four to six months after the adoption of today's draft resolution.

As a result, we consider the deployment of United Nations observers in all zones of Angolan territory, above all in the most sensitive areas — including those still under the control of UNITA — to be urgent, so as to guarantee the effective implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. We emphasize that, despite UNAVEM II's mandate having been renewed until 8 February 1995, the constitution, definition and deployment of the new peace mission, UNAVEM III — in which my Government opposes the inclusion of contingents from countries that have been directly or indirectly involved in the Angolan conflict — should take place before the end of this period, once the conditions for beginning its gradual deployment have been created on the ground.

Indeed, the cease-fire, since its *de jure* entry into force on 22 November, is a reality in Angola, generally speaking. The reinstallation of UNAVEM II observers in the cities of Huambo, Luena, Memongue, Saurimo and Uige confirms that fact. At the same time, the presence in the Angolan capital as of last Sunday of the UNITA delegation as part of the Joint Commission confers greater confidence in the success of the Angolan process.

The long and bloody conflict has left deep scars in the life of the Angolan people, many of which cannot be healed. We are aware, however, that only a spirit of great tolerance, free from resentment and acts of hatred or vengeance, will allow us to avoid new conflicts and guarantee the stability of the country. To this end, the Angolan Parliament recently approved a law granting amnesty for all crimes committed against the internal security of the State and other crimes related thereto committed in the context of the post-electoral military conflict.

This measure, along with the legal guarantees associated with it, will contribute greatly to the strengthening of mutual confidence. Consequently, the reestablishment of the State administration in the areas formerly occupied illegally and the normal functioning of State institutions at all levels will be an important guarantee of the protection and respect of the civil and political rights of all citizens.

The Republic of Angola, as it is a State ruled by law, will continue to see to it that all political forces, including UNITA, may freely conduct their activities in conformity with the Constitution and with the other laws in force in the country.

The humanitarian situation in my country remains precarious owing to the dramatic consequences of the war, despite the great efforts of the Government and of international humanitarian agencies.

Now that the war is over, major challenges face the Government in the social and humanitarian domain: the social reintegration of surplus UNITA troops to be demobilized, multifaceted support for millions of displaced persons and refugees returning to their homes, the reconstruction of basic infrastructures and disarming, among others. We hope to address these tasks with the continued support of the international community.

This operation is broad in scope, since it will not exclude the people of UNITA and of other political parties at all levels, to whom the Government will have to devote special attention in the context of genuine national reconciliation. Accordingly, we intend not to provide reasons for dissatisfaction and resentment that may constitute focal points for disorder. We believe that only by keeping these aspects in mind can we guarantee a definitive end to the war in Angola and the successful implementation of the hard-won peace accords.

The coming phase of the peace process requires redoubled efforts in order to mobilize financial resources which are a *sine qua non* for overcoming the difficulties we are facing now. Under the present circumstances, the Government is not able to assume this heavy burden alone. That is why the international community is called upon to provide its active contribution, similar to the way it did during the period of hostilities.

I wish to take this opportunity once again to thank the United Nations agencies, the Governments of the whole world and, in particular, the Governments represented here, and the non-governmental organizations, for the generous support granted to the needy Angolan people, and to praise all the personnel involved in the humanitarian assistance operations, often at the risk of their own lives.

Lusaka has turned for us a new and important page in the history of Angola and everything should be done to ensure that it does not meet the same fate as the previous peace proposals.

The Government will continue to act in good faith and will not cease its efforts until peace, stability and true democracy are a reality in Angola.

In conclusion, I must state once again my appreciation and that of my Government for the arduous and effective work carried out by the members of the Council on the question of the Angolan conflict, and particularly the efforts of those who strove hardest for the Angolan reality to be analysed with greater understanding and transparency. I should also like to commend the members of the Council in their work in producing the draft resolution which is to be adopted today. We shall continue to rely on their wisdom until a definitive solution to the Angolan conflict is found.

**The President** (*interpretation from French*): I thank the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Angola for the kind words addressed to the Council and to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

**Mr. Gambari** (Nigeria): I should like to begin by giving a warm welcome to Mr. Venâncio De Moura, Foreign Minister of Angola, and thank him most sincerely for his very important statement to the Council.

The Angolan situation has recently recorded significant developments, the most important of which was the signing of the Lusaka Protocol which builds on the "Acordos de Paz". We welcome this development and hope that the parties to the Protocol will commit themselves fully and faithfully to implementing its provisions in the higher interests of national reconciliation, peace, security and the social and economic development of the country. As a country that has participated actively in encouraging the peaceful resolution of the Angolan conflict, Nigeria cannot but restate its delight and satisfaction at the conclusion of this Protocol which, in our opinion, represents a major confidence-building measure between the parties.

In this connection, my delegation commends most sincerely the excellent work accomplished by Ambassador Blondin Beye, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and chief military observer of UNAVEM II. In paying tribute to the United Nations for its tireless efforts in advancing the peace process in Angola, we wish also to place on record that the United Nations personnel have had to work under very difficult conditions, but we should like to urge that this United Nations presence be maintained and indeed enhanced because the signing of the Protocol represents an important first step in the process towards building a durable peace in Angola. The draft resolution under consideration reflects the current state of play in Angola and anticipates a future role for the United Nations in post-conflict peace-building in the expectation that the current cease-fire will continue to hold throughout the country. My delegation considers, in this regard, the full deployment of UNAVEM II personnel to its original strength not only appropriate but also a visible manifestation of the United Nations intent to continue to lend its assistance as far as possible. The restoration of UNAVEM II to its original strength should, in our opinion, be commenced promptly and completed without much delay.

My delegation welcomes the commitment the two parties entered into under the Lusaka Protocol with respect to the establishment of a cease-fire; the withdrawal, quartering and demilitarization of all UNITA troops; the disarming of all civilians; the completion of the formation of the national army and the police; national reconciliation; and the conclusion of the electoral process. It is in that context that we anticipate that a UNAVEM III will be desirable to assist with the final stages of national reconciliation and the restoration of a durable peace in Angola. For that reason we believe that contingency planning and the necessary consultations with actual or potential troop-contributing countries should be intensified.

Meanwhile, my delegation supports the extension of the mandate of UNAVEM II to 8 February 1995. We also urge all parties in Angola to take all necessary measures to ensure the safety and security of all international personnel in Angola. Above all, my delegation strongly calls upon all concerned in Angola to seize this very important opportunity to achieve a durable peace in Angola. The people of Angola have waited too long for the establishment in their country of a lasting peace enabling them to resume and pursue the normal activities of life and to enjoy the benefits of the social and economic development of their country. They should not be disappointed any longer.

My delegation supports the draft resolution in document S/1994/1396, and will vote in its favour.

**Mr. Olhaye** (Djibouti): My delegation is very pleased to welcome to the Security Council the Minister for External Relations of Angola, Mr. Venâncio De Moura; I thank him deeply for his very important statement. Equally, we are delighted to see in our midst Maître Alouin Blondin Beye, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. We wish to express our deepest appreciation to Maître Beye, who, throughout these protracted and most difficult negotiations, has demonstrated courage, rare wisdom, dedication and tenacity.

The historic agreement signed at Lusaka, Zambia, on 20 November 1994 between the Government of Angola and the União Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA) evidences the encouraging developments that have taken place in Angola. We have read with great interest the report of the Secretary-General of 4 December on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II), and his assessment of the situation in that country. Together with his letter dated 7 December 1994 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the report reinforces the feeling that the situation in Angola has turned the corner, and that there is a real desire on the part of everyone to complete the difficult journey to a cease-fire, peace, national reconciliation and stability. If that is indeed the case, the draft resolution before us, by which we would extend the mandate of UNAVEM II and expand the scope of United Nations assistance to Angola during its initial transition phase, deserves to be supported.

No doubt because we have travelled the peace-accord road in Angola before - twice before, in fact, the last time all the way to elections — some reservations are evident. Clearly, there is need for assurances that the fighting has indeed halted and that the cease-fire called for is taking hold. In addition, while, through his support staff and through communiqués, Mr. Savimbi has indicated his support for the Accord, there is little doubt that his physical presence and his approval in person are necessary to allay the lingering concerns harboured by his army and his supporters. Heavy fighting right up to the day of signing will, it is hoped, not compromise Mr. Savimbi's ability to convince his forces to lay down their arms and begin the actual process of national reconciliation. Undoubtedly, at this point they will take their cue from him, which makes it all the more imperative for him to step forward. There will be much to do in separating the forces and disarming them, in reconstituting the army and the government, and in completing the arrangements for the final phase of the 1992 election process.

Fortunately, by resolution 952 (1994) we have laid the ground for a sufficient United Nations presence in Angola during the initial peace phase to avoid some of the shortcomings that plagued our efforts in the last peace/elections phase. Given the obvious level of mistrust still existing between the two sides, the number of postelection questions raised concerning the last elections, and the lack of disarmament at that time, the Council must make certain that the Secretary-General and UNAVEM II have the manpower and support they require to monitor effectively the cease-fire process and the elections.

Nevertheless, we will all be guided by the political will demonstrated by the Angolans themselves. Only when there is evidence that the cease-fire is holding and that concrete steps are being taken towards national reconciliation can the international community be expected to undertake all the measures needed to assist the Angolans effectively. Without political will and good faith, the whole process remains precarious and unstable.

My delegation is relieved to note that humanitarian aid, though affected in some locations by heavy fighting, appears in general to be getting through. We can, we hope, avoid any major catastrophe of suffering until measures are taken by the Angolan Government to address the many problems and the destruction caused by the long civil war. Fortunately, the comprehensive demining programme for the country has become operational, and the information required is being collected.

As the Secretary-General notes, both sides must continue meticulously to implement the cease-fire on the ground, or the whole process could unravel again. Concrete confidence-building measures must be undertaken by both sides and by their leaders personally. Angola, together with the rest of southern Africa, has the potential for a good future, for it is a wealthy country in a promising area. Another false alarm would be dangerous at this time — a fact of which everyone is, no doubt, aware.

My delegation therefore fully supports the draft resolution before us. It has as its major objective the restoration of UNAVEM II to its original strength and the extension of its mandate for a further two-month period to provide the Secretary-General sufficient time both to determine the viability of the cease-fire and to put in place contingency planning for potential peace-keeping operations. We hope all will go well, and we wish the people of Angola a durable peace, stability and prosperity.

**Mr. Lavrov** (Russian Federation) (*interpretation* from Russian): It gives me pleasure to welcome the Minister for External Relations of the Republic of Angola, Mr. Venâncio De Moura, and to thank him for his important and interesting statement to the Security Council. We are also happy to see here the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Beye, who has made a great personal contribution to the establishment of the peace process in Angola and who continues to facilitate the positive process in that country.

Russia — which, in close cooperation with the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and our partners in the "troika" of observers, has made many efforts to bring about a successful Angolan settlement — was very pleased to learn of the signing of the Lusaka Protocol and the entry into force of the cease-fire. An important stage has been reached towards ending the fratricidal war in the longsuffering land of Angola and towards achieving national reconciliation. We sincerely congratulate the people of Angola on this momentous event. As President Yeltsin stated on the occasion of the signing of the Lusaka Protocol, that document embodies the triumph of political reason over the senselessness of casualties and destruction caused by war.

Moscow sincerely hopes that the mutual understanding between the Angolan parties achieved in Lusaka will grow during the implementation of the signed agreements into profound mutual trust. We are convinced that the establishment of lasting peace in Angola will become possible only as a result of strict compliance by both sides with the obligations accepted by them. Of particular importance here is strict observance by them of the ceasefire agreement. We also urgently appeal to the Government of Angola and particularly to UNITA to demonstrate due political will and, in particular, without delay to complete negotiations on military issues that have not yet been resolved in Lusaka — a matter of great importance for the success of the peace process.

The Russian delegation is sure that the Security Council will unanimously adopt this draft resolution to extend the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) until 8 February 1995. The draft resolution clearly guides the Government of Angola and UNITA towards constructive cooperation on the basis of the Bicesse agreements and the Lusaka Protocol. For its part, as is clear from the draft resolution, the United Nations is prepared to give Angola the necessary assistance in monitoring effective compliance with the cease-fire agreement.

In this connection, we attach great importance to the decision taken by the Secretary-General to start deploying additional United Nations personnel and speedily to restore the strength of UNAVEM II to its previous level.

The Russian delegation considers it important that the dispatch of United Nations personnel to Angola take place promptly, with the immediate deployment of observer posts *in situ*. We believe that this would be an important step towards strengthening the climate of trust, the lack of which is still so palpable in Angola, and that this step will have a restraining effect on both the Angolan parties and will reduce the likelihood of mishaps occurring during the normalization of the situation. We expect that the Government of Angola and UNITA will take due steps to ensure the safety of international personnel and will provide appropriate guarantees to that effect.

An important aspect of the draft resolution is that it sends the Angolan parties a clear signal that the Security Council is prepared in the near future to move to a larger and more active role for the United Nations in promoting the successful development of the peace process, provided, of course, that the situation in Angola is favourable.

For its part, the Russian Federation will do all it can to promote that role, including by sending our military observers to Angola.

**The President** (*interpretation from French*): I now put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/1994/1396.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

### In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

**The President:** There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 966 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

**Mr. Sardenberg** (Brazil): May I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council for the month of December. We are fully confident that you will conduct our business in an effective and smooth way, and you may rest assured that you can rely on my delegation's unconditional support and cooperation. I also wish to thank your competent predecessor, Mrs. Madeleine Albright, and her associates for a job well done during the busy month of November.

We have listened with great attention to the comprehensive statement just made by His Excellency Mr. Venâncio De Moura, Minister of External Relations of Angola. His clear and lucid intervention contributes to a better understanding of the very complex situation facing his country at this very crucial moment. His words constitute additional evidence of his Government's unequivocal commitment to working for the attainment of the dual objectives of peace and national reconciliation.

I wish also to express my Government's recognition of President José Eduardo dos Santos' unabated commitment to peace. The political wisdom and the leadership which he demonstrated at the head of his Government during the process that led to the signing of the Lusaka Protocol put him among the most eminent statesmen of his continent.

We are grateful also to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for his constant and energetic optimism, even in times when negotiations seemed to be heading towards a deadlock. His profound knowledge of the situation and his understanding of the complexities involved in the Angolan conflict made Maître Beye a pivotal figure in the negotiations. He deserves our full recognition.

Two decades of war in Angola have exacted a heavy toll on the civilian population and have brought about a humanitarian crisis of huge proportions. Brazilians are linked to Angolans by common historical, cultural and ancestral ties. We have a special, intense relationship that is bound to be further enhanced once that sister country finally enters the long-deserved path of peace, stability and economic and social development. These are among the main reasons why Brazil is following with the utmost interest the evolution of the political process in Angola.

The Government of Brazil is highly encouraged by the signing of the Lusaka Protocol. This document represents a window of opportunity for the restoration of lasting peace through national reconciliation. During the course of this long-protracted process, there were times when we were saddened by the tremendous human suffering of the Angolan people and the tragic toll the war had inflicted on that country for two decades. There were times when we were concerned that peace seemed too elusive, almost an unreachable goal. There were times when we were frustrated by the sequence of events, with one small step forward in the direction of peace being followed by two steps backward in the direction of military confrontation, thus making the prospects for peace even more distant.

After the unfortunate breakdown of the Bicesse Accords, several meetings were convened in different cities, all of them to no immediate avail. These are, however, times for hope and optimism, and we are confident that the recent series of events firmly points in the direction of a new chapter in the history of Angola. Since the signing of the Protocol in the Zambian capital, the agreed cease-fire has been observed without major incidents. There have been public pledges by both sides towards the objective of peace and national reconciliation. The scheduled meetings of the Joint Commission have taken place in Luanda, and they are emblematic of the new times. There are reports of a planned meeting between President José Eduardo dos Santos and Mr. Jonas Savimbi.

The Lusaka Protocol completes a long and strenuous cycle that began last year, when UNITA started to accept the validity of the "Acordos de Paz" and, in particular, the validity of the 1992 elections, held under United Nations supervision. The resolution we have just adopted is far from being a "business as usual" type of decision. It reflects the strong desire of the members of the Council and of the international community in general for the United Nations to continue to contribute to the peace process in Angola at this very crucial juncture.

We have not merely technically extended the mandate of UNAVEM II for two months. We are acknowledging the decision of the Secretary-General to proceed with the deployment of additional UNAVEM II personnel to its previous authorized level. We are setting the stage for an expanded United Nations presence in Angola for the post-Lusaka period.

Brazil has consistently defended an adequate United Nations presence in Angola to enhance the chances for peace and national reconciliation. We have been underscoring that United Nations peace-keeping operations are established and deployed in the name of the Organization as a whole and not of the Security Council alone. In this connection, two main doctrinal principles have guided the Brazilian delegation during our current tenure in this Council.

On the one hand, we have advocated that peacekeeping operations are aimed at contributing to alleviating tensions and promoting peace in regional conflicts that pose a threat to peace and stability. On the other hand, we have always defended the need to ensure the absolute impartiality of these operations if they are successfully to implement the mandates they have been entrusted with. These operations are a means to assist in the full implementation of agreements to which the parties have freely committed themselves.

The diplomatic efforts made by the United Nations since November last year have resulted in the signing of the Lusaka Protocol. The international community is now in duty bound to approve the expansion of the United Nations presence in Angola.

Lessons from the recent past have shown that in order for such an operation to be effective, it should be adequately staffed and equipped. Equally important is the fact that its approval and actual deployment should not be subject to undue delays. The international community cannot squander this unique opportunity to establish a lasting peace in Angola.

Peace in Angola crowns a successful trend, which started in South Africa and has just been advanced in Mozambique. However, some operations on other continents have not shown as yet the same positive results. Brazil has already indicated its willingness to commit military personnel required for the purpose of peacekeeping.

We encourage the Secretary-General to present, as promptly as possible, his recommendations for a possible mandate for a new United Nations operation in Angola. We urge this Council to consider without delay such recommendations when they become available. It is our sincere hope that the Secretary-General will make every effort to submit the required report in good time, before 8 February, so that the Security Council may take early action leading to the establishment and deployment of UNAVEM III. Any delay, I might add, entails a corresponding slippage in the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, with all the undesirable risks involved.

**The President** (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Brazil for the kind words he addressed to me.

**Mr. Li Zhaoxing** (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation would like to welcome the Minister for External Relations of Angola to this meeting and to thank him for his important statement. We

would also like to welcome the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Beye.

The Chinese Government has been following closely the peace process in Angola and deeply sympathizes with the suffering experienced by the Angolan people in frequent wars. We therefore support the two Angolan parties in their efforts to end war and to achieve national reconciliation through negotiations. We are pleased to note that the Angolan Government and UNITA have, with the assistance of the United Nations and other parties, officially signed the Lusaka Protocol and agreed to a comprehensive cease-fire thereafter, which not only has brought hope for an end to the 19-year civil war, but is also of great significance to peace and stability in Southern Africa.

While significant progress has been made in the Angolan peace process, we also note that military clashes between the two Angolan parties still take place from time to time and that the humanitarian situation there remains grave. Should this situation continue, the successful implementation of the Lusaka Protocol would be jeopardized and the Angolan peace process could fall short of success for lack of a final effort. This is not what the international community would like to see.

Peace and stability is the foundation of national stability and people's well-being. The determination of both parties in Angola to lay down their arms and set out on the road to national reconciliation conforms to the long-term and fundamental interests of the Angolan people as well as to the common aspirations of the international community. But the practical implementation of the Protocol calls for continued strong political will on both sides, whose pressing task is immediately to stop all hostilities in order to create conditions for national reconciliation. We call on the leaders of both parties to meet at an early date to settle their remaining differences through dialogue and make their contributions to lasting peace and stability in Angola.

The resolution adopted today demonstrates the resolve of the Security Council to continue to support the Angolan peace process and the readiness of the international community to continue its efforts to help achieve national reconciliation and restore peace and stability in Angola at an early date, thus bringing it onto the track of reconstruction and economic recovery.

In this regard, the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) has done tremendous

work and played an important role. The Chinese Government has been giving, and will continue to give, its full support. It is in this spirit that we voted in favour of the resolution just adopted.

**Mr. Cárdenas** (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Allow me first to welcome the Minister for External Relations of Angola, Mr. Venâncio De Moura, at a time when the Council is reiterating its commitment and readiness to continue contributing to the peace process in his country.

At the same time, we commend the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, the tireless Maître Beye, in this process. We are grateful for the comprehensive reports provided to us, which have been invaluable to us in our consideration of this item.

The developments in Angola since the Council last considered the situation are heartening, and we hope that the positive trends that are emerging will become established. In this context, we commend the Government of Angola and UNITA for the signing of the Lusaka Protocol on 20 November last, the entry into force of the cease-fire and the continuation of the peace process through the negotiations that began last Sunday in Luanda.

The people of Angola should have no doubts about the resolve of the international community to continue to support the peace process now under way. However, the parties must be aware that the readiness of the United Nations to expand its efforts in the country and devote more resources to it will largely depend on respect for, and compliance with, the Lusaka Protocol and any other agreements that may be reached.

At this early stage in the implementation of the peace process, my Government regards a United Nations presence in Angola as particularly important. We therefore supported the resolution that we have just adopted, extending the present mandate of UNAVEM II until 8 February next year, with immediate restoration of UNAVEM's strength to its previous level. This presence will help to guarantee the enforcement of the cease-fire, as well as strengthening the negotiations that are taking place in Luanda.

We hope that the peace process will be boosted by the Lusaka accords and that efforts to achieve national reconciliation will be stepped up so that the Security Council may give positive consideration to the report that the Secretary-General will present on a new mandate that would amount to a new United Nations operation in Angola.

My country contributes military police and observers to the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II), and it stresses the importance of the fullest respect at all times on the part of the Angolan Government and UNITA for the safety and protection of all international personnel in Angola. This will help to create confidence and will undoubtedly encourage the international community to continue to participate in Angola.

In this respect, I should like to say that my Government is actively considering the possibility of contributing a specialized contingent to an expanded United Nations presence in Angola. We are particularly gratified to see that the distribution of humanitarian assistance has become normalized throughout Angolan territory, and we applaud especially the dispatch of an inter-agency mission to Angola with a view to assessing the broad programme of humanitarian assistance, as well as the entry into force of the mine-clearance programme, since mines, together with other explosive devices, are causing many civilian victims.

After more than 20 years of struggle the Angolan people have suffered enough and deserve to live in peace. We have no doubt that the international community will be ready to support this undertaking by providing the necessary assistance and cooperation.

My Government wishes to express its gratitude to the three observer States to the Angolan peace process, the Organization of African Unity and neighbouring countries — in particular, Zambia — for their endeavours to ensure the full implementation of the peace agreements, the Lusaka Protocol and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. We also express our warm gratitude to UNAVEM II and its personnel and to the various United Nations and non-governmental organizations for their constant and substantive contribution to the success of the process of peacemaking in Angola, which is now becoming a reality.

**Sir David Hannay** (United Kingdom): I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council and to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Albright, for the remarkable work that she did during the very highly charged month of November.

The signing of the Lusaka Protocol on 20 November and agreement on a cease-fire two days later are the most hopeful developments that have occurred in the last two years of the Angolan tragedy. As the Secretary-General has said in his report, Angola has now been brought to the threshold of peace. We commend the Government of Angola, whose distinguished Foreign Minister is amongst us this afternoon — and we welcome his presence very much — and UNITA for demonstrating the necessary political will, and we congratulate the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, who is also with us this afternoon, and the personnel of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) for their infinite patience and determination, which now appears to be bearing fruit. We are also most grateful to the Government of Zambia and to the three observer States to the Angolan peace process for their valuable contributions.

Although the Lusaka Protocol is an undoubted achievement, the position on the ground remains fragile. It is essential that the parties implement the agreement speedily and in good faith so that lasting peace and national reconciliation can be achieved in Angola. It is particularly important that they respect and maintain an effective ceasefire and take up any problems about cease-fire matters in the Joint Commission, not resorting to tit-for-tat retaliation.

The international community cannot be expected to enforce peace in Angola, and it will not be equipped to do so. So the deployment of a new, expanded United Nations operation will be possible only if the cease-fire remains effective and the parties demonstrate the necessary practical commitment to peace.

We welcome the preparatory work already undertaken by the Secretary-General for an expanded United Nations operation. We agree that any new force will need to be deployed quickly, and we hope that troop-contributing countries will be able to make their contingents available without delay. We look forward to the report that the Secretary-General intends to submit to the Council early next year.

In the meantime, we are pleased that he now intends to proceed with the deployment of the additional military observers and civilian police authorized under UNAVEM II. He has rightly made this dependent on the strict observance by the parties of the cease-fire and the provision by them of satisfactory guarantees for the safety and security of United Nations personnel. We hope that this deployment will contribute to a further reinforcement of the cease-fire. It is now necessary for confidence to be built up between the Government of Angola and UNITA. This should be done through regular meetings of the Joint Commission to resolve any outstanding differences. A meeting between President Dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi should help to build up the necessary political momentum for successful implementation of the Lusaka Protocol. The prompt departure from Angola of all mercenaries, in accordance with the Lusaka Protocol, will also be an important measure to build confidence.

The humanitarian situation in Angola remains serious, but with the cessation of military activities it should now be possible for humanitarian assistance to reach more of the country. It is essential that the parties cooperate in the delivery of this assistance and that they ensure the safety and security of UNAVEM II and of all humanitarian personnel.

It is the Government of Angola and UNITA themselves who, by their observance of the agreement that they have now reached, will determine whether the United Nations and the international community will accompany them on this final phase of their long and difficult road to peace. We trust and hope that we shall all travel together along that road.

**The President** (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his kind words addressed to me.

**Mr. Mérimée** (France) (*interpretation from French*): Once more we have renewed the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) in its current form. My delegation voted in favour of resolution 966 (1994), which extended the mandate for a period of two months — until 8 February 1995.

We are happy that this was done in the presence of the Minister for External Relations of Angola, Mr. Venâncio De Moura, whom we welcome.

I said "Once more", but recent developments in Angola enable one to say that this extension of the mandate of UNAVEM II is different from previous extensions. Since the adoption of our previous resolution, on 27 October, very important events have taken place in Angola — primarily, of course, the initialling on 31 October and, in particular, the signing on 20 November of the Lusaka Protocol by the Government of Angola and UNITA. This very important, detailed agreement, which took a long time to negotiate, should make an important contribution to the establishment of lasting peace in Angola, as well as to national reconciliation.

The meeting in Luanda of the Joint Commission that is to monitor the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol is also an encouraging sign.

To sum up, since the signing of the Lusaka Protocol a lasting political settlement of the Angolan conflict seems to be attainable. It is just as necessary to put an end to the 19 years of war in Angola, during which the civilian population has suffered most.

For this encouraging progress towards peace in Angola my delegation wishes to thank and offer heartfelt congratulations to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Maître Blondin Beye, whose persistence, accompanied and supported by his unflagging enthusiasm, has had a great impact on the events of recent weeks. We should also like to congratulate the three observer States for their work, as well as the other participants in the peace process in Angola.

The United Nations must forge ahead in Angola and accompany the Angolan people in its quest for peace and national harmony. In this respect, we welcome the Secretary-General's decision to deploy UNAVEM II personnel on Angolan territory if conditions make it possible to do so. In this connection, the Secretary-General quite rightly recalled in his report an idea that is reflected in the resolution we have just adopted — namely, that the Angolans were the principal architects of peace in Angola. This means in particular that the Angolan parties should strive fully, resolutely and definitively to comply with the cease-fire agreed to on 22 November. This tangible sign of their commitment to peace has always been the condition on which the deployment of United Nations personnel is based. The parties should remember this in their future efforts to pursue and consolidate the cessation of hostilities and compliance with the cease-fire.

The two months given UNAVEM II will no doubt be a time of intensive activity on the ground in Angola in the quest for the attainment of the goals I have mentioned and of all the goals set forth in the resolution. Within the United Nations it will be a time for deep reflection on the possible future mandate of a new United Nations operation in Angola. In this context, towards the end of January my delegation will be awaiting the Secretary-General's recommendations, which it will of course study with the keenest attention. Not so long ago peace in Angola seemed a hard-toreach objective, but recent developments have brought its attainment closer. It is now up to the Angolan parties, which are so close to the attainment of their goal, to make the necessary efforts to complete the process of peace and national reconciliation for the sake of their own country.

**Mr. Al Sameen** (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, allow me to bid a warm welcome on behalf of my delegation, through you, Mr. President, to His Excellency the Minister for External Relations of Angola and to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. It is an honour to have them here with us today.

There has been an important positive development recently in the situation in Angola that we had long waited for. After long and arduous negotiations, the Lusaka peace talks between the Angolan Government and the União Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA) culminated in the formal signing of the Lusaka Protocol, which formally put an end to the civil war that raged in Angola for two decades, claimed thousands of lives and caused widespread destruction of property.

My delegation welcomes the successful conclusion of the peace talks and the signing of that important document, which, together with the Bicesse Accords, should lay the foundations of lasting peace in Angola.

This major achievement was made possible by the international community's support for the peace process in Angola. It reflects the Government's and UNITA's determination to attain peace in Angola and embodies the Angolan people's desire to live in peace and harmony. We congratulate the Angolan people on these remarkable successes, and salute the political leaders of both the Government and UNITA for their patience in overcoming all the obstacles in the various stages of the peace negotiations and for not wasting the opportunity to restore peace in their country.

My delegation sincerely hopes that both parties will continue to demonstrate their commitment to peace and national reconciliation through full and timely compliance with both the letter and the spirit of the peace accord, particularly the provisions relating to the cease-fire agreement.

In this context, my delegation notes that even with the signing of the Lusaka Protocol and the entry into force of the cease-fire agreement on 22 November, occasional clashes between Government and UNITA forces still occur. Perhaps, this is because feelings of enmity and hatred have become ingrained and the lack of trust between the parties cannot be remedied overnight. We hope that such negative feelings will gradually disappear and be replaced by a spirit of cooperation, tolerance and harmony amongst all the people of Angola. Although such incidents cannot diminish the value of the recent successes, it is clear that unless the two parties halt the aggravation and prevent the recurrence of such incidents, the entire peace process may be at risk. Therefore, both parties are called upon, now more than ever before, to renounce violence, to put an end to all military operations, to exercise the utmost selfrestraint and to refrain from any action that could jeopardize the newborn peace. The gains that have been made are very fragile and can easily collapse under the onslaught of any escalation in the fighting or because of any wavering of international support for peace in Angola.

Proceeding from these considerations, my delegation voted in favour of the resolution just adopted by the Council, through which it has renewed the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) through 8 February 1995 in order to enable it to oversee and monitor the cease-fire provided for in the Lusaka Protocol.

In conclusion, I should like to express my delegation's appreciation to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative in Angola and the three observer States to the Angolan Peace Process, especially Zambia, which hosted the peace negotiations, for their important and effective contributions to finding a just and durable solution to the conflict in Angola, and we are pleased to note that their concerted efforts have borne fruit.

**Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo** (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Allow me first of all to express our pleasure at seeing you, Sir, presiding over the work of the Council. We wish to assure you of the Spanish delegation's full cooperation.

I also wish to convey my delegation's esteem and gratitude to Ambassador Albright of the United States for the highly competent and effective manner in which she performed her duties as President of the Council in November.

My delegation would also like to extend a welcome to the Minister for External Relations of Angola, Mr. Venâncio De Moura, and congratulate him on the leading role he has played in a historic period of Angola's history, the signing of the Lusaka Protocol.

The resolution the Security Council has just adopted extends the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) until 8 February 1995. That extension cannot be regarded as merely technical in nature, for the culmination of the Lusaka talks between the Government of Angola and UNITA means that this particular resolution has a special political significance in setting the course of the peace process. This was due, in the first place, to the will demonstrated by the parties, with the effective assistance of the Secretary-General and of his Special Representative, Mr. Blondin Beye, of the observer States and of other countries in the region. We pay tribute to them all for their endeavours and for the results achieved.

The signing of the Lusaka Protocol between the Government of Angola and UNITA on 20 November 1994 and the cease-fire agreement between the parties has paved the way for the Security Council's being able to give, in the near future, serious consideration — if circumstances warrant — to the question of deciding on an expanded United Nations presence in Angola, which would be in harmony with what was agreed by the parties at Lusaka and in response to their request to us. To that end, it is vital that the parties comply with the commitments undertaken in the "Acordos de Paz" and the Lusaka Protocol and to continue to work together to achieve full national reconciliation.

We welcome the fact that the Joint Commission established at Lusaka has begun its work on Angolan soil, thereby establishing a climate of confidence and mutual respect that should prevail and bear fruit in this new phase.

The Secretary-General's report of 4 December and his letter of 7 December communicating to the Council his decision to proceed to restore the strength of UNAVEM II to its previous level, as well as the very useful information conveyed orally to the Council by his Special Representative, Mr. Blondin Beye, confirm the need to give further impetus to the peace process and ensure international verification, with all due care being taken but with the vital determination to pursue the process.

Despite a number of skirmishes and other initial difficulties, according to the Secretary-General and his

Special Representative the cease-fire agreed to by the parties has been holding, in essence, since 22 November.

Given those circumstances, it is vital to restore the strength of UNAVEM II as early as possible in order to ensure effective monitoring of the cease-fire and as a first step towards confidence-building. As the Secretary-General informs us in his letter, the redeployment of such personnel depends on strict observance of the cease-fire and satisfactory guarantees from both sides regarding the safety and security of the United Nations personnel concerned.

Spain, which is bound to Angola by close ties of friendship and cooperation, firmly hopes that the international community's commitment to the peace process in its new phase will soon be confirmed by the establishment of a new United Nations operation in Angola that will make a decisive contribution to the fulfilment of the "Acordos de Paz" and the Lusaka Protocol.

We welcome the fact that the parties are demonstrating a firm resolve to put this commitment into practical effect. It is now time to look forward to the future and achieve reconciliation and reconstruction in the country while paving the way for the lasting peace and prosperity the Angolan people so richly deserve after so many years of war.

**The President** (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Spain for his kinds words addressed to me.

**Mr. Inderfurth** (United States of America): Let me congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency. I can attest that Ambassador Albright is most happy to be able to pass the reins of the presidency into your hands. We are sure you will meet the challenges of your office admirably, and you can count on our full support and assistance in this regard.

We owe thanks to Maître Blondin Beye, the Secretary-General's Special Representative, for his unflagging efforts, energy and dedication to the cause of helping Angola move towards lasting peace. I know that he has worked in close concert with the three observer States, including our own Special Envoy to Lusaka, Ambassador Paul Hare, to achieve the goals we all shared.

I would also like to welcome the Minister for External Relations of Angola and express the hope that his Government and the Council will be able to continue to mark positive developments in Angola. It is with great pleasure that we are able through this resolution finally to welcome the signing of the Lusaka Protocol. This agreement was a long time in coming and marks a significant step towards the national reconciliation that the international community has actively promoted over the past several years. We expect that all provisions of the Lusaka Protocol will be scrupulously adhered to by both parties.

While we are encouraged by the announcement of a cease-fire beginning 22 November, we would like to express our concern over continued allegations of cease-fire violations by both parties. The resolution just adopted stresses the importance of both parties' fully respecting the cease-fire.

It is important that President Dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi personally make every effort to arrange for a one-on-one meeting at the earliest possible movement in order to move the peace process forward with all due speed.

In closing, let me once again join my colleagues on the Council who have expressed great satisfaction with this major step forward towards lasting peace in Angola. The journey is not yet complete, but the path ahead is clear.

**The President** (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words he addressed to me.

**Mr. van Bohemen** (New Zealand): We thank the Minister for External Relations of Angola for his important statement. We also value the presence here today of Ambassador Blondin Beye, the Secretary-General's Special Representative.

For well over a year the two parties in Angola have been coaxed and cajoled by the Council, and more particularly by the Secretary-General's Special Representative, to pursue negotiations for a peaceful resolution of their differences and an end to the tragic civil war in Angola. Progress has been slow, and the setbacks not infrequent. This has been disappointing disturbingly so when the negotiations have been paralleled by outbreaks of serious fighting with disastrous consequences for the Angolan population.

It has also to be acknowledged that the fitful progress in the negotiations is not surprising given the mistrust between the parties, especially in the wake of UNITA's earlier rejection of the political process. Thanks, however, to the efforts of the Special Representative, the support of the Government of Zambia and the three observer States and the perseverance of the parties themselves, we have seen some real progress in recent weeks. The Lusaka Protocol has been initialled and signed and a cease-fire declared.

Today, we have had confirmation from the Secretary-General that the cease-fire is generally holding. We support his decision in these circumstances to proceed with the reestablishment of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) to its previous levels, on the understanding that the cease-fire is strictly observed and the safety of United Nations personnel ensured.

This step should be an important confidence-building measure for the parties and provide information and reassurance to the international community. We welcome the progress these developments represent. We urge the parties to hold to the path they are now on and to secure the fulfilment of the Lusaka process.

As the resolution that we have just adopted signals, the international community is prepared to help. In particular, this Council is prepared to consider the establishment of an expanded United Nations presence to assist in the implementation of the Lusaka agreement and the reconstruction of Angola. The essential precondition is peace. We urge the Angolan parties not to lose the opportunity which this moment represents. For its part, New Zealand, which is already contributing personnel to UNAVEM II, including the current Chief of Staff, is giving active consideration to what contribution it might be able to make to an expanded United Nations presence.

**Mr. Marker** (Pakistan): I wish to join all the previous speakers who have welcomed the presence here today of His Excellency the Foreign Minister of Angola and his important statement. I should also like to congratulate the Foreign Minister for the promising developments reached by his country after long years of turmoil, strife and destruction. The Government of Pakistan sincerely hopes that, from now on, Angola will continue to progress and to emerge as a strong, unified country on the continent of Africa.

We also owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to the Secretary-General and to his Special Representative, Maître Blondin Beye, for the dedication, determination and diplomatic skill with which he has pursued his mandate in Angola. My delegation voted in favour of the resolution just adopted, in the sincere hope and belief that the leaders of Angola will continue to exhibit the same statesmanship as that which made the Lusaka Protocol a reality. We also hope that the Government of Angola will now be able single-mindedly to pursue the reconstruction and rehabilitation of its devastated country and that the international community will help it in this laudable objective.

In conclusion, my delegation would wish to pay tribute to the three observer States and the Government of Zambia for their untiring efforts, which have made such a vast contribution to the peace process in Angola and to the signing of the Lusaka Protocol.

**The President** (*interpretation from French*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Rwanda.

My delegation first wishes to welcome His Excellency Mr. De Moura and to congratulate him on being here at this time, which is a historic one for his country.

My delegation pays tribute to the Secretary-General for his outstanding report on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II). The historic content of this report explains and justifies the wind of hope that is blowing through Angola and the work of the Security Council. The Rwandese delegation also takes this opportunity to pay a resounding tribute to Maître Blondin Beye, the Secretary-General's Special Representative, for the remarkable work he has done in the search for a just, equitable and lasting peace in Angola.

Indeed, the peace process in Angola has been strewn with obstacles that have almost disheartened people of good political will in their search for a just and lasting peace in that country, which has suffered so long from a merciless civil war and its succession of murderous jolts.

The achievement of the Lusaka Protocol, initialled on 31 October and signed on 20 November 1994, has made the joy and pleasure of my delegation all the greater, since the work of the architects of peace was accomplished in masterly fashion and inspires us with hope for the future. The Rwandese delegation cannot fail to extend its heartfelt thanks to all the forces which, directly or indirectly, have helped to usher in a new era of peace conducive to national reconciliation, reconstruction and the socio-economic development of wardevastated Angola.

In order to prevent any potential deviation, howsoever minor, from the cease-fire concluded on 22 November, my delegation supports the concept of restoring UNAVEM II to its previous strength of 350 military observers and 126 police observers, supported by sufficient international and local personnel.

To be sure, the initial phases of any implementation of a peace agreement is delicate and fragile, and the international community — represented in this case by the Security Council — is called upon to redouble its vigilance *vis-à-vis* the Angolan question, the successful political conclusion of which my delegation applauds. On the basis of the Secretary-General's report of 4 December 1994, the Rwandese delegation welcomes the prospects now open for UNAVEM III, which could help to make this new era of peace and national reconciliation in Angola irreversible.

It is fitting also to welcome the emergency plans and other preparations worked out by the Secretary-General to facilitate the varied assistance for Angola as it faces the great challenge of implementing the "Acordos de Paz" and the Lusaka Protocol. My delegation praises the good political will of the Government of the Republic of Angola and of UNITA, which have just penned a glorious page in the contemporary history of Africa by ending the 20-year fratricidal war.

Though it has been long in coming, the example of Angola will go down in the annals of the history of Africa and United Nations diplomacy, to the joy and happiness of the Angolan people and the international community. In this context, it is useful and desirable to extend the mandate of UNAVEM II to 8 February 1995 and to urge the former parties to the Angolan conflict to be scrupulous in the implementation of the "Acordos de Paz" and the Lusaka Protocol.

In conclusion, my delegation makes an appeal to all countries, particularly those which sell arms and improve their economies by fanning tensions in Africa — well do we remember Katanga, Biafra, Rwanda, Mozambique and of course Angola, to name but a few — these same countries that are now striving to extinguish the flames they have ignited. We appeal to them, rather than sending arms and mercenaries to Africa, to send tractors, computers and other tools that are needed for the rebuilding of our countries.

How can they expect Africa to develop if we are taught only how to kill each other? The money spent on this kind of exercise could have been better used towards the development of these countries. The money and time spent rebuilding property destroyed by war fuelled from outside could have helped our countries make a significant economic recovery. The countries that financed and supported fratricidal wars in Angola have a moral duty to share the national reconstruction tasks with the Angolans.

My delegation voted in favour of the resolution extending UNAVEM II because it symbolizes the praiseworthy determination of the international community to continue to support national reconciliation, peace and political stability in Angola.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.