

Attachment IV

Protocol of Estoril

The Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA, meeting at Estoril, Portugal, with the Portuguese Government as mediator and in the presence of observers from the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, have reached the following agreements and understandings regarding political and military matters:

- I. Elections
- II. The Joint Political-Military Commission (CCPM)
- III. Principles relating to the issue of internal security during the period between the entry into force of the cease-fire and the holding of elections
- IV. Political rights to be exercised by UNITA following the cease-fire
- V. Administrative structures
- VI. Formation of the Angolan armed forces

I. ELECTIONS

1. Elections will take place in Angola to choose the President of the Republic and the National Assembly. The question of whether or not these elections will be held simultaneously will be decided through consultations among all Angolan political forces.
2. The President will be elected by direct and secret suffrage, through a majority system, with recourse to a second round, if necessary.
3. The National Assembly will be elected by direct and secret suffrage, through a system of proportional representation at the national level.
4. The elections will be preceded by an official election campaign period, the duration of which will be determined following a process of consultations involving all Angolan political forces. A technical opinion from a specialized international body such as the United Nations, for example, will be obtained on the question of the desirable duration of the election campaign in Angola. That opinion, however, will not be considered binding by any of the parties.
5. All Angolan citizens of adult age may vote, participate in the election campaign, and stand for election without any discrimination or intimidation. The definition of what is to be understood as "adult age" will be dealt with

in the election law, to be drafted following the cease-fire, after a process of consultations between the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and all Angolan political forces.

6. The voting will be secret, and special provisions will be made for those who cannot read or write. These provisions will be included in the election law, to be drafted following the cease-fire, after a process of consultations between the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and all Angolan political forces.

7. All political parties and interested persons will have the opportunity to organize and to participate in the elections process on an equal footing, regardless of their political positions.

8. Total freedom of expression, association, and access to the media will be guaranteed.

9. The parties have accepted the tripartite proposal by the delegations of Portugal in its capacity of mediator, and the United States and the Soviet Union as observers, to the effect that 1 September to 30 November 1992 will be the period within which free and fair elections should be held in Angola, the cease-fire being signed in May 1991. The parties have reached an understanding that the following tripartite declaration is to be taken into consideration in the discussion of the precise date for the holding of elections:

"Taking into consideration the logistical difficulties in organizing the elections process, specifically the desirability that the elections be held during the dry season, and the need to reduce the high costs that the international community will have to bear in monitoring the cease-fire, the delegations of Portugal, the United States and the Soviet Union heartily recommend that the elections be held during the first part of the suggested period, preferably between 1 September and 1 October 1992."

II. JOINT POLITICAL-MILITARY COMMISSION (CCPM)

1. According to the document entitled "Concepts for resolving the issues still pending between the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA", and the annex to the "Fundamental principles for the establishment of peace in Angola", the Joint Political-Military Commission (CCPM) has as its mission the overall political supervision of the cease-fire process. It will have the duty to see that the Peace Accords are applied, thereby guaranteeing strict compliance with all political and military understandings, and to make the final decision on possible violations of those Accords.

2. CCPM will have the authority necessary to approve all rules relating to its own functioning, particularly its own internal regulations. Its decisions will be made by consensus between the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA, after hearing the opinion of the Observers.

Sole paragraph. CCPM does not seek to replace the Government of the People's Republic of Angola.

3. In the light of the foregoing, CCPM, with headquarters in Luanda, should structure itself so as to:

3.1 Guarantee the conditions of peace for the holding of free, fair, multi-party, and internationally verifiable elections;

3.2 Ensure the fulfilment of all the political understandings resulting from the Peace Accords relating to the electoral process;

3.3 Supervise the implementation of the Cease-Fire Agreement within the framework of the Joint Verification and Monitoring Commission (CMVF) and cooperate with the representatives of the United Nations;

3.4 Inform itself about possible threats to the territorial integrity of the country;

3.5 Discuss, within the sphere of its authority, questions relating to Angolan exiles.

4. CCPM is to be constituted at the time of the signature of the Cease-Fire Agreement.

5. CCPM shall be composed of representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and of UNITA as members, and by representatives of Portugal, the United States and the Soviet Union as observers. The United Nations may be represented, in the capacity of invited guest.

5.1 Members and observers shall be supported by assistants and technical advisers for the areas assigned to them, namely:

(a) Joint Cease-Fire Verification and Monitoring Commission (CMVF);

(b) Joint Commission for the Formation of the Angolan Armed Forces (CCFA);

(c) The Political Commission.

Sole paragraph. In the case of the members of CCPM, the assistants and technical advisers will have to be Angolans.

6. The meetings of CCPM shall be presided over, alternately in accordance with the principle of rotation, by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and by UNITA, without prejudice to the principle of consensus in the decision-making process.

7. It shall be the responsibility of CCPM to draft its internal regulations, as well as to determine its budget.

8. The mandate of CCPM ends on the date the elected Government takes office.

III. PRINCIPLES RELATING TO THE ISSUE OF INTERNAL SECURITY
DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE ENTRY INTO FORCE OF
THE CEASE-FIRE AND THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS

1. All Angolans shall have the right to conduct and participate in political activities without intimidation, in accordance with the revised Constitution and pertinent laws for the creation of a multi-party democracy, and the provisions of the Peace Accords.

2.1 The neutrality of the police, whose functions and activities are the responsibility of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, shall be the object of verification and monitoring by teams of monitors composed of two members designated by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, two members designated by UNITA and one expert in police affairs to be designated by and subordinate to the United Nations command structure.

2.2 Within the sphere of their authority, the monitoring teams shall have as their specific mandate the duty to visit police facilities, examine their activities, and investigate possible violations of political rights committed by the police. These teams may move freely throughout the entire territory of Angola.

2.3 The monitoring teams are subordinate to CCPM, and must submit reports of their activities to that body.

2.4 In principle, there will be three monitoring teams for each Angolan province. CCPM may modify the number of monitoring teams in accordance with the needs of each province.

3.1 Consonant with the invitation from the Government, UNITA will participate in the police force that is responsible for maintaining public order.

3.2 To that end, shortly after entry into force of the cease-fire, and as a means of strengthening trust between the parties, the availability of vacancies in the ranks of the police force to be filled by personnel designated by UNITA will be guaranteed, and those personnel will be given appropriate training.

4. UNITA will be responsible for the personal safety of its highest-ranking leaders. The Government of the People's Republic of Angola will grant police status to the members of UNITA in charge of guaranteeing that safety.

IV. POLITICAL RIGHTS TO BE EXERCISED BY UNITA FOLLOWING THE CEASE-FIRE

1. According to the provisions contained in the document entitled "Concepts for resolving the issues still pending between the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA", and in the document on "Fundamental principles for the establishment of peace in Angola", at the time of entry into force of the cease-fire, UNITA will acquire the right to conduct and freely participate in political activities, according to the revised Constitution and the pertinent laws for the creation of a multi-party democracy, particularly including the following rights:

- (a) Freedom of expression;
- (b) The right to present, publish and freely debate its political programme;
- (c) The right to recruit and enrol members;
- (d) The right to hold meetings and demonstrations;
- (e) The right of access to the government media;
- (f) The right to free movement and personal safety of its members;
- (g) The right to present candidates in the elections;
- (h) The right to open headquarters and representative offices anywhere in Angola.

2. Without prejudice to the stipulations of the previous paragraph, which permit UNITA to exercise those rights immediately, UNITA must, after entry into force of the cease-fire, satisfy the formal requirements for its registration as a political party pursuant to the "Political Parties Law" of the People's Republic of Angola.

V. ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES

1. Both parties accept the principle of the extension of the Central Administration to those areas of Angola that are presently beyond the range of its authority.

2. Both parties recognize that such extension must not be made abruptly or endanger the free circulation of persons and goods, the activities of the political forces, and the execution of the tasks related to the electoral process.

3. Both parties agree to leave for a later date the study of the actual implementation of such extension, which will be carried out within the framework of CCPM by competent teams composed of representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA. Those teams may have recourse to international technical advisers.

VI. FORMATION OF THE ANGOLAN ARMED FORCES

A. Identification and general principles

Whereas the peace process between the Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA presupposes the need to form armed forces,

The Government of the People's Republic of Angola and UNITA agree to the following:

1. An Angolan Armed Forces shall be formed.

2. The Angolan Armed Forces:

(a) Shall have as their overall mission the defence and safeguarding of independence and territorial integrity;

(b) May, in compliance with provisions of law, perform other missions of general interest that are the responsibility of the State, or collaborate in tasks related to satisfying the basic needs and improving the quality of life of the population, without prejudice to the aforesaid overall mission;

(c) Shall be composed exclusively of Angolan citizens; furthermore, its organizational structure is unitary for the entire territory;

(d) Shall have such composition, high command structure, troops, mechanisms, and equipment as determined in accordance with foreseeable external threats and the country's socio-economic conditions;

(e) Are non-partisan and obey the competent organs of sovereignty, within the principle of subordination to political authority;

(f) Swear publicly to respect the Constitution and other laws of the Republic.

3. Members of the military on active duty shall enjoy active voting status, but may not use their duties or the structural units of the Angolan Armed Forces to interfere in any other partisan political or union activities.

4. The process of formation of the Armed Forces shall begin with the entry into force of the cease-fire and end on the date of the elections.

5. The process of formation of the Armed Forces shall evolve simultaneously with the assembly, disarmament, and integration into civilian life of the troops that are gradually being demobilized as a consequence of the cease-fire.
6. Recruitment into the Angolan Armed Forces during the period prior to the elections shall proceed in accordance with the principle of free will, drawing from the ranks of troops that are now part of FAPLA and FALA.
7. It is mandatory that all military personnel incorporated into the Angolan Armed Forces prior to the date of the elections, attend professional training courses with a view to achieving unification in terms of doctrine and procedure that is conducive to the development of an essential esprit de corps.
8. The neutrality of the Armed Forces during the period prior to the holding of the elections shall be guaranteed by the Angolan parties acting within the framework of CCPM and the Joint Commission for the Formation of the Armed Forces (CCFA).
9. By the time the elections are held, only the Angolan Armed Forces shall exist; there may be no other troops whatsoever. All members of the present armed forces of each party who do not become members of the Angolan Armed Forces shall be demobilized prior to the holding of elections.
10. Both parties agree that individual rights acquired by military personnel of the Angolan Armed Forces during the period prior to the elections shall continue to be assured, and that the structural units created up to that point to consolidate those same Armed Forces shall be safeguarded.
11. The units of the Angolan Armed Forces shall be formed beginning at the platoon level.

B. Troop strength

1. The parties agree that the troop strength of the Angolan Armed Forces by the time of the elections shall be as follows:

Army	40 000
Air Force	6 000
Navy	4 000

2. Army personnel shall be distributed in accordance with the following plan:
 - 15,000 operations soldiers, 7,200 of whom shall belong to the Military Regions, 4,800 to the Army General Reserve and 3,000 to the Special Forces;

- 15,000 soldiers for support services and administration;
- 6,000 non-commissioned officers;
- 4,000 officers.

3. Each of the parties shall provide the Army with a total of 20,000 men, distributed as follows:

- 15,000 soldiers, of whom 7,500 are to be operations personnel;
- 3,000 non-commissioned officers;
- 2,000 officers.

4. The first troops assigned to the Air Force and Navy shall be furnished from the respective branches of the FAPLA, inasmuch as FALA does not have such units. As soon as the process of training the Angolan Armed Forces begins, UNITA will be able to participate in the Air Force and Navy under terms to be defined within the framework of CCFA.

5. The Navy and the Air Force shall be subject to verification and monitoring, without prejudice to their being permitted to carry out controlled missions as a means of assuring their operationality and the defence of economic interests. As soon as the Navy and the Air Force units become part of the Angolan Armed Forces, they shall be subordinate to the High Command of the Angolan Armed Forces.

C. Command structures of the Angolan Armed Forces

1. General principles

(a) A Joint Commission for the Formation of the Armed Forces (CCFA) shall exist, created specifically to direct the process of formation of the Angolan Armed Forces and subordinate to the CCPM;

(b) The Angolan Armed Forces Command Structure, including the High Command of the Angolan Armed Forces and the commands of the three branches (Army, Air Force and Navy) is shown on the diagram in the annex;

(c) The entire command structure of the Angolan Armed Forces, although derived during the period of its formation from FAPLA and FALA, is to become strictly non-partisan and will receive directives and orders from only CCPM, CCFA and the Angolan Armed Forces chain of command;

(d) Appointments to the Angolan Armed Forces High Command and the commands of the three branches of the Angolan Armed Forces are to be proposed by CCFA and approved by CCPM;

(e) The logistics of the Angolan Armed Forces shall be joint, and a Logistical and Infrastructure Command, subordinate to the High Command of the Angolan Armed Forces, shall be created for this purpose.

2. Joint Commission for the Formation of the Armed Forces

(a) CCFA, which is directly subordinate to CCPM, constitutes the transitional body, until the date of the elections, between the political-military echelon and the Angolan Armed Forces echelon;

(b) CCFA is to be composed of representatives of FAPLA and FALA as members, assisted by representatives of the country(ies) selected to advise them during the formation process of the Angolan Armed Forces;

(c) The duties of CCFA shall be as follows; however, other duties may be assigned to it by CCPM:

- Propose to CCPM the rules applicable to the Angolan Armed Forces;
- Propose to CCPM the budget to be allocated to the Angolan Armed Forces [for the period] prior to the elections;
- Undertake strategic planning for the Angolan Armed Forces [during the period] prior to the elections;
- Propose to CCPM the criteria for selecting personnel from FAPLA and FALA for purposes of forming the Angolan Armed Forces;
- Propose to CCPM the names of the principal commanding officers of FAA, down to and including the brigade echelon;
- Draft directives concerning the phasing of the process of staffing the structural units of FAA.

3. Angolan Armed Forces High Command

(a) The overall mission of the High Command of the Angolan Armed Forces is to detail the generic directives received from CCFA, with a view to staffing the structural units and supporting the forces;

(b) The High Command is composed [during the period] prior to the elections, of two general officers having equal rank, designated by each of the parties. Its decisions shall be valid only when signed by those two general officers;

(c) The High Command is assisted by the Angolan Armed Forces General Staff (EMGFAA), which shall have at least the following staff units, headed by general officers or by field officers:

Office staff;

Planning and organization staff;

Military doctrine and instruction staff;

Legislation staff;

Information staff;

Public relations staff;

Justice and discipline staff;

Operations staff.

4. Army Command

(a) The Army Command shall be structured in due course by the Army Command of the Angolan Armed Forces, within the framework of CCFA, and subject to approval by CCPM;

(b) The structure of the Army Command shall accommodate the military regions and military zone(s) in a position directly subordinate to the General Army Chief of Staff (CEME), whose duties are yet to be defined, but which may include: organizing and preparing the forces, training, justice and discipline and logistical support to the assigned forces;

(c) Each military region shall be commanded by a Commanding General, assisted by a Deputy General and by a Headquarters General. The Military Zones shall be commanded by general officers;

(d) The headquarters of the military regions and zone(s) are as follows:

Northern Military Region, with headquarters in Uige;

Central Military Region, in Huambo;

Eastern Military Region, in Luena;

Southern Military Region, in Lubango;

The Cabinda Military Zone;

(e) The system of forces shall be constituted on the basis of units at the brigade level and other forces that may be assigned to the military regions/zone(s) or maintained in the Army Reserve or the Angolan Armed Forces Reserve.

5. Air Force

The Air Force shall be formed on the basis of the FAPLA Air Force, in accordance with the provision in section B, items 4 and 5 above. The details will be contained in directives issued by CCFA.

6. Navy

The Navy shall be formed on the basis of the FAPLA navy, in accordance with the provision in section B, items 4 and 5 above. The details will be contained in directives to be issued by CCFA.

7. Logistical and Infrastructure Command

(a) The Logistical and Infrastructure Command is to be created, and is to be directly subordinate to the High Command of the Angolan Armed Forces;

(b) The Logistical and Infrastructure Command shall have as its overall function to plan and propose administrative and logistical support for the Angolan Armed Forces and guarantee that it is provided to the Angolan Armed Forces via common services. In particular, it will be responsible for the logistics of production and procurement;

(c) The Logistical and Infrastructure Command is to be commanded by a General, assisted by a Second Commander (a general officer) and by a General Staff that, initially, will include the following:

- Infrastructure Staff;
- Common Services Staff;
- Re-equipment Staff;
- Finance Staff;

(d) The Logistical and Infrastructure Command has command over those support units that may be assigned to it.

8. Phasing and establishing the timetable for the process

(a) The process of forming the Angolan Armed Forces shall proceed in phases, as follows:

- First phase: appointment of CCFA - prior to the entry into force of the cease-fire;
- Second phase: appointment of the Angolan Armed Forces High Command;
- Third phase: appointment of the commands of the subunits;

- Fourth phase: appointment of the commanders of the Military Regions and the brigade commanders;
- Fifth phase: appointment of the commands of the three branches;

(b) Immediately following the appointment of each command, the respective General Staffs are to be organized;

(c) The administrative and logistical support system is organized within the principle of transformation, without loss or rupture of existing structures, in accordance with EMGFAA plans approved by CCFA.

D. Technical assistance from foreign countries

The parties will inform the Portuguese Government, not later than the date of notification of their acceptance of the Accords, as to which country or countries will be invited to render assistance in the Angolan Armed Forces formation process.

E. Demobilization

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

ANNEX
ANEXO

DIAGRAM OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE ANGOLAN ARMED FORCES
ESBOÇO DE ESTRUTURA DAS FORÇAS ARMADAS ANGOLANAS

